AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND. A SOCIO-GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

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EX BIBL UNIV. EDINBURGEN.

I am an invisible 'man'. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood movie ectoplasms. I am a 'man' of substance, of flesh and bone, fibre and liquids -and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me... When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination- indeed everything except me.

Invisible 'man'. Ralph Waldo Ellison (1947,1952)

DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of PhD of the University of Edinburgh.

Both the composition of the thesis and the research on which it is based are entirely my own work.

Signed..... Date 2.7.96

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the African/Caribbean people in Scotland whose contemporary as well as historical presence frequently remains unacknowledged and ignored. This "invisibility" is documented and challenged by the study reported here. Using a range of methodologies grounded primarily in the humanistic philosophies, this work provides an account of the social and cultural geography of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland.

There are two principal objectives of the thesis. First to make the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland visible and secondly to challenge the prevailing view that racism does not exist in Scotland. To achieve the first objective, as well as to acknowledge the longstanding relationship between Africa and the Caribbean on one hand and Scotland and the Scottish people on the other, the historical aspects of that presence are examined. A descriptive analysis of African/Caribbean people's place at the Scottish royal court in the 16th century as well as in the homes of Scottish aristocracy during the 17th century is presented. The question of Scots involvement in African slavery as well as the practice of African slavery in Scotland which has been neglected in most histories of Scotland and in the general histories of Africans in Britain is brought to the fore. This research establishes, in a way no previous research has done, the extent of African slavery in Scotland. One ideological corrollary of that presence, racism, is examined showing, contrary to popular wisdom, that ideas of race and racism were developed, published and perpetuated by Scots in and outwith Scotland.

Today African/Caribbean people have a significant role in Scotland although their presence is rarely acknowledged by Scottish society, policy makers, or academia. Using a questionnaire survey, case studies, informal discussions and documentary sources as well as personal experiences the thesis challenges the prevailing view that African/Caribbean people are transients, students and visitors only. The study examines their reasons for being in Scotland and their length of stay here as well as providing a demographic picture of their presence. Their social status, education, employment and housing circumstances are examined and the role of the main institutions in marginalising African/Caribbeans and, in doing so, rendering them invisible is considered. Contemporary racism experienced by African/Caribbeans is examined and the findings used not only to refute the prevalent belief that racism does not exist in Scotland but also to develop ideas about the contextual and situational nature of British racism more generally. The policy implications of the findings are also listed and recommendations are made for future research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALHTS	Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
HEAU	Housing Equality Action Unit
LREC	Lothian Racial Equality Council
SCORE	Standing Conference on Racial Equality in Europe
SCARF	Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football

AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND. A SOCIO-GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND AIM

The thesis concerns a group of people who have lived and worked in Scotland for at least four centuries, but whose presence has been ignored or forgotten for much of that time. African/Caribbeans form a dispersed community in late 20th century Scotland and may well have done so in the past. Yet, although Scots have had a long history of contact with African people through those living here, through the slave trade and through the management and ownership of slave worked enterprises, much of this knowledge is almost forgotten, while the contemporary presence is shrouded in invisibility. This study aims to challenge the invisibility of African/Caribbeans in Scotland and in doing so fills an important gap in the social geography of ethnic minorities in Britain. Thus the overall aim of this pioneering study is to provide an account of African/Caribbean people living in Scotland and so acknowledge their long standing presence. To achieve the above the following specific objectives have been explored:-

1.1.1 OBJECTIVES

1. To examine the socio-historical contacts between African/Caribbeans and Scottish society with a view to establishing the roots of present day attitudes to the contemporary African/Caribbean presence.

2. To describe the geography and demography of African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

3. To assess critically, the effects of racism on African/Caribbeans in Scottish society.

4. To contest the apparent "invisibility" of the African/Caribbean community in contemporary Scotland and to show that this group has a significant place in the history and geography of Scottish society.

These objectives have been considered in the light of the lack of knowledge existing, generally, as well as in academia, on the African presence in Scotland. It was felt that if a comprehensive pioneering study of the African presence were to be of use, then this study must not merely examine the contemporary presence only but the historical also. "The past is contrast and perspective for our present "(Harris 1978 :124) and

the African/Caribbean present can be better understood by viewing it in perspective as present day manifestations and occurrences often reflect past events. To achieve the above objectives three approaches are used.

First, the historical record is used to place the African/Caribbean presence in perspective (a) describing and analysing the historical presence and (b) charting its ideological consequences, racism. The aim of this section is to show that African/ Caribbeans have a longstanding presence in Scottish society.

Second, the nature of the African-Caribbean presence in present day Scotland is examined using both qualitative and quantitative methods. This forms the bulk of the study and aims to show how and why it is important to acknowledge the place of the African/Caribbean community in Scottish space.

Third, an examination is made of the African/Caribbean relationship to the Scottish society showing how the African-Caribbean presence has been affected by the wider Scottish society.

With each of these approaches, the issue of the invisibility of the contemporary presence and the lack of knowledge of, or interest in, the historical presence shown by the host society is explored. The thesis is about the reason why this idea of invisibility should be challenged. This chapter proceeds by first discussing the terminology "African/Caribbeans" to clarify the terms of reference. It then presents the current state of knowledge on the subject and identifies relevant gaps in the existing literature. It then identifies and discusses the theoretical perspectives and philosophical and methodical approaches under which the research has been carried out.

1.2 DEFINITION OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEAN

A definition of the term African/Caribbean is given here because the categories used to describe people of African origin and descent in present day Britain are changeable, and are relevant to an understanding of their position in Scottish/British society. Changes in terminology over time are not new for African people living in white majority and white dominated societies (Smith 1989; Jackson and Penrose 1993). In this respect Scotland has been no different from any other white society. For example in 16th century Scotland African people were referred to as "Blakamoor", "blackmoryen", or "blakmoir" (Scobie 1972; Edwards and Walvin 1983; Fryer 1983). During the era of slavery the labels "black" and "negro" as well as more explicitly abusive terms such as "nigger, sambo, and quashey" were used (as discussed in chapter 4 on racism). African people in the Americas, and Britain also had their own perception of themselves. Olaudah Equiano, in 18th century England referred to himself as "the

African" (Edwards 1969) while Mary Seacole referred to herself as "creole" (Alexander and Dewjee 1984). In Scotland, Robert Nameroa battled for his African identity in the Scottish court disowning the name of "black Robin" and insisting on his African name (Duffield 1990, 1992). W.E.B Dubois (1968, 1969) in America spoke of "Negro" with a capital "N" while Marcus Garvey with developing black consciousness was comfortable with both "black" and "Negro" (Edwards 1967; Sewell 1987). In Britain the term "West Indian" has commonly being used to describe the group examined in this thesis. Since the late 1970's a more correct term has been "Afro-Caribbean", and of late the terms "African and Afro-Caribbean" have been modified to "African/Caribbean" to emphasize the commonality between both groups.

In this thesis the term African/Caribbean is used to describe people who are of African origin or descent who were born in Africa, in Britain or the Caribbean. It is an umbrella term used for convenience in the study to describe the two major groups of African people now living in Scotland, namely Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. Their British born descendants, Afro-Scots, are also included. The term includes "mixed race" children born in Scotland or in any other part of the UK to one parent who is recognisably of African origin or descent. It is used also in a cultural sense and includes Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Scots and others of African descent born in the UK and living in Scotland. African-Americans are sometimes included, but in the present day this group tends to be very much in the minority and confined around US bases such as Dunoon (recently closed) or RAF Edzell. However, their direct and indirect association with Scotland, in a historical context, is very important, especially during Scotland's link with the American colonies during the era of slavery and the slave trade (see Chapter 3).

When writing about certain periods in the past, the term "African" will be used more frequently than "African/Caribbeans" as even individuals who reached Scotland from the Caribbean or the American colonies would have been born in Africa or had ancestors born there. It was decided not to use the word "black" as a title (e.g. Black people in Scotland) for this study since in current usage this word refers only to skin colour and has no link to geography, history or culture. The word "black" was formerly used to describe people of African descent but today it is used by the majority society to describe all dark-skinned people many of whom vigorously oppose its usage and do not perceive themselves as black (Modood 1988). In Scotland, moreover, as will become apparent later, the word seldom refers to people of African origin or descent.

Politically the terminology "black" is often used to describe all dark-skinned people with a common experience of racism in Britain, but for a study concerned with much more than racism, this can be problematic because the groups so labelled lose their geographical, historical and cultural identity. The description thus ignores the heterogeneity of dark-skinned people. Smith (1978) for example notes that the "label masks important cultural differences" (p.24), while Peach (1984) goes as far as as to suggest that the term is the province of Marxism or Racism:

> Marxists , because of their desire to foster functional class unity and, indeed, because of many of the problems which the groups had to face in common, linked the Afro-Caribbean and Asian as blacks.Racists, making little allowances for cultural differences and looking for a formal object of hate labelled all South Asians as 'Paki', all West Indians as Jamaicans and, like the Marxist, but for very different reasons, lumped West Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and others together as blacks. (p.215)

In short, there has been so much confusion generated by the label "black" that I prefer, in this study, to use the term "African/Caribbean". This provides a ready geographical, cultural and historical expression and makes it clear who the research is about. However, in certain circumstances "black" is used stylistically but not definitionally as a substitute where "African/Caribbean" might be too repetitive. Likewise when referring collectively to African/Caribbeans, Asians and Chinese in Scotland the term "ethnic minority" is sometimes used .

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND RATIONALE FOR STUDY

Published studies of African/Caribbean people in Britain from a geographical perspective have been limited with the seminal work of Peach (1968), *West Indian Migration to Britain-A Social Geography*, being the only major comprehensive study existing. Geographical studies on African people in Scotland are non-existent. There are also few historical and sociological studies of African/Caribbeans in Scotland. Similarly, popular histories of Scotland tend to ignore the African/Caribbean presence presenting a mainly Eurocentric view of the character and experience of the Scottish people. To glean information generally about ethnic minorities in Scotland it is necessary to read about the English experience and extrapolate what ever little is relevant to the Scottish experience. Thus my literature review begins by considering these British and English writings which are relevant to the Scottish context, before considering in more detail the work that has been done on ethnic minorities generally, and African/Caribbeans in particular, in Scotland.

Over the years, numerous studies have been undertaken of the African/Caribbean presence in Britain beginning with the early work of Little (1947). Most of the early

work such as that by Collins (1952), Richmond (1954), Banton (1955), examined the presence from a social anthropological or sociological perspective and concentrated on old established African/Caribbean communities in East London, Liverpool, Tyneside. These pioneering studies also showed the extent to which racism and discrimination operated as major obstacles to integration. Most studies, with the exception of Little's (1947) *Negroes in Britain*, were orientated towards the English experience. Later studies such as those by Patterson (1963, 1968) and Peach (1968) examined the contemporary immigrant population. Patterson, using an anthropological perspective, looked at the settlers' adaptation to life as strangers in Britain, while Peach, from a socio-geographical perspective, examined the economic forces operating in Britain which attracted them here. Peach's 1968 study *West Indians in Britain- A social geography* became the first socio-geographical study of ethnic minorities in Britain. Although various geographical studies on ethnic minorities in Britain have been undertaken over the years (Jones 1969; 1978; Peach 1975; 1984; Robinson 1984), such studies have generally tended to focus on large English cities. Kearsley and Srivastra's (1974) paper *The Spatial Evolution of Glasgow's Asian Community* seems to be the first geographical study of ethnic minorities in Scotland. No significant geographical study appears to exist on African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

Most research on the African/Caribbean people in Britain embraces the Social Anthropological, Sociological or Historical traditions. Thus the study of African/ Caribbeans in Scotland from a geographical perspective helps to rectify an imbalance in the literature and assists in promoting the discipline's concept of place (Johnston 1992). The study draws attention to research into small ethnic minority communities, similar to early anthropological and sociological studies of Little (1947); Collins (1952); Richmond (1954); Banton (1955). Such small communities have been omitted in major studies (Smith 1977). Thus a study on African/Caribbeans in Scotland not only fills a gap in this ar ea of geographical research but promotes the furtherance of ethnic minority research in social geography of small groups in geographical areas away from large cities and conurbations. It adds to the non-exploitative studies of minorities developed by Peach (1968) *A Social geography of West Indian in Britain*, and emulated by Jackson (1982) *A Social Geography of Puerto Ricans in New York.*

As "race" became an important political issue and racial discrimination an obstacle to employment, further studies by Patterson (1968), Daniels (1968), Hepple (1970), revealed that racial discrimination was indeed a barrier to obtaining jobs. That the racism experienced by new immigrants had historical roots and was not grounded in

the evolving present day situation was brought to the fore by writers such as Bolt (1971), Walvin (1973), Gratus (1973), Lorimer (1978). Bolt (1971) showed that "race" was not a new idea in British society as Victorians were preoccupied by it and used it to justify their domination over the dark "races" in their colonial possessions. Historical studies added a new dimension to the presence of African/Caribbeans in the British Isles. Scobie (1972); Walvin (1971, 1973); Shyllon (1974, 1977); Edwards and Walvin (1983) and Fryer (1983) showed conclusively that African/Caribbeans are not the new 'arrivants' to British soil that they are generally perceived to be, and that their presence extended as far back as the 16th century or earlier (Edwards 1990). Walvin (1973), for example noted that "generations of Negroes have been profoundly affected by the attitudes of white society towards them" (p. xiii). Lorimer (1978) examining one particular period of British society showed that ideas of race and racism were part and parcel of that African presence in England culminating in racist attitudes to African people during the Victorian era in and outwith Britain Walvin (1973) and Fryer (1983) discussed the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland which is more than is done by most studies of African-British relations. Walvin (1973), in particular, seemed to be curious about the limited knowledge of the African presence in Scotland. He noted "that the evidence of Blacks in Scotland is sparse and:

> Colleagues more familiar with the peculiarities of Scottish history have been unable to help satisfy my tentative enquiries as to why Scotland's major towns and ports failed to develop a black minority (Walvin 1973: 142).

This he further comments is a " study in itself" (p.142).

Although many of the books mentioned above used broad titles such as *Black people in Britain* or *Africans in Britain*, most neglect or treat cursorily the people of African origin or descent in Scotland. Their presence, historical and contemporary, is often overlooked and research rarely goes beyond mentioning them as workers at the Scottish Royal Court. Yet the National Library of Scotland exhibition and publication *Scotland and Africa* (1982) surveyed the Scottish involvement in Africa and examined the contribution to Africa in terms of education, technology and the spread of Christianity. Although the intention was to show the Scots presence in Africa, it also acknowledged the historical African presence in Scotland and provided valuable leads to further research. It showed too how much more needs to be done to obtain a knowledge of the African presence in Scotland. The African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is not new. According to the Accounts of the High Lord Treasurer of Scotland (ALHTS 1904,1905) it dates back to the 16th century at least . Other sources also testify to a longstanding presence (Russell 1922; The Scotsman 1938; Fryer 1983; Orr 1990;

Edwards 1990; Duffield 1990, 1992). Recognition of this fact is, however limited, leading to the general belief that the presence of African/Caribbeans in 20th century Scotland is a new phenomenon. This, in turn, has informed a prevailing view that African/Caribbeans are outsiders in Scottish society. One of the objects of this thesis is to challenge this view, another is to consider why it has been possible for such a view to prevail so widely and for so long. Thus the present study, in providing an historical perspective to the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland will develop an important area which has barely be touched in historical, sociological or anthropological studies much less in social geography. Like Walvin (1973) it too "tells an untold story" (p. xiii).

Recent books and articles shedding light on the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland have been few. Ford (1984), a former forestry worker from Belize, provides an account of forestry work by Belizeans during the second world war in Scotland. He examined their neglect and shabby treatment by the authorities, the indifference shown to their sufferings in the cold and the racial discrimination they endured from the hands of the authorities. Sherwood (1985) examined the institutional racism that the Belizean workers had to endure. The title of her article *It is not a case of numbers. A case of Institutionalised racism in Britain* is self-explanatory.

Jenkinson's (1987) PhD thesis *The 1919 Race Disturbances in Britain* shows a significant African presence in early 20th century Glasgow. Jenkinson shows that the 1919 cycle of race riots in Britain did not escape Scotland as is the general belief. Racial disturbances occurred in Glasgow when several African sailors, who were British, could not obtain employment and found themselves in competition and confrontation with white sailors. Jenkinson's thesis shows a presence other than that of sailors in Glasgow, with one individual who had lived in Glasgow for 34 years. Edwards (1990) in *The Early African Presence in the British Isles* touches on an African presence in Scotland which goes back far beyond the 16th century (problems of historical literature are discussed in more detail in chapter 3). Duffill (1990 a) in 'Thomas Jenkins, African farm servant, student and school-teacher in Scotland and England, 1803-21', examines Jenkins' life from his arrival as a boy in Scotland with a Scottish captain of a slave ship to his career as a teacher in Scotland, England and Mauritius. Duffield (1990, 1992) examines four individuals of African origin and descent who lived in 19th century Scotland who were transported to Australia for various offences. Despite these illuminating accounts a gap exists in our knowledge about the historical presence of African/Caribbeans which needs to be filled if we are to understand the significance

of the contemporary African/Caribbean presence. Thus an important and original part of this thesis is a reconstruction of the past history of African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

A gap also exists in our knowledge of the history and reproduction of racism against African/Caribbean people in Scotland as British sociological studies tend generally to neglect the Scottish dimension as much writing about "race" and "racism" in Britain is implicitly Anglocentric. Conventional wisdom, however, is that racism is not a Scottish problem. Although this view has been challenged (Miles and Muirhead 1986; Miles and Dunlop 1987) most research interest on racism in Scotland has centred on the Asian community (Miles 1992; Semru 1986; Bowes et al., 1990) and ignored African/Caribbeans. Thus integral to the study of the African-Caribbean presence is an investigation of a "racism" which is constantly being denied in Scotland, supporting Jackson's (1987) call to Social Geographers to account for the present-day manifestations of racism (p.16).

Since it is known that racism is historically and geographically variable, it is important to assess this variability with respect to history and geography of African/Caribbeans in Scotland today. Hence an examination is made of the historical development of racism in Scotland. An historical perspective on racism prevents, in particular, acceptance of "the common misconception that Britain's [Scotland's] "race relations" problems began with the arrival of large numbers of black immigrants from the New Commonwealth in post-war period" (Jackson 1987:8). The arrival of an influx of black immigrants in the post second world war period indeed witnessed new forms of racism, but racism whether in the form of verbal abuse, physical attacks (see chapter 7) , institutional or personal as is experienced in contemporary Scotland, existed in Scotland long before this period (see chapter 4). This is overshadowed in Scotland as racism is perceived in general as "British" or (in a dismissive manner) as "English", so obscuring the Scottish dimension. This study provides evidence to show that Scots were perpetuators of racism and racial stereotyping of African/Caribbeans (see chapter 4). It shows also how forms of racial stereotyping developed two or three centuries ago with specific reference to Africans and their new world descendants have been reproduced and perpetuated. The study on racism of African/Caribbeans in Scotland aims to fill an important gap in British sociological discourse on racism as well as to contribute to the place-specificity of racism in geographical study (Jackson and Penrose 1993). It also serves to contradict the erroneous belief in Scotland that racism does not exist here (Miles and Muirhead 198;: Dunlop and Miles 1990).

African/Caribbeans are not only ignored in Scottish racial discourse but are also made invisible at Government level both nationally and locally, exemplified by the report *"Ethnic minorities in Scotland"* (Scottish Office 1991). The report described itself as "the first large scale general purpose survey of ethnic minorities in Scotland" (p.7) but dismissed the African/Caribbean dimension because samples were drawn on distinctive names " clearly the method could not work with some other ethnic groups, notably people of West Indian origin" (p.11) the research noted. The report, which basically surveyed Asians and Chinese in Scotland, justified its omission of African/ Caribbeans by stating:

> obviously, the ethnic minority population had to be defined in one way or another, these groups were chosen both because they were the most numerous (Scotland having small West Indian and African populations), and because they could be identified using the sampling method we adopted (Scottish Office 1991: 8).

Even to Government bodies, the African/Caribbean presence was invisible. The 1991 census results have since shown the African/Caribbean population to be around six and a half thousand while the Asian population is around thirty thousand but in terms of the total population both groups are between 0.1% and 0.5 % of the total population. Furthermore, although it is true that many Afro-Caribbean names are of British origin, African names are at least as distinctive as those of Asians or Chinese. This exclusion of African people with similar surnames to the majority society from policy research has been repeated time and again by service providers in contemporary Scotland (as discussed in chapter 5). Thus this pioneering study sets out not only to acknowledge the African/Caribbean presence and to fill gaps of knowledge, but aims to have some practical uses in terms of policy concerning ethnic minorities in general and African/ Caribbeans in particular.

The few studies undertaken on ethnic minorities as groups tend not to concentrate on the people and their lives but on their problems and disadvantages. Too often these are over emphasized to the exclusion of day to day experiences, but while racism and racial disadvantages exist, they are not so preponderant as to prevent the victims from enjoying a happy and fulfilling life, as brought out by Edensor and Kelly (1989) *Moving Worlds*, on black and white immigrants in Scotland. While not disagreeing with Jackson (1987) that:

> social geographers have their part to play in accounting for the present day manifestation of racism in Britain and in understanding how the specific features of contemporary British racism emerged (p. 16),

social geographers also have a part to play in seeing that their subjects lives are described and analysed in a more rounded way and that they are not seen only as

victims in a white society. This study therefore aims not only to describe a geography, and to explore forms of racism but also to make visible some aspects of its subjects socio-cultural life in Scottish society.

1.4 CHALLENGES TO SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

This study challenges a Social Geography which still has a long way to go in conducting research from an 'insider' perspective on ethnic minorities. Social Geography has yet to shake off the racist past of geography which went together with the exploitation of black peoples (Livingstone, 1992; Said, 1978; Willis, 1992). Geography, Africa and the African people went hand in hand as the discipline was the medium through which knowledge about Africa and Africans was transmitted to the people in Scotland, to the rest of the United Kingdom and to the world. Much of the development of Geography was Africa based and both the Scottish, and the Royal, Geographical societies owe their existence to explorations in Africa (Livingstone 1992). Social Geography lags behind its counterpart Social Anthropology, which was able to come to terms with the racist past of Anthropology and has produced some fine research on ethnic minorities in Britain.

Social geography provides the subdisciplinary context for this study of African/ Caribbeans in Scotland. The shift from human geography's preoccupation with 'man' and environment themes to a radically reorientated concern with practical relevance (Johnston 1983; Jackson and Smith 1983; Cater and Jones, 1989), committed to social issues and embracing the project of anti-racism provides a good umbrella for the study. My aim is to align with those who, critical of geography's past, seek to reorientate the discipline so that it can play a positive role in challenging the racism and racial prejudice which was transmitted less than a generation ago in geographical literature. The problem is typified by the thoughts of an Edinburgh geographer, explorer and geologist who in his travels in Africa described the Africans in the Niger region as "unwashed barbarous sans-culottes of the coast region with fetishism, cannibalism and the gin bottle in congenial unison" (Livingstone 1992:223).

Removing racially biased geography text books from the shelves of educational institutions is one thing but it is another to rid people's consciousness of the racist images the subject once perpetuated. Thus social geography has a part to play in historical understanding by bringing to light the situations which led to their development and by seeking to eradicate these images. However, the preoccupation of social geography with contemporary issues has meant that racism's historical

dimensions have not been fully explored. This study by examining the racist experiences of African/Caribbean people in Scotland from an historical perspective endeavours to make a contribution to this field. Although contemporary social geography is now self-consciously orienting itself to the cause of anti-racism, in contrast to an earlier period when it was tacitly aligned to the projects of colonialism, imperialism and racism, it still has a long way to go in challenging racism, particularly in Scotland and in British society in general.

Studies in Social Geography have shown that black people are residentially segregated in cities (Jackson and Smith, 1981; Peach 1981; Smith 1988; Smith 1989) and have also shown black people as victims of racism. What social geography, in a British context, has scarcely begun to do is to develop a tradition of challenging this racism (Jackson 1987), which is present in Scotland (Miles and Muirhead 1986; Miles and Dunlop, 1987; Bell 1992) as well as other parts of the United Kingdom (Deakin 1970; Dummett 1973; Smith 1977; Brown 1984; Smith 1987; Philips 1987; Rich 1987). This study of African/Caribbeans aims to take up this challenge by examining the racism African/Caribbean people in Britain experience from a place-specific perspective, Scotland. The renewed emphasis on the concept of place (Johnston 1991; Jackson and Penrose 1993; Massey, 1994) together with the cultural turn in social geography (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987; Cater and Jones 1989) from a subject limited to physical artifact and landscape features (Jackson 1987:45) to one more amenable to areas of social life has allowed a widening of the scope for geographical research on society's problems. Thus issues of contemporary significance such as "race" and "racism" important in a Scottish /British/ European context where racism, personal and institutional, is part and parcel of society can be challenged. On the other hand, Geography's preoccupation with postmodernism interpreted by Soja (1990) as "an epochal transition in both critical thought and material life" (p. 5) in which space plays the important role in "contemporary cultural, political, and theoretical restructuring" (p.5) has both enhanced and undermined the anti-racist cause. Enhancement may be viewed in terms of the possibilities it offers ethnic minorities, with its emphasis on a plurality of cultures, and empowerment of new sub altern voices (Smith 1992). Geography as a discipline has also benefitted from post-modernism for "having been dead for much of this century ...., has experienced something of a renaissance within critical social theory"(Soja 1990) (Smith 1992:59). Smith (1993c) who acknowledges the "real possibilities for marginalised group" (p.54) that postmodernism offers, however argues that although

> postmodernism may have added some colour to the construction of

> everyday life, it has not adequately challenged the basic social categories with which politicians, the public and perhaps even the majority of scholars still work (p.55).

For Smith there are still continuities "fundamental divides and inequalities persist however much they may be repositioned and renegotiated from time to time" (p.56). Jackson, on the other hand, sees locality studies the main thrust of this perspective as placing more emphasis on economic characteristics than on the other aspects of local cultures (Jackson 1991 b; Johnston 1993). Thus he argues for a bridging of the economic and the cultural and an awareness of the "complex ways in which 'economic' processes are culturally encoded, while 'cultural' processes are inseparable from the material conditions in which they take place" (Jackson 1991b :226). Jackson further urged the adoption of alternative theorisation of 'local culture' drawing on concepts of structures of feelings of Williams (1958), and cultural politics of Hall (1980) and of Hall and Jefferson (1976).

A post-modernist geography based solely on the reassertion of space cannot adequately answer the racism African/Caribbeans face in Scottish/British society. Place as well as history is also important for present day manifestations of racism are informed by past events in specific places. In the African/Caribbean perspective it is place, rather than space which is the determining factor. Thus for the social geography of African/Caribbeans in Scotland an emphasis on place rather than space is more apt. The social geography of African/Caribbeans is one such study which provides insights into how former colonial subjects and their children have adapted to life in "the mother country" in a particular place, Scotland.

1.5 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

A number of theoretical perspectives has been advanced and adopted for the study of "race" and "racism" both in the USA and Brita!in. An underlying belief common to all the theoretical perspectives is that the notion of "race" as biologically given is irrelevant although much used in practice (Richmond 1973). Park in analysing the interaction between the white majority society and African/Americans advanced the "Race Relations Cycle" in which he saw an initial stage of contact followed by an intermediate stage which involved conflict and competition (for scarce resources) then finally an "assimilation" stage. Many studies on ethnic and race relations, particularly in the USA, have utilised some aspects of Park's theoretical framework as a reference point. Likewise studies of African people in Britain, both sociological and anthropological, have also emulated Park's theoretical perspective and have developed similar cultural frameworks to explain the African/Caribbean presence. Little (1947) advanced

a "colour class" framework showing that racism is one of the main obstacles to assimilation of African/Caribbeans into British society. Banton (1954) proposed the "stranger" hypothesis while Patterson (1963) argued that racial groups in Britain should be studied in terms of their "migrant status" and advanced a "host-immigrant" framework.

Park's theoretical perspective was also embraced by British geography in its attempt to account for the residential patterns of newly arrived immigrants from the New Commonwealth. As a result segregation studies dominated geographical studies from the 1970's to the 1980's (Peach 1975; Baboolall 1981; Phillips 1981). Other studies adopted such conceptual frameworks as ethnic choice (Dahya 1974; Kearsley and Srivastra 1974;) and ethnic pluralism (Peach 1984; Robinson 1984). Ethnic choice, in particular, has been criticised (Sarre et al, 1989; Cater and Jones 1989) for not realising the economic and social disadvantages together with the constraining power of "race" and racism which serve to limit the potentials of dark skinned minorities in majority white societies.

A distinction is usually drawn between "radical" (critical, often marxian) perspectives and liberal interpretations of "race" and racism. Both radical marxist perspectives and liberal interpretations of "race" and "racism" have brought about new ways of understanding the presence of ethnic minorities in Britain. While Marxist perspectives emphasize the class position in explaining the social, economic and political status of migrant labour, liberal perspectives envisage that "societal problems can be solved, or at least significantly ameliorated, within the context of a modified capitalism" (Peet 1977:242). Another important perspective is to see "race" as an analytical category (Gilroy 1987) "not because it corresponds to any biological or epistemological absolutes, but because it refers investigations to the power that collective identities acquire by means of their roots in tradition" (p.247). Each of these three arguments as noted by Smith (1989) "identifies a route by which 'meaningful citizenship rights' (economic, social and political, respectively) are made less available to black people than to their white counterparts" (p.8)

In discussing the racialisation of migrant labour from the New Commonwealth, Miles (1982 a) uses a Marxist analysis to account for the experiences and position of ethnic minorities in Britain in terms of class. Miles argues that migrant labour occupies a distinctive position in British society at the working class level. However, while this class based analysis might work for the experience of New Commonwealth migrants,

particularly in the early days of settlement it seems inappropriate for the Scottish context. In Miles' marxist analysis, early migrants into English cities would have fitted his working class orientated approach but in Scotland many African/Caribbeans are middle class (see Chapter 5) but perceived as working class based on the idea of "race", tied to old notions of inferiority, not economic activity. On the other hand African/ Caribbean people in Scotland cannot be classed as economic migrants as many came to study or, in the case of Belizean workers, to assist in war efforts (Chapter 5). Miles, for example, speaks of a racialised fraction in the working class. In Scotland, this fraction is in the middle class, hidden but present. Resistance at this level is fought out in offices, not on the streets. The invisible nature of this resistance also serves to reinforce the absence of African/Caribbean people in Scotland.

The conceptual framework which see the 'black' population as an underclass (Rex 1986) "not only marginalised by the labour process and disadvantaged in the market place, but also excluded from full incorporation into the welfare state" (Smith 1989:9) also has its shortcomings. Black people, whatever their socio-economic status, are viewed for analytical purposes as "a quasi group with distinct class position and status weaker and lower than the working class" (Rex 1986: 74). When examined in relation to the African/Caribbean context it can be argued that even though some basic rights of African/Caribbean people in Scotland may be infringed this certainly does not make them an underclass (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). Again this framework, like Miles' class based analysis, assumes that African/Caribbean people would automatically be at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder.

Both the Weberian and Marxist analytical frameworks of Rex and Miles respectively, would in effect confine African people to the lowest rung of the economic and social ladder with Rex going one step lower in assigning them the status of under-class which in Marxist terminology is equivalent to the "lumpenproletariat" or sub-proletariat (Gilroy 1987). Both perspectives seem inappropriate for the analysis of the African/ Caribbean presence in Scotland because by implication African/Caribbean people are positioned mainly in the lower end of the social stratification ladder. Chapter 5 shows that this is a misconception. Although both theoretical framework utilised class, they still seem to be informed by the underlying ideas of "race".

Gilroy (1987) on the other hand has argued that "race" is still an important analytical category and that class analysis should be substantially reworked in the light of its encounter with "race" (p.13). Both the marxist and liberal interpretations fail to

acknowledge the significance of "race" and racism in constraining dark skinned individuals in British society. The African/Caribbeans' dark skin colour assigns to them a perceived low status irrespective of occupation and educational achievements. Thus it can be argued that the social construction of "race" has informed the conceptual framework of studies about African people in white majority and white dominated societies starting from Park's race relation cycle. African people in white majority society have been seeking other theoretical perspectives which address their presence in these societies.

The present study in seeking to describe and analyse the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland, refers to the three theoretical perspectives discussed above. However, the study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland provide an opportunity to explore the geographies of visibility (Jackson 1993) and other frameworks, notably that surrounding the concept of invisibility.

1.6 INVISIBILITY

The idea of invisibility is derived from recent work within African-American literary theory (Gates 1987; 1988) which builds on ideas developed in Ellison's novel *Invisible Man* (Ellison 1947;1952). Here, the protagonist, the ' Invisible Man' of the title, depicts the way African-Americans in a white majority and dominated society are just ignored by people who do not acknowledge their presence. Reflecting on the cause of his invisibility the protagonist comes to the realisation that he is invisible "because people refuse to see me ... When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination-indeed everything except me" (Ellison 1947, 1952:1). The protagonist, undaunted by the invisibility which attends his presence, goes on to find enlightenment by examing and discovering his past, his present and the rich cultural experience of his people. This experience he realised, despite being denied and marginalised by the majority society , was never-the-less an important element in the fabric of that society. *Invisible man* thus illustrated that African-Americans "though ignored and abused by the majority, have managed to maintain their own unique sense of life and integrity" (O' Meally 1980).

Invisibility as Gates (1984) notes is "an ironic response of absence to the would be presence of blacks" (p.293). The point is that although African people are physically visible in white society they are marginalised and /or ignored as their "blackness

signifies absence implied by invisibility" (Gates 1988: 106). The equating of blackness with absence is nothing new as "the trope of blackness in Western discourse has signified absence at least since Plato" (Gates 1988:287). However, the concept of invisibility has now been incorporated into the African-American literary tradition as a conceptual framework for analysing "the black idiom" (Gates 1987:xxi). It assumes (a) that the idea of "race" based on skin colour is an important element in rendering African-Americans invisible in the white majority society of America and (b) that the social status of African/Americans in the white majority society is not determined by the same socio-economic criteria as those that govern the majority society. Social status is determined by stereotypes and images. It is implicated in the process of racialisation as well as in the economic hierarchy.

Invisibility is by implication a form of racism which enables the white majority society to marginalise African-Americans by ignoring their presence. The map of invisibility is drawn with reference to ideas about "race" difference and by negative connotations about African people. It is a social construction which allows white America to acknowledge African-Americans only when it is convient to do so. In applying this idea to the place of African/Caribbeans in Britain, invisibility like many conceptual frameworks which have been used in British sociology, social anthropology and social geography to explain the African/Caribbean presence in Britain, is being borrowed from the American context. Although British demography and geography does not reflect the large size and spatial concentration of African-Americans in America the idea of invisibility may be a useful concept to apply elsewhere with a smaller population of people of African origin or descent. In relation to the British experience of people of African origin or descent, aspects of invisibility were observed by Duffield (1981) who noted that:

> "until very recently, black people of African origin or descent were to echo the title of Ralph Ellison's famous novel of the black American experience in a white dominated society, the 'invisible men' of British history".

In Scotland of the 1990's this has not changed. People of African origin or descent are invisible in the history of Scotland as discussed and demonstrated in Chapter 3.1. The African presence is denied and largely ignored. African/Caribbeans living in Scotland are treated as though they do not exist (demonstrated in Chapter 5.1). Invisibility is not limited to the present day but extends way back to the era of slavery when African people were brought to Scotland as slaves (Chapter 3). In the 20th century it is not very apparent within Scotland (see Chapter 5.1) that African slavery existed here and that African people lived in Scotland in the past much less

of their contemporary presence. Thus the Scottish experience provides the opportunity to explore the conceptual framework of invisibility. In the thesis, 'invisibility' is used as a frame of reference for analysing the situation of African/Caribbean people living within the white majority society of Scotland. The use of the concept is justifiable in an African/Caribbean context by the following:

(a) an historical presence which is invisible and ignored (Chapter 3).

(b) the long association between Scotland, the Scottish people and African people which is forgotten (discussed in Chapters 3,4, 5).

(c) a historical development of racism by Scots against Africans which is ignored and downplayed as opposed to the anti-racist tradition which is upheld (Chapter 4).

(d) a contemporary presence which is invisible and at best ignored (Chapters 5,6,7).

(e) contemporary racism which is seen as directed largely towards Asians and the myth of the non-existence of racism in Scotland (Chapter 7).

(f) the tendency to see African/Caribbean people living permanently in Scotland as transients-students and visitors (Chapter 5).

Invisibility is a paradox because 'black' people stand out from the white Scottish community so the presence and size of an African/Caribbean body of residents should be obvious. Yet it is not. Although invisibility is the principal paradox the presence of the African/Caribbean community gives rise to lesser paradoxes whereby:

(a) individuals may be acknowledged as students -transients - but not their position as part of a larger body of African/Caribbeans residents and whereas

(b) the high level of education and high social status of an individual may be recognised in known circles when the individual steps from this environment social status is redefined and reduced to suit stereotypes and images based on European racist thoughts on African people

Finally, in applying this concept of "invisibility" as a frame of reference for the study of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland, the thesis tries to ascertain to what extent and in what ways and why ideas about "race" and the ideologies and practices of racism are responsible for their being invisible in Scotland.

1.7 PHILOSOPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland is carried out within the humanistic approaches which emphasize the study of humanity and give s it a central place in the world. Humanistic philosophies which aim at understanding (verstehen), rather than

at objective knowledge (wissen), are particularly suited for the research on the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. The humanistic tradition directs attention to every day life experiences while providing the scope for historical understanding in geographical research (Harris 1978; Daniels 1985) . Its methodologies too are wide ranging characterised by a willingness to supplement participant observation with information pragmatically abstracted from documentary sources and various forms of interviews (Ley and Samuels 1978; Smith 1981). It is this emphasis on a wide range of techniques "from archival research to participant observation" (Ley and Samuels 1978:14) together with the ability to "leap from empirical to hermeneutic analysis, from quantitative to interpretative social science" (Jackson and Smith 1984:10) which makes it the most appropriate philosophy for the research reported here. The methodology enables the author to make use of several techniques which together provide an in-depth analysis of the African/Caribbean presence.

In attempting to provide an empathic understanding of African/Caribbeans in Scotland the research examines the community from 'the inside' both in terms of its own subjectivity and because in the present instance the researcher is a member of the community under study. In light of this, the role adopted is interchangeable between the "participant as observer and the observer as participant" (Jackson 1983:41), for no doubt my personal experience as an African/Caribbean living in Scotland is evident.

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.

This chapter has defined the aims and objectives of the thesis, clarified the "African/ Caribbean" term of reference and explained the philosophical and methodological framework. It examined the radical marxist and liberal interpretations of "race" and racism and discussed the concept of invisibility which provides the framework for the study. To set the scene for a socio-geographical study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, Chapter 2 discusses the methodological procedures followed in undertaking the research. It describes the methods of data collection utilised for both the historical aspects and the contemporary study, and discusses the questionnaire, response rate and biases.

Chapter 3 provides an account of the historical African/Caribbean presence beginning with their presence at the Scottish royal court of James IV and later as servants of the Scottish aristocracy. The chapter provides original evidence of African slaves in Scotland during the period of slavery in the 18th century and discusses their resistance to slavery, their sale and their baptism and some aspects of their social and demographic

characteristics. The chapter argues that Scotland and the Scottish people have had a long historical contact with Africa and African people.

Chapter 4 examines the historical development of racism by Scots against African/ Caribbean people in and outwith Scotland. The chapter shows that ideas of racial inferiority/superiority were developed and reproduced by influential Scots from the eighteenth century. The chapter examines the continuity and change of these ideas over time and place and their specific reference to African people. The argument developed is that although Scots were involved in the development and reproduction of racism against African people the knowledge of this is ignored, and has become invisible.

Chapters 5 to 8 bring to the fore the contemporary Africa/Caribbean presence. Chapter 5 provides an account of this contemporary presence by first discussing development of the community in the early 20th century with the presence of seamen, students and permanent residents. The chapter goes on to examine the composition of the various groups which make up the present day African/Caribbean community, and analyses their reasons for being in Scotland. An examination is made of the demographic and social characteristics of the contemporary presence and reasons for its invisibility in Scottish society are ascertained.

Chapter 6 explores the social and cultural life of African/Caribbeans, examining aspects of cultural expressions such as music, dance, food, hairstyles and discussing their symbolic significance. It assesses ways in which some aspects of African/ Caribbean socio-cultural life aid their interaction with the wider Scottish society at the same time provide them with a separate cultural identity. It discusses and analyses the African/Caribbean relationship with the wider Scottish society, examining how old ideas of "race" and cultural inferiority still inform relationships.

Chapter 7 describes the racism experienced by African/Caribbeans in contemporary Scottish society showing how ideas of "race" developed by Scots from as long ago as the 18th century still affect African/Caribbean people living in Scotland now. It examines verbal and physical abuse, racism in employment and housing as well as some covert forms of racism not generally acknowledged in discourse on racism. By its very nature the chapter challenges the prevalent belief that racism does not exist in Scotland and produces evidence from the African/Caribbean perspective that racism indeed exists in Scotland.

Chapter 8 provides the research conclusion, theoretical implications, policy recommendations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the methodological procedures by which the study was undertaken. Figure 2.1 provides a diagrammatic summary of the research methods. This study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland draws on the humanistic philosophies whose methodologies encompass a variety of techniques for data gathering. A range of qualitative and quantitative techniques is used to explore the history and geography of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, and this chapter describes and justifies them in turn. The thesis on the African/Caribbean presence has three broad areas as stated in Chapter 1, the African presence in the past, the contemporary African/Caribbean community and the reaction of Scots to African/Caribbean. Each part of the thesis employs research techniques which complement and support the others. First, I describe the methods used to establish the historical background to the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. Next I discuss the oral- ethnographic methods used to examine the experiences of African/Caribbean residents in Scotland today. Finally there is a description of a questionnaire (and its associated problems) used to derive information for the contemporary period.

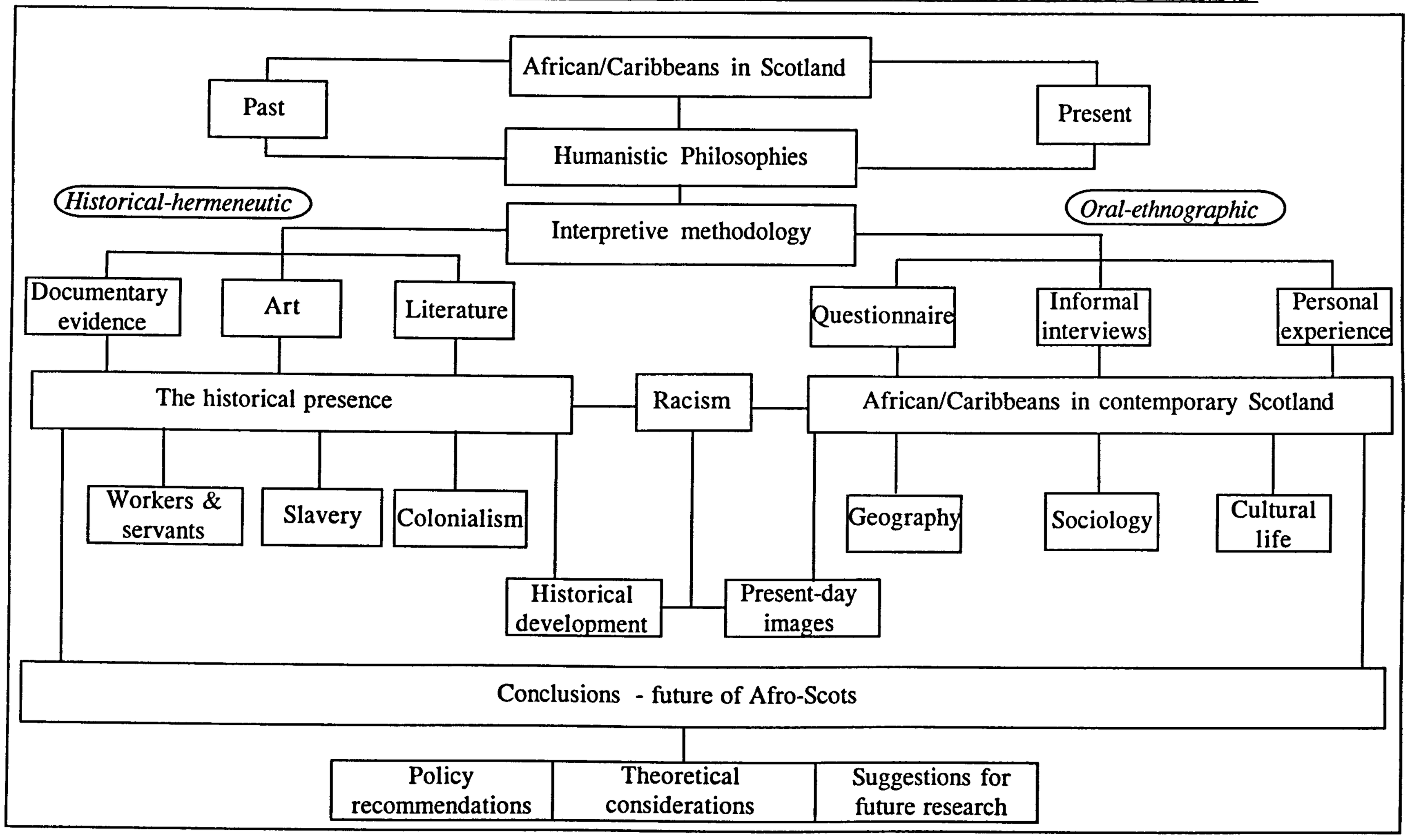
2.2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

2.2.1. THE HISTORICAL PRESENCE

The historical aspect of the thesis is based mainly on documentary analysis in the interpretive tradition (Jackson and Smith 1984; Robson 1993) using both primary and secondary sources (Moser and Kalton 1971; Kane 1984; Bell 1987; Robson 1993; Parson and Knight 1995). Written evidence includes 16th century court records, newspapers, biographies, books and journals. The historical presence is difficult to put together for although information is available, it is very fragmentary and requires painstaking research to assemble a coherent narrative. Typically information is found in footnotes by writers who came across a reference to an African individual and were themselves astonished by the information.

Several methods were adopted to obtain information. The first was to ask readers in libraries if they knew of any such footnotes or references to 'Africans in Scotland' in books. Part-time library employment in Edinburgh City Libraries, both at Leith and Central libraries, enabled me to identify readers who had an interest in African and Scottish history and I polled them informally to find if they knew of any references to Africans in Scotland. Most of my informants were white. This technique which, for

Figure 2.1 A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND



want of a better phrase, I will call the "word of mouth technique" was useful in getting started. Many individuals knew of this African past but since the reservoir of knowledge was fragmentary, thought the information that they were providing was an isolated phenomenon. This method proved valuable and produced descriptions of the African presence in literature, art and biographies. It was, in a way, the most valuable technique for it provided the evidence that historical information was available.

The second method was to undertake a documentary and archival research and the analysis of data (Best 1980; Howard and Sharp 1983; Kane 1984; Bell 1987; Robson 1993). This included examination of manuscripts, baptismal records, precognitions, sessions papers, printed literature, portrait paintings, published diaries and newspapers. Thus to construct the historical narrative, I brought together materials from various sources including newspapers, parish registers, edited 16th Century royal court records, paintings, literary sources, Scottish court records; sessions papers and precognitions. My account of the sixteenth century, the only period for which ready information, primary and secondary, is available, is reconstructed from edited court records; the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (Balfour Paul 1901) and a literary source, a poem of Scots poet, William Dunbar (Laing 1934). I also utilised any account of secondary sources of this period (Dixon 1969; Scobie 1972; Edwards 1990; Fryer 1983). Since court records and accounts only documented expenditure, the social or cultural life of court Africans in the reign of King James IV is not known and deductions from the itemised allocations to Africans allow some speculation on life style.

For the seventeenth century I utilised evidence from paintings, accounts in diaries and baptismal registers to provide an interpretation of the African presence. This period, however, seems to be less well documented following the transfer of the court to England. Further, it seems likely that the African presence in Scotland from the Roman Times to the sixteenth century was discontinuous and confined to very small numbers of individuals and occasional small groups. The seventeenth century was perhaps transitional from this phase. By the eighteenth century, commercial and maritime linkages and social practices ensured a more substantial African presence. Thus I gleaned information from whatever sources were available. Since African servants would have been mainly in aristocratic households future research in this area could reveal useful information.

The information for the 18th century is largely derived from contemporary

newspapers and court records. Newspapers provided the best evidence of an African presence in Scotland with advertisements for absconding slaves and sales of slaves, while court records such as sessions papers provided information about bids for freedom by African slaves in Scotland.. Even though newspapers provided information about African individuals, their aim was not to document their cultural or social life or geographical presence in Scotland. Unseen and unread by slaves, newspapers were "the enemy" providing information about servants and slaves who had absconded. They were on the side of slaveowners and planters and served the interest of the merchants and slave owning classes, not the enslaved. These newspapers have now unwittingly (Marwick 1977; Robson 1993) changed roles. Today, their testimony is on the side of the African slave/servants for they now tell the world of the historical African presence in Scotland.

In order to obtain information about African people in Scotland I painstakingly scanned every newspaper issue from the 18th century that could be obtained, to find evidence of absconding slaves, or sale of slaves. Sampling of papers was not undertaken because of the infrequency of articles and the importance of individual cases to the research. This procedure was done first for the Edinburgh press as this was readily available at the Central Library, Edinburgh City Libraries and at the University of Edinburgh Library. The available Glasgow newspapers were examined at the Mitchell Library. A similar procedure was followed to obtain information on the whereabouts of African people, generally, by examining baptismal records, cemetery records, parish records and marriage records. Most of these latter records were unfruitful for if there were African people recorded it is impossible to distinguish them from Scots unless some reference was made to skin colour or to the fact that the individual was negro or African. African people who might have been recorded remain invisible because of the practice of name changing (Patterson 1983) which is discussed later in the historical, as well as in the contemporary aspects of the thesis. Data obtained from this documentary and archival research was analysed by extracting meaning from individual cases to build up a picture of the presence.

Another source of data used was published literature , both contemporary and modern. This was utilised for the period of the 18th and particularly 19th century up to the abolition of slavery in the English speaking Caribbean in 1834, which concludes this historical section. Literature included army history, legal records, reminiscences of individuals and historical accounts (Sage 1889; Lorimer 1978; Fyfe 1983) as this period of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is being researched in historical

discourse. Another approach was to glean information from researchers who came across the African presence in Scotland while studying other topics. For example, during Ian Duffield's (1986) research on Afro-Blacks in Australia he came across several individuals of African origin or descent who lived in Scotland and (in the Caribbean) were subsequently transported to Australia. Their precognitions provided valuable detailed and sometimes photographic, evidence of the life of individual Africans in Scotland (Duffield 1992).

2.2.2. RACISM IN HISTORY

I obtained data for this aspect of the thesis mainly from documentary research. I utilised both primary and secondary (printed) material, relating to two kinds of 'opinion leaders': scholars and missionaries. The views of influential Scottish writers examined such as Hume (1753), Combe (1825), Carlyle (1849, 1853), Knox (1850) were ascertained from readings of their works (see chapter 4). Since much has been written about the authors discussed in the thesis, some of these secondary sources, referenced in the chapter, were also examined. No particular procedure was followed in choosing books on missionaries since so much has been written on the subject, books were selected at random. Books written in the early 19th century were examined to obtain missionary views about African people they worked with, lived among and converted to Christianity, while contemporary books were studied for the present day analyses of past missionary work. To present a balanced view of the perpetuation of racism by Scottish missionaries, the writings of Livingstone, well known for his egalitarian views, were taken into consideration.

2.3 THE PRESENT DAY.

Investigation of the contemporary presence was conducted mainly by following the ethnographic practices used to study small African/Caribbean communities in Cardiff (Little 1947); Tyneside (Collins 1952); East London (Banton 1955); Brixton (Patterson 1965); Liverpool (Richmond 1954) and by emulating the ethnographic style developed by Ley (1974) in humanistic geography. Most of the above mentioned researchers, with the exception of Collins (1952) who was Afro-Caribbean, spoke of the need to overcome the "stranger" syndrome and to establish a rapport with the communities under study. Since the author is Afro-Caribbean and has lived in Scotland for the past fourteen years I was able in the initial stage of the research to draw on my own experience as a member of the community under study. This greatly facilitated contact with members of the community. My "insider" experience and knowledge was

also important in carrying out the research. My involvement in various organisations such as Lothian Racial Equality Council, the Pan African Women's Association, the Lothian Caribbean Association and Pan African Arts Scotland has enabled me, over the years, to develop an understanding of the issues and problems confronting ethnic minorities in general and African/Caribbeans in particular, in Scotland. Attendance at meetings of such bodies as Edinburgh District Council Race Relations sub-committee, Edinburgh District Council Ethnic Minority Consultative Forum and the Church of Scotland Group on Multicultural Education has acquainted me with the lives of African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities in Scotland. Employment as a community education worker, as well as a voluntary worker, has involved me with members of the African/ Caribbeans community and other ethnic minority groups either providing support or advice and/or organising social and cultural events. As a result I became aware of the issues and problems confronting African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities in Scotland. The experience and knowledge gained over the years provided background information and made important contributions to the construction of the questionnaire as well as to the writing of the thesis.

The first phase of the field-work was carried out by what Collins (1952) termed "ad hoc" contact, meeting and talking to African-Caribbeans on the road, in supermarkets, on buses or at social gatherings. This technique assisted in the development of the thesis and helped the author to become more acquainted with the community, in particular the long standing residents as well as the elderly, a group which is rarely noticed. The elderly, in particular, provided information about their lives in Scotland since they arrived in the 1940's and 1950's. Through these contacts I was introduced to others who possess considerable oral knowledge of the community. In-depth informal interviews similar to those carried out by Little (1947); Collins (1952) and Banton (1955) were held with various African/Caribbean individuals to obtain a picture of their lives in Scotland as well as their social interaction with individuals in the wider Scottish society. Criteria for in-depth interviews were based on position and role in the community (Johnson 1990) and included age, length of stay in Scotland, knowledge of the community, and occupations in which individuals come into contact with a significant proportion of the community. Among these occupations are hairdressing, community development, community education and voluntary work, musicians and entertainers and persons considered community leaders. Fifteen such individuals were interviewed informally to obtain information about the community while over a two year period I have talked to well over 100 individuals on the subject matter.

Adopting the approach used by Jenkinson (1985), letters were written to newspapers to contact the older generation, in particular former Belizean forestry workers, and the younger generation of Afro-Scots. Letters were written to newspapers in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Four acknowledgements were received, two Afro-Scots, one Afro-Caribbean and one white descendant of an African. All four provided different and interesting perspectives for research. The public at large was also consulted. Posters (see Appendix 5) were distributed in the Leith area as Leith was a port frequented by sailors from many countries of the world and African sailors were also part of the transient population. Fifty posters were placed in the community news section along with other community advertisements in the Leith library where I worked . One larger poster was placed in the special notice case in the library. Others were placed in shops such as 'Real foods' which sell foods from various parts of the world and are frequented by many people. This proved successful, for some individuals had gone to school with African children in the 1950's. For example, two individuals who worked with me in the library had gone to school with children of African and Afro-Caribbean seamen who were born in Leith. Through these contacts I was able to reach some of the older generation. Other readers had recollection of African men as entertainers, acrobats or boxers. Some had worked alongside Africans in Scotland in the construction industry. One old Pole, for example, stated that he taught several Africans students to play the piano in Leith. This aspect of the ethnographic research was complemented by a questionnaire survey.

2.4 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was devised to obtain an overall picture from a cross-section of people in the community. It was felt that in a pioneering study such as this, both qualitative and quantitative information about the community was needed. In addition to allowing information about the community to be quantified, a questionnaire ensured that every one answered the same questions and allowed information to be collected quickly (Bell 1987). Since no accurate total of the community existed when the questionnaire survey was undertaken it was felt that a questionnaire of a hundred or more African/Caribbean respondents would provide concrete evidence of presence. The questionnaire consisted of both open and closed questions as together they are better able to ensure accuracy and reduce bias (Moser and Kalton 1971; Nachmias and Nachmias 1981) Closed questions were used to obtain factual information such as demographic data, length of residency, place of birth, place of residency. Open ended questions were used to allow respondents to express opinions

and attitudes (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981) on issues such as racism, employment and housing which confront them on an every day basis. A few questions were included to see how much the community knew about itself. As most African/Caribbeans live in cities, the two main cities Edinburgh and Glasgow were chosen. Outlying areas (this includes Aberdeen, Dundee and other areas outwith the geographical region of Edinburgh and Glasgow) were included to give an idea of the spread of African/ Caribbean people throughout Scotland. The questions were formulated and compiled after informal discussions with a variety of people of African origin or descent, obtaining their opinions on various issues, analysing remarks made at consultation meetings for ethnic minorities or being involved in various women's group discussions.

2.4.1 QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The questionnaire was designed to be indicative rather than representative (Robson 1993) since no accurate sampling frame for African/Caribbeans in Scotland existed at the time when it was constructed. Before the 1991 census no accurate estimate of the size of the African/Caribbean population was available and the highest official estimate was around 325 (CRE 1990, SEMRU 1987). Since the African/Caribbean population size was not known before the census it was felt that a sample size of between 100 and 150 would be large enough to give a cross section of views and experience. In the end, from a total of 150 people contacted, I secured 100 completed interviews with some difficulties (these problems are discussed later). As no feasible sampling frame existed of the African/Caribbean community, this precluded any idea of taking a random sample. Thus the "snow ball "technique (Ostrander 1980; Johnson 1990; Robson 1993) of asking individuals to suggest other names recommended by two authorities in the field of research, Tom McClew, of Edinburgh University social sciences research methods course, and geographer Ceri Peach, was used. It should be noted that sampling was done before the 1991 Census results were published.

Since no comprehensive listing is readily available of the African/Caribbean population in Scotland, names of respondents were also chosen from other sources, such as community groups, telephone books, the electoral register. This method biases the sample as only African names can be picked out. Afro-Caribbeans and West Africans, with Scottish or English names are not identifiable from these lists. As African and Afro-Caribbeans form a fairly integrated network it was possible to select Africans through these lists and ask those contacted to suggest names of Afro-Caribbean acquaintances. This method was used sparingly but the telephone directory proved

useful in obtaining correct addresses. As there is a significant Afro-Caribbean presence in Scotland (and the author is Afro-Caribbean)someAfro-Caribbeans were asked to provide two or three names of others. The same was done for Africans and Afro-Scots. This use of informal networks (Johnson 1990) with Africans as well as Afro-Caribbeans proved to be the most beneficial for individuals were more willing to fill questionnaires when introduced by a friend or an acquaintance. Informal networking helped to build up contacts by individuals recommending two or three names of people they knew or were acquainted with.

2.4.2 QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTRATION AND PROBLEMS

The questionnaire was tested on 10 individuals to check for wording, timing and irrelevant questions (Hoinville et al., 1985, 1989; Howard and Sharp 1987; Bell 1987). Questions which were ambiguous or repetitive were removed. The original intention was to meet all respondents individually and write the answers down. This procedure was done for the pilot survey (Moser and Kalton 1971; Howard and Sharp 1983; Kane 1984; Bell 1987) and it was found to be very interesting as respondents took the opportunity to talk about their life in Scotland and to reminisce. It was a workable technique but one of its disadvantages is its time consuming nature as respondents did not answer 'no' or 'yes' or stick to what was being asked but went on to elaborate, talking about their general experiences in Scotland which a 'yes' or 'no' answer could not bring out. Most people seem to want to recount their life experiences in Scotland in the traditional ' griot' style of Africa and the African diaspora, without particularly wanting to answer structured questions. For some it was the first time that they were describing their presence in Scotland. This was valuable oral history and produced much information about the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland.

Meeting all respondents had to be abandoned because of personal circumstances and a postal questionnaire was considered. Having come from a background of oral tradition I was apprehensive about this. The professionals and the educated in the community might be interested in this form of exercise but the working class and the unskilled find this laborious especially if they work long, irregular and unsociable hours and have young children. Individuals in this group will give you their views in passing. Thus the anthropological tradition of meeting and chatting with individuals in an informal way is as beneficial as in remote tribal societies and is one of the better ways of studying the community as it provides information from those who are not prepared, because of time and other factors, to complete elaborate paper work. However, a questionnaire survey does reach a wider cross-section of the community (Hoinville et

al., 1985: Bell 1987) and results can be quantified. Even though some form of a questionnaire is necessary, as was done with my research, its main use as stated above was as a guide, for it soon became evident that in the African/Caribbean community (or possibly any other ethnic minority community) it is the spoken rather than the written word, which communicates the real feelings of the subject under study. Few individuals were happy stating all their true feelings in writing.

Those whom I had interviewed personally did not seem to mind answering questions on racism and their social interaction with whites although some hesitated considerably. A batch of 20 questionnaire was sent out to test responses. Within three or four days four completed questionnaires were returned. The four respondents consisted of 2 accountants, 1 development worker and a medical doctor, all female, all from the educated middle class. This was to be a regular feature. The old (one female respondent whom I phoned said that her memory is failing her), the less educated, and women with young children took a very long time to answer and reminders had to be sent before the questionnaire was returned.

Of the 20 sent, only 4 did not arrive back by the end of the two weeks allocated. Several respondents took the time to write a covering note with the returned questionnaire. Others to whom I sent questionnaires were less receptive. One individual returned the questionnaire with huge red lines drawn over the envelope and 'not at home ' written on the envelope. Enquiries made concerning this returned unanswered questionnaire showed that the person was once a refugee who had to escape for his life from his country of birth and who still feels someone is out to get him after living in Scotland for several years. This might have accounted for his reluctance. Even with reminder letters some refused to respond. Those who seemed reluctant to send back mainly came from African countries which still experience political or sometimes tribal conflicts particularly Ugandans, Sudanese and Zimbabweans. People who came as refugees or eventually assumed refugee status seemed not to want to be involved in any kind of written survey. Coming from countries with tribal, political or religious killings seems to temper acceptance of the situation in Scotland, particularly in relation to racism, whether verbal or physical, or discrimination in employment. (Problems of questionnaire administration are further discussed in Appendix 4)

2.4.3. RESPONSE RATE

After 100 questionnaires were returned with great difficulties obtaining the last

twenty it was decided to use this as the sample size. One hundred may seem an over-convenient number, but if a few replies more or less are taken, the percentage results are either rounded or quoted to two or three places of decimals giving a totally spurious impression of precision. There appeared to have been a marked difference in the response rate between Edinburgh and Glasgow. For Edinburgh the return rate was approximately 66 percent for Glasgow it was 50 percent. Questionnaire from Glasgow on the whole took longer than the two weeks given to be returned and more reminder letters had to be sent. Some individuals whom I phoned made all kinds of excuses in order not to fill the questionnaire. The assistance of an African local government official from Glasgow was enlisted but even though he was well known, respondents did not fill in the forms. Discussions with contacts suggest that reluctance to fill the questionnaire may be related to social class. Edinburgh seems to contain more of the professional African/Caribbean middle class, while Glasgow being an industrial city, seems to have more African/Caribbean working class individuals who lacked enthusiasm, or the time to answer questionnaires.

2.4.4 BIASES

Certain biases in the response can be pinpointed. Since the names of African/Caribbean respondents were acquired from other respondents, it is likely that respondents would have given names of people of similar standing (Ostrander 1980) hence the possible bias towards white collared African/Caribbeans. It must be pointed out, however, that the African/Caribbean community is small enough for members to be aware of each other's standing by sight, hearsay, gossip or personal knowledge.

A postal questionnaire meant that only a certain type of respondents was likely to reply. The old, some of whom I met and gave questionnaires to did not reply. Other categories of African/Caribbeans, in particular those with refugee status were reluctant to reply possibly for reasons stated earlier. The questionnaire sample shows a deficit of Afro-Scots when compared with the 1991 census figures which shows a 40% 'black other'. ("Black other" includes, for example Melanesians and others who are not African/Caribbeans). Furthermore the survey did not look at anyone under 25 years as relatively matured views of the community were sought and a large proportion of African/Caribbeans are under that age. From my personal knowledge of the community many Afro-Scots appear to be isolated and not aware of other Afro-Scots. A measure of this was also evident when I asked Afro-Scots who were sampled to suggest names of others. Not one was able to give names of other Afro-Scots.

To reduce the bias in favour of middle class African/Caribbeans, informal discussions were held with a number of African/Caribbeans who would be termed working class. From personal knowledge of the community it is known that older African/Caribbeans generally tend to be skilled working class. The younger generation, especially the children of Belizean forestry workers seem not to have done well academically, and few seem to be professionals. However, many from this group tend to be part of white Scottish community. In Edinburgh it was possible to use informal discussions or interviews to correct any bias in the sample caused by reluctance of both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans or the less educated to fill in the questionnaire. However, it was difficult to apply a similar corrective technique to the Glasgow respondents and responses here may be biased towards literate African/Caribbeans.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the methods used to undertake the research. It examined and discussed the techniques which included documentary and archival analysis, questionnaire survey, informal interviews and personal experience. Since the study is the first attempt to document the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland the study is wide ranging and draws on a variety of techniques. This was necessary to set the African/Caribbean community into its social and geographical context and concerned with the community as a whole and not with one facet of its existence, for example racism. By employing the humanistic philosophy and adopting its eclectic methodology in which techniques can be used selectively and appropriately I have constructed a picture of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. Finally as African/Caribbean undertaking research on African/Caribbeans I have tried to view the study as objectively as possible.

CHAPTER 3 - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: THE AFRICAN PRESENCE IN SCOTLAND.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Fryer's bold opening statement that "there were Africans in Britain before the English..." (Fryer 1983:1) jolts the imagination. It may produce disbelief or downright rejection, depending on the reader's ideological persuasion. The statement shows how much more research needs to be undertaken on the African presence in the British Isles not just in Scotland.

The overall aim of this chapter is to make visible the largely ignored historical African/ Caribbean presence in Scotland. It achieves this by examining the historical contact of African people with Scotland and the Scottish people. First, a critique is made of the dominant histories of Scotland to show how they have contributed to making the African presence invisible. Second, the chapter examines the broad historical context which resulted in the historical migration of African people to Scotland. Thirdly, the longstanding historical African presence is examined starting with Africans as royal servants in 16th century Scotland and their presence after the union of the crowns. Finally, the chapter examines the nature and extent of the African presence between 1700 and 1834. The argument of the chapter is that Scotland and the Scottish people have had more historical contact with African people than is generally realised. Evidence is provided to support the argument and an attempt to explain why African people are so often excluded from Scottish history is made.

3.2 THE EXISTING HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

The literature review (Chapter 1) has shown that the 'African presence' is treated sketchily in the general histories of Britain. To ascertain if this exclusion also applied to Scotland an examination is made of a representative range of the conventional histories of Scotland.

Secondary sources on the historiography of the African presence in Britain as mentioned in Chapter 1 make brief reference to the African presence in Scotland while tending to concentrate overwhelmingly on the English experience. Thus to reconstruct an historiography of the African presence in Scotland is a difficult task, for sources to provide a guide hardly exist. The scant attention paid to, or omission of, the Scottish dimension by notable authorities in the field make credible the impression that Africans were not in Scotland other than in the 16th century and from the mid 19th century.

However, the limited suggestions in some secondary sources such as *Chambers Traditions of Edinburgh* and *Wilsons Memorials of Edinburgh* provide hints, albeit inadequate, of an historical presence, particularly in the 18th century.

Working then with the assumption that the same processes which took place in England, during the slave trade era in particular, also occurred in Scotland, conventional histories of Scotland were examined for the period 1500-1800. Indexes were searched for 'African, black, blak, black-a-moor, servants, slaves, negroes'. The word slave in particular was often missing. Under 'Servant' , a few books said 'see slaves'. Typically such histories as Smout (1969) *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, Pryde (1962) *Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day*, seem to be unaware of an African presence, particularly in 18th century Scotland when the African presence in England (Edwards and Walvin 1983; Fryer 1984) and throughout Europe (Debrunner 1979) seemed to have reached its first peak.

Certainly this phenomenon did not escape Scotland. Histories dealt with tobacco Lords or sugar Barons (Devine 1975; McGeorge 1976; Daiches 1977) but overlooked or neglected the African slaves and servants who were brought to Scotland to provide embellishments for wealthy planters. Even Plant (1952) *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth century* seemed unaware of the African presence. Plant spoke of a shortage of servants in 18th century Scotland and the need to obtain servants from England. She makes no mention of African servant/slaves who seem to have been common in 18th century Scotland with the aristocracy and gentry. Plant, under 'Servants and Retainers', makes reference to Dr Johnson's tour of the Hebrides (p.162) but fails to mention Lord Monboddo's African servant, Gory, whom Boswell described in detail.

Eyre-Todd (1934 :372) *History of Glasgow* has 'slave - speculation in' in the index. However, the author was not concerned with slaves *per se* in Scotland. The page dealt with "the greatest failure Glasgow had ever known" when "the great West India House of Alexander Houston & Company came down". This failure or disaster as it was known was caused "by an immense speculation in the purchase of slaves in anticipation of the passing of a bill for emancipation introduced in Parliament". Since the bill did not pass "the slaves were left on the hands of the firm" (p.372) with the firm losing considerably as the price of the slaves fell and many died of diseases. Upkeep of the slaves also worsened the firm's financial problems.

Mention is also made by Eyre-Todd (1934:32) of the Darien Expedition and the involvement of two vessels, the*Content* and the *Speedy Return*, belonging to the "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies" disposing of their goods and partaking of "some business in the slave trade" (p.32). Thus even though authors are aware of Scotland's or Glasgow's dealing in slavery and the slave trade, they seem reluctant to go a step further to discuss it openly or to bring the slave presence home to Scotland. Authors who wrote on the North American and Caribbean connection more often than not see this episode only in economic terms, how the Scots beat the English at their game, or reluctantly, as the Scottish contribution to Empire. Lynch (1992) in the *New History of Scotland* makes no mention of 'blacks', servants or slaves in his index but fleetingly refers to the 'black lady' in the tournament for whom King James defeated all his opponents. He thinks she "was probably the lady with the meikle lippis of Dunbar's poem" (p.160). Africans do not feature in his discussion of 18th century Scotland.

Thus to reconstruct a history of the early African/Caribbean presence with the assistance of conventional Scottish histories was a daunting task as the histories emphasized Scotland's, or more particularly, Glasgow's development through the tobacco and sugar and cotton trade. Mention was seldom made of the African labour force in North America and the Caribbean who were behind the production of these commodities, much less the slaves and servants brought to Scotland from Africa and the Americas. In a rare exception, Ferguson (1968:188 -189) makes mention of "a negro slave, bought in Virginia" and the cause celebre "Spens and Joseph Knight". Even though both Spens and Knight are featured in the index under "Spens's case" and "Knight Joseph, negro slave" respectively, the cases were not discussed in their own right. Both cases were used as examples of changing public opinion in Scotland, principally as it affected colliers and serfs. Ferguson, however, came the closest to admission of an African presence by acknowledging the presence of three African slaves/servants in 18th century Scotland.

On the whole, Scottish conventional histories ignore the historical African presence in Scotland together with the related issues of slavery (see Chapter 3.) and racism (see chapter 4). The apparent reluctance on the part of Scottish writers to come to terms with the role played by Scots in the development of the British Empire and its related issues might be a contributing factor. Alexander Dewar Gibbs (1937) *Scottish Empire* urged Scots to be proud of the part played by them in the British Empire. The need to acknowledge Scotland's past in Empire building was restated in *The Scotsman*

(Friday 6 November 1992). This forgotten history was resucitated by the National Library of Scotland exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1982 with its associated publication *Scotland and Africa* . In addition to acknowledging the historical contact between Scotland and Africa, the publication also acknowledged an historical African presence in Scotland as well as the part played by Scots in the emergence of racism. Smout's (1969) preface to *A History of The Scottish People*, expressed dismay about writing a Social History of Scotland because of "the large areas of almost totally unresearched ground lying within the subject" and because "so little Scottish secondary work is available to draw upon". This might indicate one reason for Africans not featuring in the history of Scotland; a lack of research and general disbelief that Africans were in Scotland rather than a conscious effort to play down the historical African presence. If this was true, as recently as 1969, of Scottish Social History generally, it is hardly surprising that the Social History of Africans in Scotland has emerged even more belatedly and sketchily.

General histories of the African presence in Britain also treat scantily the African presence in Scotland. As is customary, most authors begin discussing the African presence in Britain with reference to their being at the Scottish Royal court, then nothing more is said about Africans in Scotland until about the nineteenth century. Others such as Edwards and Walvin (1983) in *Black Personalities in the era of the Slave Trade* and Scobie (1972) in *Black Britannia* take an African presence back to Roman times. Scobie takes the African presence further back to "Ancient times" quoting from the work of Scottish archaeologist David McRitchie (1884). Much doubt has been expressed on this source. Edwards (1990), too, in his inaugural lecture 'The Early African Presence in The British Isles' refers to the early contact between Scotland and Africa. Generally, most writers on the African presence in Britain concentrated their research on England and only make reference to Scotland when sources or information were readily available and certain facts had been established and accepted by academia. Walvin (1973) in *Black and White* sums it up "although I sometimes write of Britain my prime concern is England (p.xiii)". Although writers on the African presence in Britain are conscious that slavery existed in Scotland as a result of the prominent Scottish legal cases of slaves/servants Spens, Jamie (Sheddan vs Sheddan) and Joseph Knight (Knights vs Wedderburn) (see below), none seemed to have been willing to research beyond this aspect to make the African presence in Britain seem not solely an English experience.

The Anglocentric tendencies of many writers contribute immensely to the invisibility

of African/Caribbeans in British historiography. Even some historical writers of African origin and descent, such as Shyllon (a Nigerian) and Scobie (an Afro-Caribbean), seem to exhibit what Duffield (1992) in *Identity, Community and the lived Experience of Black Scots from the late 18th to the Mid-nineteenth centuries*, refers to as "that characteristics of the ideology of English nationalism equating Britain with England" (p. 1 footnote). Both writers failed to examine the Scottish dimension, though mention was made of it. Thus apart from the court cases, (below), and individuals such as Spens (Fryer 1983) Robert Nameroa, Christian Sanderson and William Green (Duffield 1991: 16-28), who emerge from time to time, the African presence in Scotland remains invisible in the histories of Scotland and negligible in the general histories of the African presence in Britain.

Even though some writers refer to the African presence in Scotland in passing or to highlight a point, the information is fragmented. Thus there is the need at the moment to collate those scattered but important pieces of information which are so far available. All too often, writers seem to want to bring out some unique piece of information which they have discovered with the reluctance to note and build on existing material discovered by previous writers. This accounts for the fragmented information of the presence. The chapter made use of this already existing information, together with the new discoveries to reconstruct a presence.

3.2.1 SUMMARY

The African presence in Scotland possibly followed the same pattern as Africans in England but "the consensus that Afro-Blacks were more or less non-existent in Britain from the mid 1830's through to the mid-nineteenth century" (Duffield 1991:2) holds true for Scotland too. It is difficult to get many Scots to believe that there were African slaves in Scotland during the eighteenth century when numbers reached their zenith, much less for them to believe that there was some continuity, however small, of the African presence in Scotland from the 16th century to the twentieth century.

The "died out" argument has been used when examining the African presence in Britain during the period of time where available evidence is scant or decreasing to non-existent. Peter Fryer (1983) argues for a continuity of African people on English soil if only in reduced numbers. The same possibly holds true for Scotland. Duffield (1981) urges more research to be done on "black local history" (p.36) to fill the chronological gaps. Even though lack of quantitative evidence presents a difficulty, interpretation can be made from scattered individuals who appear over time and space. The omission or

exclusion by conventional histories of Scotland of the 'African presence' further perpetuates their invisibility in Scottish society. The following section now examines how this historical presence might have come about by examining the broad historical context.

3.3 THE BROAD HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

This section places the historical African/Caribbean presence in context by examining events which led to the arrival of African/Caribbean people in Scotland. It puts forward possible explanations of the development of the African presence in Scotland while bringing out evidence aimed at rendering the "invisible" visible. It argues that Scotland's "auld alliance" with France and close ties with Europe as well as the part Scotland played in the British colonies and colonial-metropolitan shipping and trade were responsible for the development of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland.

3.3.2 AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND - THE BROAD HISTORICAL CONTEXT.

Before the Union of the Crowns between Scotland and England (Galloway 1986), Scotland looked to Europe, in particularly to France, with which it had the 'auld alliance'. Trade was conducted more with the Low Countries, the Bordeaux region and the Baltic than with England and court social life in Scotland was influenced by what took place in Europe. It is this historical and social connection which possibly resulted in the African presence in 16th century Scotland. Written evidence available at the moment does not indicate how early Africans came to Scotland. However, it is generally assumed that they came via Europe (in particularly Portugal) where it was the fashion and status symbol to have Africans as household servants. Edwards (1990) suggested that Africans might have come from Portuguese ships captured by Scottish privateers as evidenced by the known cases of the two African women who arrived in Leith in 1506 and were presented as gifts to King James IV (*The Scotsman* 20 August 1938) after being rescued at sea by the Barton Brothers (Fryer 1983). It could also be suggested that some Africans came on their own. Some Africans would have known their worth, however limited, in Europe where they had lived since the sixth century as slaves, soldiers and freedmen (McCloy 1961: 11). Africans were not newcomers to Europe for they had been imported since the 14th century as bondsmen to develop the "rural lands of Southern Portugal" (Shyllon 1974:1). By the sixteenth century, when it is documented that Africans first arrived in Scotland, the African population "outnumbered whites in Lisbon" (Shyllon 1974:2).

Thus it is possible that some Africans came of their own accord to Scotland as not all Africans in Europe were slaves. For example, Juan de Valladolid received a letter from the monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand, nominating him to the office of "mayor of the Blacks" (Shyllon 1974:2). Africans were status symbols with European royalty and nobility and provided a brand of exotic appeal which is still evident today when African cultural shows come to Scotland. The freedom of Africans seemed not to have been restricted as evidenced by Peter the Moor (Petir the Moryen) who was given five French crowns at the request of King James IV of Scotland for his journey to France (ALHTS II:106). The most likely reason , however, for Africans being in Scotland is they were brought as servants for or by royalty and the aristocracy.

The exploitation of African slavery in the Caribbean and the Americas ushered in a period of economic prosperity for the many countries involved as the profit from commerce in the production of cotton, tobacco and sugar filled the coffers of the merchant classes. That Act of Union of 1707, a formal constitutional and political unification, enabled Scotland to participate once again in the commercial freedom (Donaldson 1966) that it enjoyed under Cromwell's regime. The treaty annulled the English Navigation Acts, which after the Restoration of Charles II, curtailed Scotland's trading links with English colonies up to tha Act of Union. Such trading as occurred in this period was strictly contraband.

Scots became associated with slavery in one form or another, in other parts of Britain and Europe. The Union also led to the migration of many Scots to Liverpool, which became the greatest "slave trading port in the Old World" (Williams 1964:34). It was the economic prosperity of Liverpool which drew the Scots there. This prosperity was based on the African slave trade and slave produced commodities, such as sugar, rum and molasses and by the later eighteen century, cotton. As with all economic migrants, remittances were sent home. Even though there is no quantifiable data available it can be assumed that prosperous Scots in Liverpool would have sent back remittances to families and relatives in Scotland, benefiting Scotland indirectly.

The Gladstones from Leith who migrated to Liverpool (Cage 1985) made a fortune during slavery. One son, William Ewart Gladstone, eventually became Prime Minister and it was this Gladstone who was rudely reminded by opponents while running for the Parliamentary seat of Newark that his father's fortune came "from the blood of black slaves" (Williams 1964:90). Another Scot who had migrated to England and

settled in Bristol was William Patterson (Anderson 1863: Cage 1985). Patterson made a fortune from the West India trade and it was he, with capital at his disposal, who founded the Bank of England. He was also the mastermind behind the failed Darien Scheme, Scotland's attempt to found her own colony in the Caribbean.

Scotland and the Scottish people continue to benefit from slavery through various economic activities at home and on the continent. At home the clothing industry in Dundee began to "make clothing for slaves in America and the West Indies" (Mathieson 1910: 266) " as loosely-woven linen clothing for the negroes in the American plantation was another fast selling product" (Gauldie 1969:xvii). In Europe, "Scottish ships were the sole carriers, in the mid 18th century, of Swedish herring from Gothenburg to Ireland for shipping onwards to victual slaves in the West Indies". (Britta Grage 1986:116).

Scotland's links with Europe as well as its participation in slavery in the New World caused African people to be in Scotland as later examples will show. The repeal of the Navigation Acts led to Scots becoming a force to reckon with both in North America and the West Indies. Scottish merchants, in particular Glasgow merchants, established a flourishing trade with America with Scots dominating the clerical and lower managerial jobs.Scots' tenacious spirit and hard work led them to capture the tobacco trade. As Devine (1984) in his introduction to *Scottish Firms in Virginia* remarked "the rise of the Scottish tobacco trade to the American colonies of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina is one of the great success stories of Scottish Economic History" (p.ix). The establishment of Scottish tobacco firms in America and the reliance on Scottish managerial and overseer staff brought many Scots face to face with Africans (or African-Americans). Manual labour on tobacco estates was mainly African, the African was last and least in the hierarchical order. The Scottish firm of William Cunningham, based in Virginia in 1773 brings out the relationship of Scots overseas with Africans. An inventory for the year 1773 showed how African labour was employed. Africans also worked in the homes, in the fields and manning of ships as indicated below.

Five	- Cuffy, Martin, Lucy, and two of her children, Patty, and Sarah - Houseservants.
One	- Jonathan - stowing ships
One	- Phil a carpenter, extremely useful on many occasions. Employed at Culpepper, building a stable and when wehave no employment for him he can be readily hired out at 50s per month.

Four - Adam, Jack, Frame and Jack - sloop Lark.
Three - Primus, James, Mark and a white servant - a schooner.
(Devine 1984: 133)

The report further stated "that Lucy and her children are a family of negroes purchased by Mr Alexander Cunningham. The children have since grown up and I propose to sell one of them when an opportunity offers" (Devine 1984:134). Both the person who bought the family, Alexander Cunningham, and the person proposing to sell them, Mr Robinson, were Scots. Scots were as much participants in owning, buying and selling slave property as the English, French, Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese. Thus, Scots bought and sold Africans just like anyone else involved in slavery and speculated on them as merchandise or livestock. On the whole, African people were regarded as stock, not as being inferior to whites (see Chapter 4) but also described in the same terms of reference as animals. Examples from Devine include "a negro boy is as much as is necessary about the store but two horses are as far as can be done with" and "a riding horse and furniture have been sold, as well as the waggon and horses except one with the negro driver" (Devine 1984:134). However, in a contradiction of great utility to slave owners, Africans slaves were answerable to and punishable by their masters for their inaction, while a horse was not in this respect considered a rational being.

It was the tobacco industry which established the lower Clyde as a major port area in Britain. Devine argues that "the Clyde ports of Greenock, Port Glasgow and Glasgow imported as much colonial leaf as London and the English outports combined" (Devine 1984: ix). Scotland and Scots benefited from this economic activity. The Scottish involvement with the tobacco trade of North America and the sugar trade of the West Indies, in particular, brought Scots into closer contact with African people. Both the tobacco industry of North America and the sugar industry of the Caribbean were based on the slave mode of production. Although Scotland, once bereft of statehood, did not play a sovereign role in the West Indies, its people certainly had a large stake in the region, at one level or another. In the Caribbean "were Scotsmen whose rank included governor, customs collectors, doctors, merchants, artisans, bookkeepers" (Sheridan 1970:105). Scots also formed an important element of the population on the island of Jamaica which "in the eighteen century was England's most important asset in the Caribbean" (Turner 1982:1) . This fact is substantiated by the most effective proponent of 18th century plantocratic racism, Edward Long. Long noted that the island "is greatly indebted to North Britain as very near one third of the [white] inhabitants are either natives of that country, or descendants from those that were" (Turner 1982:22).

Many of these Scottish immigrants and workers in the Caribbean became involved

with slavery in one form or another. The uncle of the chief architect of the 1801 Slave Rebellion Act, James Stephen, who started out in St. Kitts as a slave surgeon, made a fortune by buying "refuse negroes" (Africans who were ill or in such bad shape that dealers would not buy them) at "Guinea yard sales". He then gave them medical treatment and resold them at "a large profit" (Davis 1984:170-1). As a young man Stephen benefited from this fortune after his brother inherited the estate but he later became a staunch anti-slavery campaigner after experiencing the horrors of slavery while living in the Caribbean. Another Scottish doctor, Walter Tullidelp, (Sheridan 1971) retired to Scotland after making a fortune in Antigua as a merchant and planter. This practice was typical of Scots who made fortunes in the Americas or the Caribbean. However, Scots returnees did not come home to Scotland alone. Many brought with them their African servants to provide the same life style that they had become accustomed to in the colonies. Galt's fictional African servant, Sambo, brought back to Scotland by Mr Cayenne in his novel *The Annals of the Parish*, is reflective of many African servants who were brought to Scotland. Galt's character was based on the reality of eighteenth century Scotland. Earlier, Boswell in his tour of the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson described the reality and remarked "how curious it was to see an African in the North of Scotland with little or no difference in manner from those of the the native of those parts" (Pottle and Bennet 1963:57). Boswell was referring to Gory, the African servant of Lord Monboddo and further described Gory as being "quite at home" in Scotland.

Thus it is concluded that Scotland's alliances with Europe and the resulting social and cultural ties provided the framework whereby African people in Europe were brought to Scotland. The adoption of African slavery and the spread of wealth in 18th century Scotland among the mercantile, legal and landowning classes facilitated both the desire to have slave servants, as a sign of social status, and the means to be able to purchase them. This resulted in more Africans being brought to Scotland. The fashion of Scottish planters in the American colonies or in the Caribbean to bring their domestic slaves to Scotland when they returned home created an enhanced African presence as in England. These practices have all resulted in the long historical African presence, which still remains unacknowledged and invisible in contemporary Scottish society.

3.3.3 AFRICANS IN SCOTLAND FROM 1600 TO THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY

This section begins to chart the African presence in Scotland bringing to light some possible resulting aspects of Scotland's close historical relationship with Europe. First

the presence of (a) Africans at the Scottish Royal court is examined followed by (b) their employment as servants of the aristocracy in the 17th century.

3.3.4. AFRICAN AS ROYAL SERVANTS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

Written evidence of a group of Africans in Scotland (as opposed to occasional earlier individuals) dates back to the early 1500's when African men and women served at the Scottish court. It is uncertain who were the first Africans to arrive in 16th century Scotland but the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (ALHTS) show a presence of men, women and children. The two African women captured from a Portuguese ship by the Bartons of Leith in 1506 caused a sensation upon their arrival in Leith and Edinburgh (Russell 1922; *The Scotsman* 20 August 1938). The "Moorish lasses" as they were christened were presented to King James IV "who not only accepted the gift but took the greatest interest in their welfare" (Russell 1922: 205). However Buchan (1985:82) suggested that they were adopted by the Queen into her household. The two women were later converted to christianity and were baptised as Margaret and Ellen (Russsell 1922:205). Blak Margaret and Blak Helen, as the women were called, seemed to have enjoyed a remarkable life at the court, with Helen being one of Queen Margaret's attendants, the 'Quenis blak madin' (ALHTS IV:428). The women also seemed to have moved about freely in Royal society with one becoming the lady of the tournament of the black knight, with King James IV overcoming opponents to win her hand (Balfour Paul 1901: xlviii; Lynch 1992:160).

According to the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Africans were not confined to Edinburgh. They travelled with the King to places such as Dunfermline, Linlithgow, Dumfries, Hamilton and Inverkeithing. These Africans were entertainers, musician and dancers, the beginning of a cultural exchange between Scotland and African people which continues to the present day. Some Africans seemed to have come as visitors to Scotland, with expenses being paid "to Johne Knox for the expens of the More freris [African Friars] quhen tha wer heir" (ALHTS III: 139). Others, such as the Bishop of Murray's black servant ('Bischop of Murrais more') (ALHTS IV:338; Fryer 1983:4) were evidently brought as servants. Africans documented as living in 16th century Scotland seemed to have lived favoured lives, they were not slaves and they seemed to have enjoyed a life no different from their white counterparts at the royal court. The accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland show that they were paid for their work with one individual 'Petir, the More' receiving a pension (ALHTS II:432). Peter was also paid on a journey to France; "to Petir the Moryen, quhen he

passit his way in France be the Kingis command, five Franche crounis"(ALHTS II:106). The women were given presents a "fyne russet" gown to "blak Margaret" (ALHTS IV :436), and "Franche russet" gown to "Blak Elene" (ALHTS IV :434). Even the African servant of the Bishop of Murray was rewarded after he carried a present to the King (ALHTS IV:338). African men and women seemed to have been equally treated. More importantly their position in relation to other royal servants at the court seems not to have been as subordinates. To be a royal servant offered high status even to men and women of humble origin. Occasionally such reached high office as the case of the scholar, poet, playwright, herald and tutor to the young King James V, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, a man of obscure birth, illustrates.

Information about Africans in 16th century Scotland comes mainly from court records dealing with expenditure. Their day- to-day life was not documented. What Africans did collectively or as individuals in their own social life, existing information is unable to reveal. However, there was presumably some sort of social relationship for Blak Margaret, Blak Elene and Petir, the Moryen, would certainly have known each other since they were at "a cosmopolitan court" (Lynch 1992:106) with a geographical distance of one mile from castle to palace. Family life existed as there were wives and children for there is mention of a payment to the "More taubronaris [drummer] wif and his barne" (ALHTS iii : 1507) and there were several christenings. Naming a new child in African tradition is a social event as in sixteenth-century Scotland. Certainly there would have been some form of celebration.

The African ladies seem to have led a busy life judging from the many items of expenditure for gowns on their behalf. Black Helen became one of Queen Margaret's attendants indicating a social function within royal circles as is described William Dunbar's poem. Dunbar single handedly made their presence visible by immortalising one of the women in his rather jokingly racist poem *To Ane Blak More lady* (see Appendix and chapter 4) after she became the lady of the tournament of the black Knight (Dixon 1969; Edwards 1990; Lynch 1992). This tournament as a twentieth century commentator stated, was reserved for the "fairest" of the land. The winner of the tournament, who was King James IV, won her hand.

The African men at the court were musicians who seemed to have moved freely in royal circles. They travelled about with the court. Peter, the Moor, seemed to have had a special relationship with the King and as seen travelled with him (ALHTS II:442). The unnamed African drummer also travelled around. On the King's raid in Eskdale, the

African drummer, together with 'four Italien menstrales', was taken to provide entertainmen(ALHTS II:451). The African drummer also visited 'Peblis' [Peebles] (ALHTS II:458), Dumfreis [Dumfries] (ALHTS II:457), Brechin (ALHTS II: 462). Lodgings was also paid for him in Faulklands [Falkland] (ALHTS II:459). To what extent or degree these Africans mixed with the wider Scottish public evidence has not yet surfaced. However a painting dated 1904 by William Hole RSA, on display in the City Chambers of Edinburgh District Council,depicting the state entry of Mary, Queen of Scots, shows two Africans mingling with courtiers in front of the procession of Mary and Lord Darnley. Hole was clearly aware of an African presence at that period, and it is noteworthy that, contemporary with Hole's painting, Balfour Paul, editing the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (ALHTS 111:xlvi-xlvii) was denigrating the African lady of the Tournament of the Black Knight. Fryer (1983:4) notes that an African participated in the street pageant to celebrate the "birth of Henry Frederick, eldest son of James VI of Scotland (James I of England)".

The various visits of African individuals to different areas of Scotland suggests that as individuals they interacted with the Scottish society. Although they were servants attached to the royal court their travels within Scotland indicate this. The lodgings in other parts of Scotland would have been among the wider Scottish public indicating that from this early period some Scottish people would have at least known what Africans looked like. However contact with local communities would have been limited and transitory. That some interaction took place with Scottish individuals is evidenced by the woman who was responsible for taking the "more lasses from Dumfermlyne to Edinburgh" (ALHTS II:468). The African friars' visit to John Knox would also indicate interaction at a religious level.

There is no idea of how the black presence was accepted by the wider Scottish society but their presence was given royal approval. On the marriage of James VI to Anne of Denmark, Africans were still in vogue in Scotland as the celebrations for the King's marriage was showed. Anne's journey from Denmark was disrupted in Oslo and King James sailed out there to meet her. As Antonia Fraser noted "The wedding ceremony, performed then and there, was also marred by mishap: the four negroes commissioned by James to dance artistically in the snow, all subsequently perished of pneumonia" (Fraser 1974:52,53). This tragic incident indicates that not only did Africans provide their ownbrand of musical entertainment but also African dancing again indicating an historical cultural relationship between Africans and Scots which continue up to the present day. The African pageant performer at the christening of the son of James VI

is at present the last recorded African in 16th century Scotland (Fryer 1983 :4). After this nothing more seems to be known. Whether Africans disappeared altogether from Scotland or their presence was not documented is the task of future research. As the court moved to London with the Union of the Crown any remaining African royal servants presumably moved south with the King.

The presence of Africans in 16th century Scotland appears to have been part of a process occurring throughout Europe and since Scotland was closely connected with Europe they followed the fashion. This early African presence is, however, not visible for as Lewis Spence when discussing the aforementioned two African ladies "in a revelation of the curious facts and episodes of Scottish History" noted "quite a number of extra-ordinary occurrences and circumstances associated with its history" have become buried beneath the mound of popular forgetfulness" (*The Scotsman* 20 August 1938). Even Spence evidently regards all this as 'curious', not without interest but not endowed with significant meaning.

3.3.5 AFRICANS IN 17TH CENTURY SCOTLAND

With the Union of the Crowns and the transfer of the court to London comes a dearth of information about the seventeenth-century African presence. Walvin noted that:

> not least among the changes brought about by the accession of James I was the social style at the court ...Conspicuous fashionable consumption was flaunted and Negroes, as part of that fashion, became more evident at the court... The king employed a group of black minstrels while his wife Anne of Denmark used black servants.
> (Walvin 1973:9).

This suggests a possible transfer of African cultural activity and presence from the Scottish capital, Edinburgh, to the English capital London reviving the black presence at court after Queen Elizabeth I's expulsion order. The accession of James VI as James I of England resulted in Scottish aristocracy having more contact with London where Africans were more numerous as servants and entertainers. The opportunity to recruit blacks may have improved. However, there may be a lack of written evidence as papers and diaries belonging to the Scottish aristocracy, a sure source for the African/ Caribbean presence in Scotland, have not been analysed for this purpose. Since researchers on the Scottish aristocracy are looking for quite other information it is possible they have glanced over African servants in aristocratic households. Not all Scottish aristocratsmoved with the King to England many stayed at home in Scotland as the King rewarded "his Scots servants with pensions and cash rather than positions" and "required his servants to return home, resuming their positions in the Scottish Government" (Galloway 1986:17). Further some Scottish aristocrats followed the

fashion, widespread in Europe and in England, of having African servants. *Chambers Traditions of Edinburgh* provides an example of a black boy in the home of the Scottish aristocracy. The footnote states:

> that in Lady Marie Stuart's household book, referring to the early part of the seventeenth century, there is mention of
> 'ane inventorie of the gudes and geir whilk pertenit to Dame Lilias Ruthven Lady Drummond, which includes as an item the black boy and the papingoe (peacock)' in so humble an association it was thought then to place a human being who chanced to possess a dark skin
> *(Chambers Traditions of Edinburgh* 1868:69).

Marshall (1973:80) makes mention of "John Timothy the black" negro footman to Anne Duchess of Hamilton around the 1670's. The National Portrait Gallery of Scotland also possesses a few paintings of Scottish aristocrats and African servants. Anne, Duchess of Buccleugh (Plate 3-1) is seen with her young African while the 2nd Duke of Perth is seen with his. (Plate 3-2) Literary references also provide representations. Sir Walter Scott writing in *Old Mortality* describes six negro musicians in the Life Guard in the 1680's. Scott noted that the "sable functionaries acted as trumpeters, and ... made the castle and the woods around it ring with summons" (Scott 1897:137). Scott seemed to have been well aware that it was common place for smart regiments to have African bandsmen, a practice still extant in his day. Scott may well have invented these bandsmen to provide colour but equally he may have drawn on a source of information.

These examples are indicative of the presence of African individuals in 17th century Scotland but their presence seems to have been sparse compared to their numbers in England and some parts of Mediterranean Europe during this period. The 17th century witnessed an increase in the number of African pages, butlers and laundry maids in England (Fryer 1983:15). Many were slaves brought over from the Caribbean, as England had already entered the slave trade and acquired slave plantations. The fashion was probably the same in Scotland as this baptismal notice of 1686 suggests,

> Parish of Canongate 30 September 1686. The same day year was baptised a Blackmore servant of My Lord Duke of Queensberry, named John, who being about 19 years of age, made public profession of the Christian faith and solemnly engaged to live according to it. Witnesses ye whole session of the Abbey church (cited in Scobie 1972:39)

Lady Stair has also been documented as being "the first person in Edinburgh of her time to keep a black domestic servant" (*Chambers Tradition of Edinburgh* 1868:69).

17th century Scotland also had many links with Europe with Scots travelling to the continent for work (Bieganska 1986:), education (Durkan 1986:27) and war (Dukes 1986; Bieganska 1986; Marshall 1973). In view of this, it is likely that Scottish aristocracy were participants in a common European culture. Hence the possession of African servants. Documentary evidence of the African presence in 17th century Scotland seems to be minimal but surviving examples show that Africans were around in Scotland after the Union of the Crowns. They appeared not to have 'died out' (the customary reason given when examples of Africans in early Britain are difficult to find) nor does it seem that all migrated to England.

Future research specifically focussed on this era should bring out some interesting results as the examples noted above have shown. However the challenge that Duffield (1986) has put out to "many white historians (if not of slavery and the slave trade), who go curiously shortsighted when confronted with Blacks in history" (p.31) should also be extended to research on the African presence in Scotland.

It is contended however, that the African presence during the 17th century in Scotland might well have been on a small scale, limited mainly to aristocrats, who chose to remain in Scotland after the transferral of the court to England. It is unlikely that the wider Scottish populace would have been indulging in the fashion of having African servants as this brand of 'conspicuous consumption' seemed to have gone together with prestige and/or wealth.

Seventeenth century Scotland seemed not to have lent itself to the generation of much wealth. The period was characterised by political instability combined with social disorder and religious persecutions. Life was fraught with difficulties, while Scots were being transported to the far corners of the globe as indentured servants (Donaldson 1966; Beckles 1989). The restoration of Charles II added to the difficulties as the Scots were once again denied commercial freedom as English Navigation Acts closed the colonies to English Merchants (Cunnison and Gilfillan 1958: 98). The inability of Scots to partake in New World trade led to the setting up of the Darien Company of Scotland in what is now Panama in Central America. The Company failed with catastrophic losses for Scotland and the Scottish people who had invested whole heartedly in the venture. Had the company succeeded though it is worth speculating as to what the role of the Scots in African slavery in the Caribbean might have been and the extent of the Africanpresence in Scotland during this period.



Plate 3-1 Anne, Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch, with an African servant

(in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry Kt)



Plate 3-2 The 2nd Duke of Perth and an African servant

With hindsight, the failure of the Darien company was probably a blessing in disguise for people of African origin or descent, many of whom unknowingly escaped enslavement. Had the settlement succeeded there would have been the need by Scots to use slave labour, for Europe believed, to quote King Louis XIV of France in 1670, that "there is nothing which contributes more to the development of the colonies and the cultivation of their soils than the laborious toil of negroes" (Williams 1970:136; Walvin 1971:8). The failure of the company meant that fewer Africans arrived in Scotland as the wealth necessary to afford this form of servitude was absent. Thus it would only have been the aristocratic classes who would have been able to indulge in the fashion of having African servants in Scotland . This, too, might have been limited for the conditions did not exist for the importation of African servants or slaves on a grand scale. It is the participation of Scots in New World economic activities and the development of the 'nouveau riche' planters and merchants, which brought Scotland and its people into closer contact with African people and later resulted in the 18th century presence of African people in Scotland. However, the transfer of the Scottish royal court to London removed a valuable source of information and assisted in rendering the African/Caribbean presence invisible for the succeeding period. I now go on to examine a period of visibility for African/Caribbean people in Scotland which still remains largely ignored in twentieth century Scotland.

3.4 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE AFRICAN PRESENCE IN SCOTLAND 1700-1834

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section presents evidence of the historical African presence in Scotland which by its very nature challenges the view that African/Caribbeans are recent arrivals in Scotland. The case for African slavery in 18th century Scotland is examined and it is argued that slavery in Scotland differed little from slavery in England. Utilising original newspaper accounts of runaway slaves, sales of slaves in Scotland, and baptismal records, an examination is made of the presence.

First absconding slave data is interrogated to derive maximum meaning. Second, data for African slaves sold in Scotland is then examined. The study then looks at baptism, the third source area for an African presence in Scotland. Finally an attempt is made to construct an historical profile of Africans in Scotland by examining their demographic characteristics, their social position in Scottish society, their occupations and

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their skills.

3.4.2 AFRICAN SLAVES IN 18TH CENTURY SCOTLAND

Slavery dominated the African presence in Scotland in the eighteenth century. This fact is not widely acknowledged. However, as Tattersfield (1991) in *The Forgotten Trade,* explains

> it should not be imagined that interest in the slave trade stopped dead at the border with Scotland, or failed to survive crossing the Irish Sea. Both Scotland and Ireland sought to share in the imagined riches generated by the trade and both countries pursued an energetic trade with the Guinea coast throughout the eighteen century.
> (Tattersfield 1991: 348).

Tattersfield further noted that "Glasgow was well established in the slave trade. Between August 1717 and December 1719 no fewer that three vessels from that port, the *George*, *Hanover*, and *Loyalty* were trading off Africa for a total of more than 400 slaves whose destination was Barbados". (Tattersfield 1991:349). This is conclusive evidence that Scotland was directly involved in the slave trade. However, whether these early eighteenth-century ventures were sustained or even extended remains unclear.

These two advertisements appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the early 18th century.

> These are to give notice, that there is a run away from a West Country Gentleman, a Black, he is a handsome gentle young fellow as any of his kind: Any person or persons who shall apprehend and secure the said Black, so that he may be got back to the Owner, let them come to Mr Colin MacKenzie, Goldsmith, in the Parliament Clos in Edinburgh, or to Mr Patrick Huston Merchant in Glasgow, and they shall have Three Guineas reward, and charges born them, and the Gentleman's kindness besides.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* May 9, 1719.

> Taken up a strolling Negro, who ever owns him, and gives sufficient Marks of his being theirs, before end of two weeks after the date hereof, to Mr Andrew Ramsay, Merchant in Glasgow, may have him again upon Payment of Expenses laid out on him, otherwise the present Possessor will dispose of him at hisPleasure.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* Thursday 28 April 1720.

As in England, newspapers in Scotland published advertisements for absconding slaves, providing evidence that African slavery did exist in Scotland. Newspapers, however, only provided information about those slaves who had run away from their masters or were sold. Certainly, not all slaves absconded. For example Gory, Lord

Monboddo's slave/servant (Boswell 1791, 1906; Pottle and Bennet 1963), seemed to have been contented with his lot and made the best out of an enslaved position. In relative terms, to be the slave servant of an influential man no doubt had its advantages, as Ignatius Sancho experienced while working for the Duke of Montagu. Sancho was born on a slave ship sailing to the Spanish West Indies where his mother soon after died of fever and his father, not wanting to face the torture of slavery, committed suicide (Scobie 1977; Fryer 1983). At two years of age he was taken by a ship's captain to England and placed with three sisters who lived in Greenwich. The Duke of Montagu who took an interest in the young lad advised the ladies to educate him. Sancho later worked as a butler for the Montagu family and enjoyed much privileges. He travelled with the Montagu family to their home in Scotland. His letter from Dalkeith, Scotland showed that he even went on an excursion to the Scottish Highlands (Edwards and Rewt 1994) and was given the freedom of Dumbarton (Hoskins 1984; Edwards and Rewt 1994). Ignatius Sancho retired from the Duke's service and later opened a grocery. Thus press notices of absconders and sales of slaves, indicate a larger African presence, for not all slaves brought to Scotland would have absconded or would have been bought or sold in Scotland. Evidence of other Africans in Scotland from parish registers and baptismal records is an indication that this was so.

The two advertisements cited above indicate how the status of Africans in Scotland had changed as Scots became involved in the slave trade. From being in a favoured position at the court of James IV, as well as status symbols in the homes of Scottish aristocracy, Africans became property. It is highly significant that the Glasgow merchant Andrew Ramsay, in 1720, assumed that the "strolling Negro" must be somebody's property, not a free man walking the streets at his own inclination and about his own purpose. This suggests important cultural assumptions concerning Africans in the highly commercial atmosphere of early eighteenth-century Glasgow. Furthermore, Andrew Ramsay was confident that if the putative owner of the "strolling Negro" did not pay up and collect his property, then he himself would have acquired a property right in this African. That a Glasgow merchant should take the trouble to advertise in an Edinburgh newspaper may indicate that he had reason to suspect that the owner lived in the capital, or that he was cannily spreading his net as wide as possible. The query of the kidnapper "who ever owns him" suggests that ownership of Africans was a well established practice in urban and commercial Scotland. Such an incident, where an African man walking along a street in Scotland could be arrested is an early indication of the changing attitude of some Scots to Africans within Scottish society. Andrew Ramsay evidently was quite ready to sell the African if he was not

claimed and money paid for repossession. That Africans had become property in Scotland, as in England, is clear. Table 3.1 gives a list of absconding slaves compiled from the Edinburgh and Glasgow press.

As in England some young Africans seemed to have been determined to escape slavery. This earliest absconder discovered by this research is of the lad (mentioned above) who absconded from the West Country gentleman. The description of him being a "handsome and gentle young fellow" suggests that his occupation was that of a page or footman. The advertisement calling on anyone to recapture him may indicate that Scots were very much aware of the bounty hunting of African slaves as practised in England. It also suggests that their "perceived" low social status was already current contrasting with their former presence at the royal court. What happened between Africans being at the Scottish court royal court and this advertisement is mere speculation. However, the advertisements suggest that African people in Scotland might have been arriving from England and that their typical status, throughout the British Isles, would have been that of slave. Although absconders seem to have been predominantly males, African women were also brought to Scotland and they, too, resisted enslavement as indicated by the following:

> **Run Away**
>
> A negro woman, named Ann, about eighteen years of age, with a green gown, and a brass collar about her neck, on which are engraved these words Gustavus Brown in Dalkeith, his negro.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* March 7, 1721.

It is evident from this advertisement that Africans in Scotland suffered from what Lorimer (1984:130) refers to as "debasing marks of servility" with collars being placed around the necks of slave-servants for decorative purposes as well as to show ownership. Little (1947: 16) has shown where collars and padlocks for Africans and dogs were advertised together. In England collaring seemed to have been a fashion fad among slave owners (Shyllon 1977:11) judging from the many advertisements which indicated this practice. The above advertisement indicates that women too were being collared and that African women as well as men were slaves in Scotland. The collar of Ann creates a strong presumption of her being slave property. Collars worn by African slave women had other significances as shown by C.L.R. James (1938, 1982) in *The Black Jacobins* where the " torture of the collar was specially reserved for women who were suspect of abortion, and the collar never left their necks until they had produced a child" (p. 13).

Table 3-1 Absconding slaves in the Edinburgh and Glasgow press 1719-1773

	Year	Name	M/F	Age	Owner	Absconding from	Reward	Source
1)	1719	(a black)	M	not stated	not stated	West Country	3 guineas	Edinburgh Evening Courant
2)	1720	"a strolling Negro"	M	not stated	not stated	not stated	not stated	Edinburgh Evening Courant
3)	1721	Ann	F	18	Gustavus Brown	Dalkeith / Edinburgh	not stated	Edinburgh Evening Courant
4)	1746	not stated	M	15	William Crawford Merchant	Glasgow	Amount not stated	Glasgow Journal
5)	1756	Cupid	M	25	not stated	Greenock	Amount not stated	Glasgow Journal
6)	1757	Duff Davidson	M	16/17	not stated	Glasgow	Amount not stated	Edinburgh Evening Courant
7)	1758	"Black Boy"	M	14	Mrs Campbell of Campbell & Connell Merchants	Inverary	Amount not stated	Glasgow Courant
8)	1760	Samuel Ramsay	M	18	not stated	Possibly Glasgow	20 shillings sterling	Edinburgh Evening Courant
9)	1760	Samuel Ramsay (possibly same person)	M	19	David Fraser	Arbroath (later seen in Perth)	4 guineas	Edinburgh Evening Courant
10)	1764	Bacchus	M	"a boy"	Mrs Blair	Dickson's Close, Edinburgh	charges paid	Edinburgh Evening Courant
11)	1764	Joseph Thompson	M	22	not stated	Glasgow	1 guinea	Edinburgh Evening Courant
12)	1772	Anthony	M	23	not stated	Not stated	Amount not stated	Glasgow Journal
13)	1772	Tom	M	not stated	Coll Turner	Greenock	Amount not stated	Edinburgh Evening Courant
14)	1772	Caesar	M	18	Murdoch Campbell of Rosend	Burntisland	"handsome"	Edinburgh Evening Courant
15)	1773	Sylvester	M	18	not stated	Greenock	7 guineas	Edinburgh Evening Courant
16)	1773	William Northumberland	M	15	A gentleman from North Carolina	Edinburgh	2 guineas	Edinburgh Evening Courant
17)	1773(?)	Thomas (Tom) Diddy	M	35	not stated	Glasgow	5 guineas	Edinburgh Evening Courant
18)	1773	not stated	M	16	A family of distinction	Canongate of Edinburgh	Amount not stated	Edinburgh Advertiser (March 12)

Later in the same year another advertisement appeared in the Courant.

> That upon Monday the 18th soon in the morning, one Katherine Strachan a servant in St Andrews, a little black, ill-coloured woman, who now calls herself Elizabeth Young, run off, and took with her some Bedcloaths and linens, with a silver spoon marked S. and several other things. If any can catch her, they shall be sufficiently rewarded.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* December 28, 1721.

It is difficult to tell with certainty whether Katherine Strachan was black or just possessed black hair. Had Katherine been a white person the advertisement might have indicated eye colour and been more specific about hair type. The use of "black complexion" to describe individuals prove to be a source of confusion when trying to identify African individuals particularly in the 18th century. A strange phenomenon, however, manifested itself around the mid 18th century as many "black" men are recorded deserting the army. In 1757, for example, "Andrew Pardon, 41 years of age, by trade a collier, born in the Parish of St Ninian's in Stirlingshire, black complexion and eyes, a down look, short curled hair deserted from Major Holmes regiment" (*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 20 September, 1757). Andrew Pardon's description sounds as though he was of African origin or descent as other deserters were described as "swarthy" or with descriptions to indicate that they were white but to avoid the risk of falling into the 'Joel Rogers' school of controversy over 'black' individuals in Scotland, it was decided not to include him and other army deserters as Africans. Future research should be able to shed light on the above 'black' individuals as well as the many black army deserters.

A common practice of servants who deserted their employers or were dismissed was the theft of their masters property. African slave/servants were no different as most times the clothes stolen were on their backs. The richer the slave master the more 'upmarket' were the articles stolen as is evident from this advertisement of a male slave who absconded from his master's service in Port Glasgow. In this instance his clothes too were also the master's property and evident of high quality and value. Duff Davidson as the escapee was called:

> was aged about 16 or 17 well looked, very black, and his hair tied behind wearing a light coloured German sarge coat, with metal buttons, a scarlet vest, and scarlet plush breeches. He carried off with him a silver watch, with an enamel dial plate, a pair of large silver buckles, two coats and other cloths. It is hoped that persons to whom the said Duff Davidson may offer himself in the way of service will take to secure him, for as he may be apprehended, shall be sufficiently rewarded by applying to the publisher of this paper.

From Davidson's attire it is possible that his master may have been a "tobacco lord" of Glasgow. His "scarlet vest" and "scarlet plush breeches" may be an indication of this as Glasgow's tobacco barons were renown for their scarlet or red colour (McGeorge 1966; Daiches 1977) of opulence. Thus while the wearers "special" clothing advertised their owners' wealth they also signified their servitude and made them conspicuous. This clothing that slaves were obliged to wear was a badge of identification and signified slave status and w as aptly described by Patterson (1982) as "ritual of enslavement" . Time and again advertisements show that the clothing of the absconding slave was the instrument of their identification. Duff Davidson's owner was well off judging from the items he stole possibly to aid his escape. The advertisement implies that there were Scots around who might aid runaway slaves. These could have been genuine sympathisers or 'friends of blacks' but they could also have been opportunists prepared to trade the absconder's stolen goods for freedom.

The advertisement also suggests that there was a shortage of servants and Scots were prepared to hire absconded slaves. Absconders like Davidson would have been familiar with the refusal by many Scots to work as servants around this time. Plant (1952) showed that many, even the aristocracy could not obtain servants in 18th century Scotland as "young men and women in the Lowlands, ...simply did not want to go into service" (p.161). Some, such as the Duchess of Atholl had to venture as far as London (Plant p.160) for servants while Simon, Lord Lovat, for example, was unable to obtain a servant. Thus some aristocrats may have turned to African slave-servants. Telfer-Dunbar (1981) revealed an unfortunate but "militant" Afro-Scot. When the tartan was banned "Oronoce, a black servant of the Laird of Appin, Dugald Stewart", was arrested on 25 July 1750, and apprehended by the Commanding Officer of the forces stationed in Rannoch district "for wearing the Highland garb or being dressed in Tartan livery and was forthwith committed to prison" (p.45). The irony of this was that an African-slave servant in Scotland should be imprisoned for wearing a tartan while in the colonies African slaves were being compelled to wear Scottish plaids manufactured in Scotland (Mathieson 1910) as it made them conspicuous.

The advertisement concerning Samuel Ramsay, "a Negro lad" who absconded in July 1760, contrasted markedly with that of Duff Davidson. He was

> eighteen years of age, smooth fac'd, with short wool instead of hair. He went off in a turned freezed coat white mettled buttons, and leather breeches. Who ever apprehends him shall have a reward of

twenty shillings sterling , and all charges born. Inform publisher.
Edinburgh Evening Courant, Wednesday July 23, 1760.

When a comparison is made of rewards offered from the list of absconders (Table 3-1), "20 shillings sterling" reward offered for Ramsay's recapture contrasts with the large sums of 5 or 7 guineas sometimes offered for other runaways. The low reward, well below the normal rate, possibly resulted in no one expressing any interest in catching him as a later advertisement was to suggest. However, Ramsay's advertisement was the only one which described the texture of his hair as being "woolly". He seemed to have worn his hair in its natural " Afro" instead of the wig, customary at the time. The advertisement concerning Ramsay again showed an owner calling on the assistance of bounty hunters to retrieve lost property . The zeal with which owners tried to recover their slaves was unrelated to their heartfelt feeling for a servant but had more to do with the loss of service and property in which they had invested. Ramsay's owner seemed determined to recapture his property as a further advertisement for him was to reveal when he was spotted elsewhere in livery (the similarities of the advertisement suggests that it is the same person).

> Runaway and deserted about six weeks ago from Almrycross near Arbroath. A negro Servant, going under the name of Samuel Ramsay the property of Mr David Fraser at Arbroath. He is about 19 years of age, tall and strong bon'd but very thin and smooth faced, and at the time of his elopement had a grey coat and vest with white metal buttons, end leather breeches. Whoever will apprehend and secure the above Samuel Ramsay within any prison in Scotland, so as he may be restored to his master, shall receive four guineas as a reward besides payment of expenses.
> N.B. It is informed that the above negro servant was seen sometimes after his elopement at Perth in a gentleman's livery, and it is hoped that after this public notification no persons whatsoever will receive or keep him in their service, or in any shape endeavour to conceal him.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, Saturday 6, September 1760

Thus, not only were individuals willing to aid slaves to abscond, some were also willing to employ them. Slave-servants who escaped with their livery probably knew that no one would accost them when they were so attired in the neighbourhood on the day of escape. Thus although the flamboyant livery was a sign of servitude it may have protected absconders for a while when making their escape. However, these same liveries or marks of enslavement (Patterson 1982) would have later betrayed them if not got rid of quickly.

In addition to the ostentatious liveries and decorative collars some African slave-servants in Scotland were compelled to wear, another mark of their servility or status

as property was the new name forced upon them. This ritual of enslavement was a symbolic act of stripping the slave from his former identity (Patterson 1982). It was a common practice in the American colonies, in England and in the West Indies. Olaudah Equiano (Edwards 1967), for example, in his autobiography noted how his name changed according to owner. In Virginia he was called "Jacob" (p.34). His new owner Lieutenant Michael Pascal then named him "Michael" (p.34). On his sale to Captain Doran he was named Gustavus Vassa (p.34). After purchasing his freedom he resorted to his African name. From the previous advertisements and those following a variety of names are evident. Generally African slave servants were given the surnames of their owners while their first names were classical or biblical. Christian names such as "John" and "Joseph" were common and may have signified baptism. One such African servant named Joseph absconded in Glasgow. The advertisement read:

> Run away from his master from Glasgow.
> A NEGRO SERVANT
> named Joseph Thompson. He is about 22 years of age, five foot five inches high, and coal black, one leg somewhat smaller than the other, and about the breadth of a halfpenny bare on the crown of his head; had on when he went off , a blue serge coat and vest, blue cloth breeches, a blue broad cloth surtout coat, and a good double broad gold lac'd hat. Whoever can apprehend, or can discover him, so as he can apprehend, shall have a Guinea reward, and all charges from Baillie Hulton merchant in Edinburgh.
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* Saturday March 31, 1764.

The name Joseph Thompson suggests that this individual was owned by a Scot . His name also indicates that he had adopted Christianity and was baptised. It is possible that baptism took place in Scotland as many slave owners in the West Indies were against their slaves being instructed in the Christian faith as noted by the Scottish abolitionist James Ramsay (Shyllon 1977). Baptism of Joseph Thompson could be seen as the stripping away of his former "heathen" self in a religious Scottish society while Thompson identified him with a clan, a fictive family. Hisname is indicative of how African people in historical Scotland became lost to posterity.

Classical names were also evident among the slave-servants in Scotland as the two following advertisements indicate:-

> A black boy wandered away from Dickson's close on Wednesday last. He had upon him a white under, a green freeze upper Jacket, and answers to Bacchus, his hair is short, being lately cut. It is hoped that whenever he casts up, notice will be sent to Mrs Blair, Dickson's close, where the charges will be paid and the favour acknowledged.
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, November 26, 1764.

Eight years later

> RUN AWAY

From Rosend House near Burntisland 23 Nov. 1772 A negro lad called CAESAR belonging to Murdoch Campbell of Rosend and carried off several things belonging to his master - It is hoped no person will harbour or employ him, and that no shipmaster will carry him off the country, as his master is resolved to prosecute in terms of law. The above Negro (called Caesar) is about five feet eight inches high, and eighteen years of age. He had on when eloped, a mixed cloth coat and vest coat with plain yellow buttons, shamoy breeches, and a blue surtout coat- who ever will secure him in any goal, or give information so as he may be secured to his master, or to Mr David Erskine writer to the signet, shall be handsomely rewarded.
Edinburgh Evening Courant, Wednesday November 25, 1772.

What stands out here in the name changing "ritual of enslavement" is that both Bacchusand Caesar have no surnames. Names without surnames indicated their inferior status as slaves and in this context show that they were not part of a fictive Scottish family. Patterson (1982) shows that classical names liked by many planters "were resented by the slaves except when they were reminiscence of African names" (p.56). The naming of slaves in Scotland followed the same pattern as in the colonies. Name changing played an important part in the downgrading of African people in Scotland, as elsewhere in the slave owning world and was a bone of contention between master and slave. Robert Nameroa, an African servant in Scotland objected to being called "black Robin" and insisted on using his African name of Nameroa (Duffield 1992). Change of name was a powerful weapon to keep "one in one's place", and while there was a propensity for Johns and Toms. At the same time there was ridicule for African names such as "Sambo" and "Kwesi" (usually rendered as Quashey). In Scotland as elsewhere where Africans were enslaved, their African names were discarded and replaced with European names and this practice more than any other has made their presence in Scotland and Scottish history invisible. Results of this are still felt and researchers have used it as a pretext for effectively excluding African/ Caribbeans from contemporary Scottish society (Chapter 5).

The year 1772 was an eventful one in the life of African slave-servants in the British Isles for it was then that the first blow for the abolition of slavery was struck. Although the court ruling on the Somerset case in 1772 (Scobie 1972; Shyllon 1977; Fryer 1983; Edwards and Walvin 1983) did not apply in Scotland, African slaves in Scotland seem to have paid heed to the ruling. It cannot be certain from the small numbers but the increase in absconders 1772/1773 (see Table 3-1) seems significant. It may reflect events in England where from 1772 slaves brought to England could not legally be taken out of the country against their will. Thus some slaves who came to Britain with

their master or mistress opted for freedom by running away for as Debrunner (1979) argued "many Africans were not content to be treated as cheap servants or as mere prestige goods" (p.100). Since Lord Mansfield's judgement in the Somerset case did not apply in Scotland because of its separate legal system, the ruling did not affect the import of slaves north of the border. Thus the temptation was there for African slaves in Scotland to abscond to England possibly to join the free black community in London which had developed around Ratcliffe, St Giles, Highway and Limehouse and which vigorously "encouraged newly imported slaves to escape to join their free ranks" (Edwards and Walvin 1983:24). The owner of one absconding slave was indeed of the opinion that his slave intended to take the high road to London. The advertisement read thus -.

> Deserted from his master's house in Glasgow, on the morning ofSaturday the 3d instant. A NEGRO MAN He is about 35 years of age, and five feet 9 or10 inches high, pretty broad and stout made, broad faced. and somewhat yellowish complexion; the white of his eyes are remarkably tinged with black, and he has a surly gloomy aspect; his dress, when he ran off, was an olive-coloured thickset coat, jacket and breeches, a black wig tied behind and silver buckles in his shoes but as they were all good, tis possible he would exchange them for worse, and supply himself with cash. There is every good reason to think he intended to go to London, and to take his road by Dumfries or Edinburgh- His name is TOM, but sometimes he assumes the name of THOMAS DIDDY. A reward of Five Guineas, and payment of all reasonable charges, is hereby offered to secure the said Negro in any jail in Scotland, so as he may be kept safe, and delivered to his masterÆs order: The money to be paid by Mr John Alston merchant in Glasgow, or James Marshall writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, upon notice being sent to either of them, of the negroe's being secured. All ship masters are hereby cautioned against carrying the said negro abroad, and if any person harbours him, or assist him in making his escape, they will be prosecuted.
>
> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, April 5,1773.

Like other runaways, Thomas Diddy seemed to have been smartly dressed, indicating that his owner was well off and was prepared to pay "five guineas" to recapture his 'prized' property. The length of advertisement indicated wealth as well as the flaunting of it. Again this advertisement shows that absconding slaves had their harbourers and allies in the white community. These individuals came in two likely categories (a) those who would assist an escaped slave out of humanity and (b) those (such as ship's masters) who might be tempted to take a fare-paying passenger, or a crewman, and turn a blind eye to his being an escaped slave; or who for money might otherwise harbour and assist such a person. The absconder was also at the mercy of bounty hunters as a reward of "five guineas, and payment all reasonable charges" was a powerful inducement to betray escapees. If unscrupulous enough, bounty hunters could have claimed a fee from

the slave and then turn him in and gain the reward, making a double profit. Thomas Diddy's case hints that absconders in Scotland had knowledge of other African slaves in England and knew about the free community of former slaves which had developed in London. The caution to ship masters "against carrying the said negro abroad" indicate that captain of ships were not against taking escapees.

Africans, such as the former slave Olaudah Equiano, were sailing the high seas as slaves-sailors (Edwards 1967). Africans were part of the Royal Navy during the 18th century and in the merchant service along with other seamen lifted "the commodities of the World" (Rediker 1987:29). Rodger (1986) noted that a "minority which contributed usefully to manning the Navy was blacks ... slaves and free" (p.159). He further pointed out that "John Hutton and Peter Lewis two black seamen of the Jamaica sloop in 1757 had served continuously on the Jamaica station for twenty two years" (p.159). Since many slaves were good boat hands and sailors, some, such as Equiano who had been at sea from childhood, were able to obtain jobs on sea-going vessels. Other African slaves saw a seagoing life as a way of escaping from slavery and many, such as the African-American Frederick Douglass (Douglass 1892) ran away to become sailors. The fears of some slave owners in Scotland were justified about their slaves running away to sea as indicated by the following:

RUN OFF

A Black Negro Man, who passes by the name of Northumberland, the property of a Gentleman lately from South Carolina- he had on when he went away a brown short coat, turned up and lined with green, with green and white livery lace. He is stout made, middle sized, flat faced, and a good deal pitted with small pox. He is supposed to have to gone to Leith to secure a passage, being a bred sailor. It is therefore requested, that no gentleman will take him into his service, nor no Captain of vessels, ship masters or others will take him on board his ship. A reward of two guineas is hereby offered to any person who shall give information to Mr John Graham wine cooper in Leith, or to William Sands at Mr William M'Donalds writer to the signet, which will be paid upon his being secured.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday February 6, 1773.

Northumberland seemed to have come from America with the intention of running away. It is unsure if he was a body servant or a house servant for he was merely referred to as "property". His transformation from sailor to possibly servant seemed to have backfired on his master. Northumberland would have known that he would be able to obtain a job being a "bred sailor" as both the Royal Navy and the merchant service always needed able hands. Although some navy officers were themselves slave owners, the Navy's attitude to black seamen according to Rodgers was "liberal by the standards of the societies from which they had come" and " a man's professional skill mattered

more than his colour" (Rodger 1986:159). This sentiment can however be can disputed as Olaudah Equiano's (Edwards 1969) experience of the naval service was rather different. Notwithstanding the liberal attitude of the Navy, slave owners in Scotland, after the Somerset case in 1772, would probably have found it a difficult task to keep their slaves from escaping south of the border. The port of Leith with its numerous ships would have also been an attraction for the sea-faring absconders. Thus slave resistance was part and parcel of African slavery in Scotland. Since numbers were small and they were dispersed, resistance was essentially of an individual nature. As in other parts of the world where African slavery occurred, Africans resisted their enslaved position and often the best way they could do this was by running away. Collective action, such as the great Caribbean slave rebellions, was not a viable mode of resistance in Scotland.

3.4.3 SALE OF SLAVES

The decline in the importing of slaves seems to have encouraged another aspect of slavery in the British Isles, the sale of African people by private treaty as well as by auction. This research has discovered no record of sales by auction in Scotland but evidence found suggest that it was practised. *The Scots Magazine* (June 1772) made reference to a "branch of commerce that was beginning to be introduced into England and Scotland viz the disposal of negroes by auction and sale, like other property" (p.297). However, the advertisements below and Table 3-2, provide evidence that the sale of slaves in Scotland (see Table 3.2) by private treaty was already being undertaken.

TO BE SOLD

A smart Negro Boy, eleven years old. He was brought over from North Carolina about four months ago. For particulars apply to Mr James Thom, vintner, old Assembly Close Edinburgh.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, September 27, 1766

TO BE DISPOSED OF

A NEGRO BOY, of a healthy constitution about eleven years old and can talk broken English. For particulars, enquire at the printer of this paper.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday December 6,1766

The involvement of Scots in the sale of Africans in Scotland is clear. In their operation they differed little from their counterparts in England. These sale advertisements provide another aspect to the African presence in Scotland for not only were there men and women but there were also young children, in particularly young males. The advertisements indicate that the sources of slaves in Scotland was the American colonies so Scots did not have to go all the way to Africa. The appearance of the lads

Table 3-2 Some slave sales in 18th century Scotland

	Year	Name	M/F	Age	Native place	Place of sale	Seller	Source
1)	1766	not stated	M	11 yrs	North Carolina	Edinburgh	not stated	Edinburgh Evening Courant
2)	1766	not stated	M	11 yrs	not stated	Edinburgh		Edinburgh Evening Courant
3)	1766	Peggy	F	18yrs	Charleston South Carolina	Edinburgh		Edinburgh Evening Courant
4)	1766	Peggy's son	M	1yr				
5)	1768	'a negro'	M			Edinburgh	Capt. Abercrombie (Owner)	Edinburgh Evening Courant
6)	1769	blackboy	M	16yrs		Edinburgh	Wm. Gordon	Edinburgh Advertiser
7)	1769	"handsome blackboy"	M	13yrs		Edinburgh	Wm Reid, Ironmonger	Edinburgh Advertiser

indicated that they were well treated. These youngsters, as is known from the English experience (Scobie 1972; Shyllon 1974, 1977; Fryer 1983), provided companionship to wives of Aristocrats or serve as embellishment to their masters. That one spoke "broken English " suggests that he was born in Africa. Had he been born in the Caribbean or in the American south he would have spoken English. Advertisements also indicate how precarious, difficult and painful family life was among African slaves. The lads were only eleven years old but already they had travelled possibly over three continents, thousands of miles away from any family connections and without the prospects of ever seeing parents and siblings. The break up of African family life straddled three, sometimes four geographical areas Africa, North America, the Caribbean and Europe indicating that as early as the 18th century African people were part and parcel of the Atlantic World (Linebaugh and Rediker 1992; Lovejoy and Rogers 1994) and the black Atlantic World (Gilroy 1992b) was already taking shape. Another advertisement read :-

A Black Boy to Sell

To be sold a Black Boy, with long hair stout made, and well limb'd, is good tempered, can dress hair and take care of a horse indifferently. He has been in Britain near three years. Any person that inclines to purchase him, may have him for 40'. He belongs to Captain Abercrombie at Broughton This advertisement not to be repeated.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, April, 18, 1768.

An interesting point of the above and other sale advertisements was that the lads were nameless and were classified according to colour "black boy" , "negro boy" . That their names were withdrawn suggests that naming was the prerogative of owners and a new master or mistress was assumed to be likely to want to choose a new name, a kind of verbal brand, on the new property. Black Boy's owner was a captain, whether a sea or army captain is not known but captains in the army, such as Captain Dalyrmple, Nameroa's owner (Duffield 1990, 1992), and the navy such as: Captain Knight the first owner of Joseph Knight of Knight Vs Wedderburn (Sessions paper 152:6); Captain Doran one of Olaudah Equiano's owner (Edwards 1967) and Captain Stairs Douglass the original owner of Soubise, who brought him from the Caribbean, (Edwards and Walvin 1983) before his acquisition by the Duchess of Queensberry all had their African servants. Sea captains transported Africans to various areas of the world. John Latimer noted "that the most distinguishing mark of a captain in the street was the black slave who attended him and who was often sold to a wealthy family when the owner embarked for Africa" (Shyllon (1977:10).

In 1769, two advertisements for teenagers appeared in the press.

To Be Disposed of

A handsome Black Boy, about thirteen years of age, very well qualified for making a household servant, serving a table well, & c. of a fine constitution, enured in the climate, and has had the smallpox. Any person inclining to purchase him, may call at Mr William ReidÆs ironmonger opposite to the door of the city guard. This advertisement not to be repeated.

The Edinburgh Advertiser, January 20, 1769.

To be Sold

A Black Boy, about 16 years of age, healthy, strong and well made, has had the measles and small pox, can shave and dress a little, and has been for these several years accustomed to serve a single gentleman born abroad and at home. For further particu lars, enquire of Mr Gordon Bookseller, Parliament close, Edinburgh who has full powers to conclude a bargain.

The Edinburgh Advertiser, January 20, 1769.

The advertisements suggests that as these lads became older their responsibilities as servants increased. At thirteen "handsome black boy" was well qualified for making a house servant or even serving at a table. His play days seemed to have been over. The reason for sale could have been the death of the owner or that the youth had outgrown his "darling" stages and was no longer as pliable as before, but he now had skills and qualifications. In addition to being acclimatised to the Scottish weather (suggesting that he had been living in Scotland for sometime) he was healthy. That he had survived the smallpox, indicated that he was a good investment as smallpox was a major killer of the time. What is of interest is the manner in which "black" was qualified by "handsome" and " smart". Black was "beautiful" for sale purposes in an era when African people were being described as being ugly and stupid as discussed in Chapter 4. These advertisements provide conclusive evidence that the sale of African slaves by private treaty also took place in Scotland. Age and gender seemed to have been irrelevant as women and the very young were sold.

TO BE DISPOSED OF

A Negro Woman, named Peggy, about nineteen years of age, born and brought up in Charlestoun, in the Province of South Carolina speaks good English, an exceeding good house wench, and washer and dresser,and is very tender and careful of children. She has a young child, a Negro boy, about a year old, which will be disposed of with mother. For particulars enquire at the publisher of this paper

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday 30 August 1766.

Peggy and her child were spared the ordeal of a separation. It could have been a kind-hearted gesture on the part of her owner but at the same time her owner could have been

forced to sell mother and child together for who would have been prepared to buy a one year old "wee black bairn" in Scotland? Alternatively, without his mother, the child would be a liability to the owner. Peggy was certainly one of the " privileged blacks" being a house servant. She was even named in the sale. She also spoke "good English" and was "tender and careful of children" , signifying her status as a house slave, thus her owner would have been able to command a reasonable price. She was also an asset in the long term as she had a baby boy. In the short term however, Peggy's baby was not an asset to a purchaser for the child would have diverted Peggy's time onto maternal care and nurturing, and would have to be clothed, housed and fed. However if the child survived, in due course he would have been able to provide labour service and if desired, sold. Peggy and baby was a rather speculative purchase. Given the high infant mortalityeighteenth century, the child might have died before offering any return on purchase price to a new owner. This fact would have been evident at the time and would have held down their selling price.

One important feature of the sales of slaves (see Table 3.2) is that they are concentrated in a very limited time frame between 1776 and 1779. This suggests that possibly later sales, or at least publicly advertised sales, were inhibited by the libertarian expectations placed on the 1772 Mansfield Judgement in England. Knight vs Wedderburn, 1778, also produced a very clear ruling that Scots law did not recognise slavery. Although this might not have prevented private sale agreements it would have inhibited public advertisements of slaves for sale. Another possible explanation for the paucity of slave sale notices throughout the eighteenth century in Scotland is that the market for slave was small and undeveloped. This is particularly noticeable from the agents of slave sale namely a bookseller, a vintner and an ironmonger, compared to the colonies where careers were made by selling slaves. Evidently no institutionalised instruments for the sale or purchase of slaves existed in 18th century Scotland, suggesting that the internal market for the sale of slaves was intermittent and small.

The discussion so far on advertisements of sale of slave-servants and absconders only provides evidence of African people in Scotland from two sources. Since not all slaves would have absconded or would have been sold in Scotland, the thesis provides evidence of African people in Scotland from another source, baptism.

3.4.4 BAPTISM (See Table 3-3)

Baptism, and the acceptance of Christianity, became an important aspect of life for African people enslaved in the Americas, the Caribbean and in Europe. It was a bone

of contention between slave owners, the enslaved, the friends of slaves and the church (Shyllon 1977; Patterson 1982). Many slave owners, particularly in the English speaking protestant colonies, objected to baptism of their slaves because slaves assumed that becoming a Christian freed them from slavery. If the scriptures were to be followed, slaves were also equal to their masters in the sight of God. Being a believer meant that slaves had to be instructed in the word of God and this meant learning to read the scriptures, which was considered dangerous from the master's point of view. The ownership of slaves contradicted protestantism which "by its very nature demanded the liberating conception of the crucifixion, with its emphasis on personal choice and freedom (Patterson 1982). Thus for slavery to be effective a slave had to be kept ignorant of any kind of book-learning. However, African slave-servants were baptised in Scotland as elsewhere. The earliest reference to baptism of African people in Scotland comes from the court of King James IV where the King, being a devout Christian had two African women baptised (Russell 1922:205). The purpose of baptism at this period of time was possibly to make Christians of the two African women who would have been considered "heathens", an unacceptable situation in a strongly homogenous Catholic society with no tradition of religious toleration. This trend continued in Scotland as shown later with some baptisms in 18th century. Record of baptism is another likely area which will provide evidence of an African presence in Scotland. Research did not go deeply into this aspect of documentation. Such evidence proved to be the most difficult of the three sources because of the volumes of parish registers surviving and the change in writing style over the centuries. Baptismal registers examined in Edinburgh reveal two African individuals in Scotland at different times; two others come from secondary source (see Table 3.3). The notices indicate that there was a silent group of Africans other than slaves who absconded or were sold. The earliest of the four advertisements read thus:

> John Drumlanrig - The same day yr was Baptised a Blackmoren servant to my L. Duke of Queensberry. Named John who was about 10 years of age, made public profession of the Christian Faith, and solemnly engaged to live according to it. Witness ye whole session of the Abbey Church. Parish of Canongate, 30 September 1686; (Scobie 1972).

This advertisement is of interest not only for its confirmation of baptism for it shows, too, how long young African men were being brought to Scotland. It confirms their presence in 17th century Scotland in the employ of Scottish aristocracy, the Duke of Queensberry, one of Scotland's influential dukes and chief minister to the King, as the owner of an African servant possibly starting the tradition of having Africans in the Queensberry household. This advertisement suggests that this may have been so, for

Table 3-3 Some christenings and baptisms

	Year	Name	M/F	Age	Native place	Where baptised	Owner	Source
1)	1686	John	M	18yrs	not stated	Edinburgh	Duke of Queensbury	Parish Register of Canongate
2)	1780	'Negro servant'	M			Liberton Church		Parish Register of Liberton
3)	1782	David (birth)	M	baby	Glasgow	Glasgow	Father Anthony Cunningham, negro Occupation labourer	Glasgow Public Records
4)	1784	Ann	F	18	Jamaica	Edinburgh	Mr Bennat	South Leith Parish Register

later in the 18th century we come across Soubise, the famous African servant of the 3rd Duke and Catherine, Duchess of Queensberry (Scobie 1972; Fryer 1983). It is unlikely that it was the same African for when the 3rd Duke was born in 1717 (Chambers 1868) John Drumlanrig would have been 30 years old if he had survived. So it is certain that Soubise, one of the "darling" blacks of eighteen century Britain, famous equestrian and champion swordfencer of 18th century English society (Scobie 1972) would have been another African. The age of John Drumlanrig suggests that he was a page or body-servant to the Duke or that he waited on the Duchess as was the practise among aristocrats. It is likely that John Drumlanrig would have been part and parcel of Scottish high society. The notice shows that African people are not newcomers to the High Street, Edinburgh, for they have walked there for over four hundred years.

Other baptisms are recorded nearly one hundred years later. On the 12 November 1780, an African was baptised at Liberton Parish church, outside Edinburgh. The registration read:

> Campbell- Dr Patrick Campbell at Liberton Kirk had Adult negro Servant baptised 12th Nov. by the name of William Campbell before the congregation.

William Campbell was possibly a slave but now had to be called servant for it was illegal after the Knights vs Wedderburn case in 1778 to own a slave in Scotland. That Scottish professionals also owned African servants is evident. Scottish doctors were part and parcel of the African slave trade. Some such as Swanson (Duffill 1969) worked on slave ships, while others worked among the slaves in the Caribbean, some becoming very wealthy (Sheridan 1974, 1985)). The place of William Campbell's baptism suggests that he lived in the old village of Liberton on the outskirts of Edinburgh unlike Drumlanrig who lived in the urban part of Edinburgh (and possibly at the country home of the Queensberry family in Dumfries).

Ann Bennat (below) lived in the port of Leith. Thus looking at it from a geographical perspective, individual Africans would have been part of urban and rural Scotland from as long as the 17th century. The South Leith parish record read thus:-

> Bennat- Mr Bennat from Jamaica had a black servant named Ann Bennat baptised by Rev. Mr Thomas Scott on the 11th Oct. 1784. She is about 19 years of age. Witnesses Mr Hadaway, Merchant in Leith, Mr Patrick Hadaway Brewer there and the said Mr Bennat.

One wonders why Ann Bennat was not baptised in Jamaica. It seems strange that she had to wait to be brought to Scotland to be baptised. This may have reflected the opposition to baptism in the colonies by planters but more importantly, the crisis occurring at this time between abolitionists such as Ramsay, Clarkson and Wilberforce

(Shyllon 1977) and West Indian planters. It was a period which Shyllon aptly labelled a "duel with planters" (p.42) which eventually led to the abolition of the African slave trade. Ann Bennat's baptism shows that African women were also brought to Scotland in 18th century Scotland even though they did not feature prominently among absconding slaves (Table 3.1).

In addition to notices of baptism indicating that there were African individuals present in the 17th century the later two advertisements indicate that Africans were still being brought to Scotland after the 1778 Knights vs Wedderburn ruling. Taken at face value the three records of baptism indicate that some individuals in Scotland were willing to baptise their African slave/servants, contrary to practise in the colonies, but opposition to baptism also occurred in Scotland. Another court case of eighteenth century Scotland concerns Jamie (Sheddan vs Sheddan 58:42) the slave who got himself baptised against his master's wishes and eventually ran away to avoid being sent back to America, and this shows that Scots too, feared their slaves being baptised. Jamie's owner, Sheddan opposed baptism of him "not so much from fear of the Civil effects there of, as for the fancies of freedom which might be instill into his slave" (Sheddan vs Sheddan 58:42). Jamie on the other hand was convinced that "he would come free and for that reason was pressing for the Ceremony of Baptism" (Sheddan vs Sheddan 58:42) as the notion prevailed among slaves in Britain that becoming a Christian and being baptised was a charter for liberty whatever the rulings of lawyers and judges (Shyllon 1974). Another important point for slaves wanting to be baptised was that a baptised slave was more likely to obtain friendly assistance from whites, if running away.

Whatever the law said, baptism conferred a basic element of social prestige and social incorporation, otherwise denied to slaves. This was particularly evident when the former slave Ukawasaw Gronniosaw's daughter died of smallpox in England and was refused burial by the church because "the child had not been baptised" (Hosking 1984). However, baptism in Scotland, as in England, did not mean freedom. The minister who baptised Jamie made clear to him "over and over again" that "baptism by no means freed him from servitude" (Sheddan vs Sheddan 58:42). Again when the slave-servant David Spens, who lived in the Fife port of Methil with his owner, a West Indian planter, had himself baptised publicly by the local minister, Rev. Dr Harry Spens (Fryer 1983) whose name he took, his owner decided to return him to slavery in the Caribbean. Spens ran away and was given assistance by a local farmer in Wemyss. His bid for freedom in the Scottish court paid for by Scottish miners and salters (Ferguson

1968) led to his freedom and he later became an important figure in Wemyss (Fryer 1983). Sir John Wedderburn (Knights vs Wedderburn) also had his servant Joseph Knight baptised in Scotland. Baptism in Knight's case though seemed to have been to keep him in check but Knight "deviated from the strict rules of this new part of his education, in an intrigue he soon had with one of the maids of the house" (Sessions paper 152:6). Knight's baptism did not confer an immediate freedom but he was told by Sir John that he "would give him his freedom seven years hence if he behaved well". He later changed his mind and in court "conceived that he had right to Knight's personal service for life" (Sessions paper 593:5) after Knight got married and decided to leave his service to join his wife in Dundee. Although slave-servants in Britain desired baptism this was not always the case in the tropics as the Scottish abolitionist Ramsay noted when one of African slaves in rejecting his attempts to convert and baptise the slaves in the Caribbean told him he wanted nothing to do with the white man's religion (Shyllon 1977b). For some owners in Scotland it might have been prestigious though to baptise their African slave/servants typified by Gory, Lord Monboddo's servant who was baptised by the Bishop of Durham (Boswell 1791, 1906; Pottle and Bennett 1963).

In 1782 a baptism took place in Glasgow,

> Anthony Cunningham, labourer (Negro) and Margaret Pollok, a lawful son David, born 10th , witnesses James Smith, John Finlay Aitken.
>
> *Glasgow Public Records* 12 October 1782: Jenkinson 1986, 1987)

This record provides another insight on the presence of African people in 18th century Scotland for it shows family life. It also shows Cunningham and his child participating in the social life of the wider Scottish society. Anthony Cunningham would have been a free man for the 1778 ruling in the Scottish court would have made it illegal for him to be a slave in Scotland. Hence his employment as a labourer instead of a slave-servant. It is not known if the witnesses were also black but their presence indicates social interaction, with individuals in the wider Scottish community if white and if black, within the African community. Anthony Cunningham seemed to have been his own man unlike William Campbell and Ann Bennat who are called servants. Bennat in all probability might have been a slave disguised as a servant in Scotland. She was only a country away from slavery and if she were to be taken back to Jamaica she would in all probability have had to return to the status of slave. Even though both were baptised it is possible that they were not free, Campbell would only have been two years away from slavery in Scotland and would most likely have had a work arrangement with his master otherwise he would have left his service. The baptisms of African servants after the 1778 ruling of the Scottish court might be an indication that Africans might have

continued being slaves in Scotland albeit disguised as servants. Baptism had its uses in Scotland as it was a device to keep slave-servants in check. In the Caribbean colonies where there were larger slave populations it was commonly forbidden as it did not serve the interest of slave masters. William Campbell's baptismal name is an epitome of how African names were supplanted by Europeans ones, in this case Scottish. It demonstrates, also, how present day Afro-Caribbeans celebrities in Britain such as Naomi Campbell, Bernie Grant, Moira Stuart and Trevor Mc Donald came by their distinctive Scottish surnames. More importantly this enforced historical practise of changing the names of African people to Scottish, English, or other European ones assist in making their historical presence invisible as it is difficult to identify a person of African origin and descent with a European name. The effects of this name change is still being felt in contemporary Scotland where even though African/Caribbean people are physically visible their social presence is not.

The social status of African people in 18th century Scotland, as in England was, of a menial nature, one of servitude. As slaves and servants they served the needs of the aristocracy, the mercantile, legal and landowning classes. Since their historical presence was not deliberately documented it is left to other evidence such as advertisements of their resistance to slavery, their sale or their baptism to construct a picture of their social and demographic characteristics.

3.4.5. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

An examination made of absconders, sale of slaves and baptismal records utilised by this research suggest that African slave society in Scotland as in England was male dominated. Edwards and Walvin (1983:19) argue that male dominance may have been a reflection of slave recruitment patterns in Africa and of the initial plantocracy preference for male slaves(p.20). The sexual imbalance resulted in African men liaising with white women of the servant class. Joseph Knight, the slave who struck the blow for African freedom in Scotland, was married to a white woman who worked in the same household. The partner of Anthony Cunningham above was also white It can be argued though that even if African female partners were available, there would have been evident advantages in a free white wife who could not be sold. A free white wife also served to forward social incorporation in the free community and blur the limits of slavery.

As in England runaways were mostly males in their late teens or young adults in their twenties. Of the runaways described in the Edinburgh and Glasgow press 9 were

teenagers (two were young as 14 and 15 respectively), 3 were in their twenties, 1 was in his thirties and 3 had no ages given. Only one slave was 30 years old which might indicate that that older slaves were less likely to abscond, possibly because of maturity, infirmity, reluctance to abandon long-standing friendships or family ties, or resignation to a situation that in comparative terms they found acceptable, for example with a reasonably benevolent master whose prosperity secured their own modest comfort or needs. The sale of slaves, however, reveal that those sold were even younger than those absconding, aged between ten to eleven years. At this age they were easier to control and were considered 'little darlings' (Scobie 1972). Most served as embellishment or pages to aristocrats, playthings to children and companions to well-to-do women (Shyllon 1974; Fryer 1983). "Black Boy" for example was owned by Mrs Campbell of Campbell and Connell, Merchants.

The data on absconding slaves suggest that ownership of slaves was no longer confined to royalty and aristocracy. Planters, merchants and the professionals all seemed to have had a stake in slave ownership. For example, Tom who escaped from Greenock was owned by Col. Turner, a nameless slave was owned by William Crawford, merchant. William Campbell, was owned by Dr Patrick Campbell, a professional. William Northumberland's, owner "a gentleman from North Carolina" could have been a Scottish planter who had returned to Scotland while the sixteen year old owned by a "family of distinction" in the Canongate of Edinburgh, possibly signified the aristocracy and if not almost certainly landed gentry such as Murdoch Campbell of Rosend near Burntisland who owned Caesar (Table 3-1). The upper classes, as evidenced by Lord Monboddo (Boswell 1791, 1906; Pottle and Bennett 1963), still owned slaves-servants but other owners such as Captain Abercrombie, indicate that ownership of slaves in Scotland had spread to the Scottish middle class. Both captains of the army and navy were known to own African slaves.

3.4.6 OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS

African people in Scotland possessed a variety of occupational skills. Most in Scotland would have been house or body servants who would often have been multi-skilled, especially as they grew older. The domestic work of the slave-servant was productive as it released the master and his adult sons to engage in their occupations and his wife and daughters to leisure. Slaves were employed in a variety of other occupations. Jamie (Sheddan vs Sheddan) was trained as a joiner while William Northumberland (above) was a sailor and a body servant. The following advertisement of a runaway provides an example of the type of jobs African people performed in the era of slavery in

Scotland:-

RUN OFF FROM GREENOCK
A MULATTO who was serving his time there as a joiner; supposed to be gone to Barrowstounnes, Carron or Leith, to ship for London - His name SYLVESTER ...
Edinburgh Evening ~~News~~ Saturday, 9 January 1773 Courant

The advertisements of slaves for sale showed a variety of skills. One thirteen year old "was well qualified for making a household servant" another "can dress hair and take care of a horse indifferently". Peggy was a "washer and dresser" and a good children's nurse "very tender and careful of children". Others were musicians. Anthony, a black servant who ran away from his master "can play a little on the fiddle" (*Edinburgh Evening Courant* 6 May 1772). Fryer (1983) in particular has shown a number of African musicians working in the army in Scotland. In 1715, for example, at a parade of the 4th Dragoons at Stirling six drummers were Africans while in 1755 all the drummers were blacks (Fryer 1883:82). The *History of the Scots Guards Vol 1* also noted that "negroes had been employed in the Cavalry Bands as early as 1750". In 1795 the Scots guards had three black musicians (Fryer 1983). (See Plate 3-3)

After the Knight vs Wedderburn court case and its 1778 outcome in Scotland another type of Afro-Black began to arrive, children of African slave mothers and Scottish fathers. Since there were no more slaves in Scotland, it was better to be here than in the Caribbean where life for free blacks and mulattoes was precarious. One Afro-Scot who came to Britain in 1778 was Robert Wedderburn the son of of "an African-born house slave name Roseanna" (McCalman 1988 : 51) who "was a slave on the estate of Lady Douglas, a distant relation of the Duke of Queensberry "(Fryer 1983:220) and James Wedderburn " a Kingston doctor, male mid-wife and sugar plantation owner" (McCalman 1988:51). His father was related to the wealthy Wedderburn family of Inveresk in Scotland. Robert Wedderburn was denied familial recognition (McCalman 1984) in Scotland. William Davidson was another such Afro-Scot who came to Scotland (Fryer 1983). He was son of a Scotsman, the Attorney General of Jamaica and an African slave woman. He studied mathematics at Aberdeen University and later became a cabinet maker. Davidson was a member of a radical movement and in 1820 he became the last person in Britain to be hung, drawn and quartered (and his body thrown into quicklime) for his part in the Cato street conspiracy when radicals plotted to assassinate the cabinet (Fryer 1983).

The children of Scottish men and African slave women continued to come to Scotland



Plate 3-3 Black musicians in the Scots Guards

and to their presence in the early 19th century were added three more categories of African people, namely residents, visitors and students. Rev. Donald Sage in Memorabilia Domestica (1889) stated that three of his most intimate school fellows in his schooldays in 1801-1803 were three young men by the name of Hay. They were West Indians "offspring of a negro woman, as their hair, and tawny colour of their skin, very plainly intimated. Their father was a Scotsman" (Sage 1889: 157). Jellorum Harrison was another individual. Debrunner (1979) noted that Harrison was brought to Scotland by a Scottish missionary, Rev. Henry Brunton. He later accompanied him to the Caucasus and upon Brunton's death in 1813 returned to Scotland. Harrison later qualified as a teacher with the Church Missionary Society in London. Another notable African in 19th century Scotland, whose life has been the subject of several studies, was Thomas Jenkins (Duffil 1990), the son of a slave trading chief 'King Cockeye' of the Guinea coast. He arrived in Scotland in 1803 as a six year old lad with James Swanson, a Scottish surgeon/captain of a slave ship who was entrusted by the lad's father to put him in School in Liverpool. However, Swanson became ill and realising that he did not have much time to live took his young charge to his relatives in Scotland to prevent him falling in the hands of slave traders. Unfortunately Swanson died a few days after arriving in Hawick and the young lad was stranded. Jenkins grew up with Swanson's relatives and later became a teacher in Hawick. After his application for schoolmaster at Teviot was turned down by the Presbytery "for reasons that even the 19th century accounts suggest were grounded in racist and bigoted attitudes" (Duffill 1990) Jenkins became despondent and migrated to Mauritius to teach free Afro-Malagasy and Asians (Duffil 1990).

What is interesting around this time is the appearance in Scotland of professional individuals of African origin and descent. One such individual was John Mc'Intyre. He was born in Jamaica and lived in Glen Dochart, Perthshire. He attended Dollar Academy, a school founded by the slave trader , John McNabb (Baillie nd). Rev. Stewart in his reminiscence of Dollar Academy noted that Mc Intyre studied medicine and became a successful medical practitioner in Doune (p.30). He remembered Mc'Intyre because of one particular racist incident at the school whereby his German teacher shouted racist abuse at him "You are an ape, You are an ape" (p. 30) and Mc'Intyre responding accordingly " let his book fly at the venerable head of his enraged teacher, and hit him a good hard knock on the temple" (p. 30). The matter was brought up to the school board and the German teacher was dismissed. How much this act reflected the anti-racist practice of the school or the fact that Mc'Intyre's uncle with whom he lived was the headmaster of a school and (more importantly) that his own

father was a Scottish planter in the Caribbean is difficult to say. However it does show that something positive was done about the racist behaviour of the teacher. The presence of individuals such as Mc'Intyre in Scotland indicates the longstanding relationship between Scotland, the Scots and people of African origin or descent. Their historical presence, however, remains invisible in contemporary Scottish society.

Another famous African in 19th Scotland was the "African Merchant Prince" Charles Heddle (Fyfe 1983). He was educated in Scotland at Dollar Academy and was responsible for the development of the palm kernel nut trade in West Africa. Heddle later retired to the Orkneys and left money to the Burgh of Kirkwall for charity work (Fyfe 1983). The cold forced him to move to France where he died. Lorimer (1978) provides evidence of Daniel Fraser who was born in the West Indies but lived in Scotland from the age of four and was fluent in Gaelic. By occupation he was a sailor. Duffield (1990, 1992) provides detailed information on Robert Nameroa and Kirsty Sanderson, in early 19th century Scotland. Kirsty Sanderson was an Afro-Scot who was born in Leith and was a washer woman by occupation while Nameroa was brought to Scotland as a servant. Kirsty and her friends lured a man into a house, gave him alcohol, got him drunk and then robbed him. Nameroa stole clothing and absconded from his master, Captain Dalrymple. Both Sanderson and Nameroa were transported to Australia.

The military still recruited African people and two soldiers in the early 19th century were Antonio Martin and Jean Baptiste. In 1806 Antonio Martin joined the Scots Guards (See plates 3-4 and 3-5), as did Jean Baptiste in 1818 (*Scots Guards History Vol 1*). Antonio Martin died in the Regimental Hospital of "water in the chest" in 1837 while Jean Baptiste was discharged in consequence of being deaf and debilitated in 1841 and awarded a pension of 1s.2d a day (Scots Guards History Vol. 1). Thus African people in Scotland passed through several stages of employment in Scotland from their arrival as musicians and servants at the court of James IV and each stage brought different skills.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has shown that people of African origin and descent have had a long relationship with Scotland and the Scottish people dating back at least to the early 16th century. Living in Scotland they were part and parcel of Scottish society albeit in



Plate 3-4 Scots Guardsman Antonio Martin



"Jean Baptiste, 3rd. Guards, 1832".
[From the painting by Dubois Drahonet
at Windsor Castle.]

Note. The last black in the regiment, who was a native of Martinique, was discharged in Dec. 1841.

(See over-page for Description of Jean Baptiste.)

Plate 3-4 Scots Guardsman Jean Baptiste



3d Regt of Foot Guards.
The Band.

(Reduced facsimile of Plate Nº 23 (published Nov. 1828) in Hull's Series of Costumes of the Army, pub. 1827-30.)

Plate 3-5 Jean Baptiste's uniform, in colour

positions of servitude whether at the Scottish Royal court, in aristocratic households or as slaves. Being in a servile position their presence was not consciously documented contributing to their historical presence remaining invisible in Scottish society. Their invisible status was compounded by the practice of replacing their African names with European names. However, their resistance to servitude exemplified by absconding, as well the records of their sale or baptism now provide unwitting testimony of their presence. That African slaves lived and worked in Scotland is not common knowledge in contemporary Scotland as the histories of Scotland and the general histories of Britain ignore this past contributing to their invisibility. The emancipation of the slaves in the Caribbean, together with the rise of Empire building brought about changes in the social status of African people in Scotland for they were no longer confined to servitude. After 1834, the incoming Afro-Scots from the colonies, student and sea-faring population brought about an increase of African people in Scotland. The transient nature of the two latter groups has remained in the consciousness of Scots up to the present day (see Chapter 5). Although a black or dark skin usually makes individuals stand out in white societies, the African historical presence, despite the limited visibility in the era of slavery as well as contemporary presence (see Chapters 5 ,6, 7 and 8) remains "invisible" in Scotland. Finally in the words of one Afro-Scot "African people have been here for centuries and will continue to make lives for themselves here in Scotland". The following chapter on Scottish historical racism provides a perspective on how this "invisible" status of African people in Scotland may have developed.

CHAPTER 4 - HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RACISM AGAINST PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN OR DESCENT IN SCOTLAND.

4.1 INTRODUCTION- THE INVISIBLE RACISM IN SCOTLAND

> The roots of Scottish racism are slender but tenacious, hidden but flourishing, suppressed but corrosive. Ethnic minorities are just beginning to discover the extent of this blemish on the national character. Perhaps its history requires proper investigation too.
>
> (Willie Orr - *The Scotsman* 30 June 1990, p.3).

There is the "common-sense" view unchallenged until recently, that Scotland has "good race relations because there is no racism here" (Miles and Muirhead 1986:1). This belief is also reflected in academia where "analyses of racism in Britain rarely make any specific reference to Scotland" (Miles and Dunlop 1987:119). Nevertheless, racism, as the above quote suggests, is alive and kicking in Scotland and in the words of Jackson (1987) "severely affecting black people's life chances and threatening their present and future well being" (p.3). It is contended here that Scottish racism thrived alongside English racism, at times imparting racist belief from the south and at other times reinforcing English racism. British racism is as much Scottish as it is English, Welsh and Irish.

4.2 AIM

The intention of the chapter is to provide an historical perspective to the development of racism against African/Caribbean people in and outwith Scotland. In doing so it supports and champions the cause for a geography of racism grounded also in the historical (Jackson 1987). The chapter shows how racism against African people was developed by Scots in and outwith Scotland and reproduced over time. It also provides evidence to show that the racist thoughts and beliefs which exist in contemporary Scotland and affect African/Caribbeans in Scottish society (Chapter 7) are rooted in this past. The argument of the chapter is that this historical racism is the underlying reason why, despite the long history of contact and limited visibility of African people particularly during slavery in 18th century Scotland (Chapter 3), the degree of African/Caribbean visibility has fluctuated over time.

First, a discussion on the idea of "race" and racism and first usage is undertaken. The second aspect of the chapter is concerned with the Scottish intelligentsia, many of whom put forward negative and sometimes racist images of Africans, often based on

no direct experience whatsoever. It shows how racist images of inferiority of Africans were perpetuated through the pens of such Scottish intellectuals as David Hume, George Combe, Thomas Carlyle and Robert Knox, who believed in African inferiority/ European superiority. The chapter traces and analyses the racist dogma penned by these early Scottish writers to provide a picture of the development of racist ideas towards people of African origin and descent outwith and in Scotland. The chapter then examines one Scottish group, missionaries, who reproduced and perpetuated racism about African/Caribbean people. This group has been chosen because Scottish missionaries formed an important link between African people and Scots as a result of their proselyting overseas and as Ayandele (1966) noted that " of all the Europeans in Africa they [missionairies] were closest to the people" (px vii). Using mainly documentary sources, primary and secondary, the chapter shows how these racist ideas and images about African people have been passed down through the centuries and have been generated and reproduced in Scotland. The following section illustrates an early historical development of race and racism in Scotland.

4.3 RACE and RACISM : DEFINITION AND FIRST USAGE

The word "race" according to Banton (1988) has been around for "less than 500 years" (p.16) with it being first recorded in the English language in 1508 in a poem by William Dunbar (Husbands 1982:12). The meaning changed and in 16th century European language was "focused upon knowledge about race" (Banton 1987: xi). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "race" was used to denote a class of persons or thing (Husbands 1982:13). In the 19th century the word came "to signify an inherent physical quality "(Banton 1977:18) which persisted into the 20th century and was informed by notions of biological difference and inferiority/superiority as epitomised by the Knox's (1850) *The Races of Men*. Although the meaning of race as biologically given has been discredited it still informs commonsense beliefs of race and its ideology racism. In the 20th century the concept of "race" as a social construction (Jackson and Penrose 1993) as opposed to its former racist hierarchical meaning, is utilised widely in academic discourses in the social sciences.

The term racism on the other hand has only been in existence since the 1930's when it entered the English language (Banton 1988:26). Definitions vary. Smith (1989:5) sees it as "the doctrine of biological inequality" (p.5) while Miles (1989) argues that "the concept of racism should be used to refer only to what can broadly be called an ideology" (p.3). Benedict and Weltfish (1947:98) define racism as a belief or doctrine

based on the assumption that "one ethnic group is condemned by nature to hereditary inferiority and another group to hereditary superiority" (p.98). When Smith, Benedict and Weltfish's definitions are put into practice, racism can have dreadful consequences for those at the receiving end. Having lived in Scotland for the past fourteen years and having experienced racism both institutional and personal my view of racism reflects Jackson's (1987) perceptive description as:

> a set of interrelated ideologies and practices that have grave material effects, severely affecting black people's life-chances and threatening their present and future wellbeing (p.3).

Although the word racism is relatively new it may be used retrospectively to describe views expressed by some Scottish writers, in particular Hume (1748), Knox (1850), and Carlyle (1849, 1853). This argument can also be applied to the language used by the Scottish poet William Dunbar (Dunbar1786; Laing 1934) in the sixteenth century to describe the African woman he came in contact with at the Scottish Royal court. With hindsight and knowledge of the cosmopolitan nature of the Scottish court (Lynch 1992) in the reign of James IV, it comes as no surprise that "race" was first used by a Scot, for as a poet Dunbar must have met with the people of various European nations who were at the Scottish court, for example the French, the Italians and the Spaniards. The presence of Africans possibly widened his perceptions for here he was confronted with people who differed not only in skin colour from those that he was accustomed to, but also in facial features as his poem dedicated to an African woman was to reveal. Dunbar's poem *To Ane Blakmore Lady*, (see Appendix 3) was possibly the first of its kind to be written about an African woman in the English language.

If a modern reading of the poem is to be relied on it is not very flattering to the African woman and Africans in general. The poem is satirical and disparaging in tone; what in the Scots tradition is called "flyting" or the art of poetic insult (Edwards 1990). Dunbar wrote in a language which would today be considered both sexist and racist (Dixon 1969; Edwards 1990). The African woman under discussion was likened to "an aep" (stanza 2). Dunbar's 16th century poem is evidence of how long the association of African people with ape in people's consciousness existed in European societies. The poem reflected views about Africans and apes at this time for as Walvin (1973) points out that from the sixteenth century to the late 18th century there was a consequent European curiosity about the possibility of an evolutionary relationship between the African and the ape (p. 168). The association of Africans with apes or animals gained pace in the seventeenth and particularly in eighteenth centuries during the era of slavery, gathered momentum in the 19th and 20th centuries and reached its zenith in the Hitler era. She shone as bright as" ane tar barrell "resembles the "tar baby" image

of the colonial era.

Dunbar in describing the tournament of "the black knight" in which the African woman was the lady of the tournament provides evidence of the presence of African people in 16th century Scotland. This high (if equivocal) status for an African woman produced a racist condemnation some 400 hundred years later by Sir James Balfour Paul, the editor of the accounts of the High Lord Chancellor who felt that the king, James IV, brought the tournament "an institution" into "disrepute from his fantastic elevation of a negress to a position which in the palmy days of chivalry had only been held by the fairest and noblest in the land" (ALTHS III: lii). Balfour Paul was evidently imbued by the racist climate of white superiority of late 19th and early 20th century. However, the fact that an African woman could have become the "lady of a tournament" provided a picture of tolerance of colour. Black individuals seemed to have been treated no differently from the native Scots or other white foreigners, Italians and French, at the Scottish court. The imageries of his poem are still evident in racist discourse of the present day Scotland and England. Dunbar might have been a friend to the Africans at the court as he and they are documented as receivers of benevolently donated goods and money. This style of "friendly" racist ridicule is still evident in 20th century television comedies. Dunbar's racism was probably in jest but the Scots of the 18th century were serious as the following phase of ideas of race as difference, tied to notions of racial inferiority/superiority showed.

4.4 THE PART PLAYED BY SCOTS IN THE EMERGENCE OF RACISM

In any discourse on the history of racism or racial consciousness it is remarkable how Scots feature. Scots are as prominent in the development of racist thoughts as they are in the annals of marine engineering. However, this in not to say that Scots *per se* are racists for just as many Scots have been vociferous in their condemnation of slavery as well as in opposing ideas of racial inferiority and superiority. These include individuals such as John Stuart Mill (Walvin 1973), James Beattie (Beattie 1770), the Scots abolitionist John Ramsay (Shyllon 1977b), James Stephen (Davis 1984) and missionaries such as David Livingstone (Schapera 1960) and Mary Slessor (Livingstone 1916). However, there are two sides to the coin. The story of Scotland's anti-slavery and anti-racist sentiments has been told time and again (*Scotland and Africa* 1981; Mungo Park 1798, 1838 ; Miles and Muirhead 1986). It is time that the other side of the coin, which is not widely publicised, is examined within a Scottish context and not only in a British context as is usually the case when considering characters such as

David Hume and Thomas Carlyle.Thus this section of the thesis examines the part played by some prominent Scottish individuals in developing racism.

Although Edward Long (1774), is regarded as the father of British racism, racist views were expressed by Scots too. British racism received some of its early input from the Scot born and bred philosopher and sceptic, David Hume. In fact, Scottish intellectuals, with the enlightened tradition of Edinburgh, were some of the first to expound upon the idea of "race" and its ideology racism, negatively as well as positively. As Africans came into closer contact with Europeans, they came under closer scrutiny and wonder gave way to questionning. That Africans were human (Curtin 1972) had already been resolved by the late 17th century but whether they were the equal of, or inferior to, Europeans was the burning question (Williams 1970). Individuals of various European nations made pronouncements about Africans, especially from those countries participating in the slave trade namely France, Holland and England. Race was also an important issue in Scotland. Although Scotland was not a major participant in the slave trade, its writers were some of the most vociferous on the debate of the inferiority of the "negro" [African]. Some of these writers such as David Hume, George Combe, Thomas Carlyle and Robert Knox have been chosen because of their stature in historical Scottish and British intellectual thought, and more importantly because of the part they played in the development of polygenist views. As Scots they provided the theory for racist practice both English and Scottish. Through their writing racist ideas were generated and reproduced in and outwith Scotland. Their ideas of African inferiority/ European superiority and of conflating skin colour with intelligence still hold sway in contemporary Scottish/British society. David Hume is the first individual discussed followed by the others in the name order stated above.

4.4.1 DAVID HUME

The philosopher, David Hume, in mid-18th century Scotland, made one of the classic European condemnations of Africans, in *Treatise of National Character* (1758), by positing that they were inferior because of their perceived absence of cultural achievements (Beattie 1770; Horton 1868,1969; Curtin 1972; Gates 1987). Civilisation he argued belonged only to the white race. Thus he wrote in his footnote:

> I am apt to suspect the negroes and in general all other species of men (for there are four or five other different kinds) to be naturally inferior to whites. There never was a civilised nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures among them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous

> of whites such as the present Tartars have still something eminent about them in their valour, form of Government. (Hume 1758:125)

Even though it can be argued that the above passage was the sum total of what Hume had to say on race, considering the extensive volumes of his writings and that race was not his major preoccupation, he made a distinctive contribution to the racist view that there was a causal connection between race and culture. Reverberations of Hume's sentiments of biological as well as cultural inferiority can still be felt in today's Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom. Although notions such as "biological" inferiority are no longer held seriously 'this does not mean that they do not still command wide respect or survive implicitly in many of the more 'respectable' assumptions and imagery still current today (Hartmann and Husbands 1974 ; Smith 1989; Gilroy 1993). In Scotland it is the belief in biological inferiority of Africans as shown by Daniels (1986) in his study *Racial Discrimination in England*, which underlies African/Caribbeans not being promoted to managerial jobs (see Chapter 5) because of the cultural assumption that Africans do not manage whites, whites manage Africans.

Hume's (1748) attack on the African population dispersed throughout Europe was equally perjorative "there are negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity" (Hume 1758:291). For Hume, a philosopher to use the position of enslaved Africans to make his point about Africans lacking ingenuity was both irresponsible and racist (Fryer 1983). His remarks suggests that he accepted these ideas of European cultural superiority and African inferiority as a matter of course. On the positive side, however, he provides evidence of an African population in eighteenth century Europe. Hume failed (or refused) to see what his fellow Scot, Beattie (1770) *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, in a rebuke of Hume, remarked:

> that a condition of a slave in not favourable to genius of any kind... That a negro slave who can neither read nor write, nor speak any European language, who is not permitted to do anything but what his master commands, who has no friend on earth but is universally considered and treated as if he were a species inferior to human; that such a creature should distinguish himself among Europeans, as to be talked of through the world for a man of genius, is surely no reasonable expectation. To suppose him of an inferior species, is just as rational, as to suppose any private European of an inferior species, because he has not raised himself to the condition of royalty
> (Beattie 1770: 481-482).

Beattie's rebuke of Hume suggests that even at this period of "Africa and African

bashing" there were men of principle, even though their voices would have been in the minority, who were prepared to defend humanity. That Hume, a moral philosopher, should adopt such pro-racist views knowing fully well that his status would give authority to such views was irresponsible to say the least. Beattie's rebuke did not convey the impression that he felt Hume's remarks on Africans to be unimportant. "These assertions are strong" he stated "but I know not whether they have anything else to recommend them" (Beattie 1770:480). Although it may be considered simplistic to attribute beliefs of inferiority of African people to Hume, a single individual, his remarks became authoritative because of his intellectual standing and today they stand as a landmark in Scottish/British negation of African presence and cultural achievements. Hume's remarks were directed at diaspora Africans in the Caribbean too:

> In Jamaica indeed they talk of one negro, as a man of parts and learning, but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly (Hume 1758:125).

Although it can be argued that Hume was decrying the rote learning system of Cambridge University in this period of time, his personal attack on Francis Williams was too pointed and suggests he had a prejudice towards and contempt for Africans. Williams, a Jamaican of free black parents, was brought to England, as a child, by the Duke of Montagu, then Governor of Jamaica. The young Williams was sent to a public school and later attended the University of Cambridge (Long 1774; Scobie 1972; Fryer 1983). Hume dismissed Williams' academic achievements by likening it to teaching a parrot a few words. For one of Williams' background, coming from a slave society, to have scaled such heights was a monumental achievement. Hume was so racially biassed that he missed the point that was being made. He failed to see that anyone given freedom and educational opportunities could develop successfully. Instead his arguments were based on ideas of racial differences. Africans were "naturally inferior to whites", therefore Williams' achievements had to be "slender", in other words there could be no meaningful exceptions to the rule. His attack on Williams was unjustified, racially motivated and would not have made life easy for him. In fact Williams was unable to obtain a government job when he returned to Jamaica and was forced to open his own school (Long 1774; Scobie 1972). Unknowingly, Hume set the scene whereby any person of African origin or descent no matter how highly educated can be regarded as inferior or of low status on the basis of skin pigmentation alone. Hume's sentiments are still expressed in contemporary Scotland where educated and professional African/Caribbeans are almost automatically regarded as of low status because of skin colour (Chapters 5 and 7).

Hume's philosophy was never intended to embrace all of humanity but was basically Eurocentric and the African was never part of his positive philosophising. However, the comments of a famous Scottish intellectual put the stamp of intellectual respectability on arguments concerning the racial inferiority of Africans and their descendants. Some scholars argue that Hume's remarks were unimportant as they were made in a footnote to one of his later editions, but coming from the pen of such a powerful writer they were still capable of harm. Gates (1987), an African-American, argues that Hume's views were adopted by writers such as Kant, in the mid-eighteenth century, who drew "the correlation of blackness and stupidity" (p. 19) and Hegel who noted "that Africa proper as far as history goes back, has remained - for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world - shut up "(in Gates 1987: 19).

In the twentieth century Hume is still the subject of criticism (Williams 1962; Curtin 1964, 1972; Fryer 1983; Gates 1987). Walvin (1971) who is scathing about Hume, noted that "Hume, an educated, sophisticated man should choose to ignore the evidence contradicting this view and instead contribute to the perpetuation of mythology indicates that prejudices often stemmed not from the ignorant but from the informed and enlightened" (p.21-22). Other intellectuals of African origin and descent, such as Africanus Horton (1868) and Eric Williams (1964), have been critical of Hume's remarks. It is extremely difficult as some one of African origin or descent not to find Hume's remarks racist and rather insensitive with his views reducing your existance to insignificance. The late Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Eric Williams, pondered that "if this could have been said by a British philosopher, the father of scepticism, one could imagine what would be said by British planters on the slave plantations" (Williams 1962:30). As an African/Caribbean living in Scotland where one's presence is shrouded in invisibility but at the same time at the receiving end of racism based on views of such individuals as Hume (1758), it is difficult to understand those who see Hume's remark as just a one-off comment. Today the well-being of African people living in white majority and dominated societies, is still affected by these old but not forgotten views. Even though it can be argued that by singling out Hume, writers underestimate the depth of the problem by attributing profound historical consequences to a footnote by one man, the sentiments he so flippantly expressed as (Gates 1987) notes became" prescriptive" (p.18) and assisted in depriving African people of equality especially in European societies up to the present day. Hume's footnote also indicates a practice of relegating Africans to the footnotes of history as has been done with so much information on the history of Africans in Scotland. This relegation to the footnote instead of text has also served to render them

invisible.

Not only was Hume's views on the negation of Africa and Africans elaborated by Kant and Hegel (Gates 1987), Hume gave respectability to the idea of Africans being inferior, providing slave-owners and planters with intellectual ammunition. Walvin (1971) argued that the views of Hume "achieved wide publicity and added strength to the planters arguments" (p.21). Fryer (1983), for example, points out that Samuel Estwick, the son of a Barbadian planter, and a British Member of Parliament for 16 years, quoted Hume to justify the continuation of African slavery. His pamphlet was also a source for Edward Long's 18th century "doctrines of innate black inferiority" (Fryer 1983: 158). It is of interest that Long (1774;477) quoted Hume in support of his attempt to denigrate Africans generally and Francis Williams in particular. Both Edward Long (1774) and Bryan Edwards (1793, 1819) utilised Hume's ideas in their denigration of diasporan Africans in the Caribbean. Edwards and Long may have been correct in their description of the enslaved Africans they administered "driven from their homeland to the heart of the Caribbean" as reggae singer Bob Marley puts it. What, however, they were wrong to do was to see this degraded state as a natural feature of Africans. In Caribbean society where racial superiority and arrogance thrived, as Edwards (1793, 1819) himself admited:

> It very frequently happens that the lowest white person considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best educated free man of colour, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description. (p.23).

Planters could not see that their own actions were responsible for the degradation of the Africans. Long (1774) quite consciously defended the interest of planters while Edwards (1793, 1819) was fully aware of being a participant in the gathering conflict over slavery and abolition. Hume, on the other hand, was a moral philosopher, one of the most influential of Scottish and British philosophers, yet he passed judgements on African people which still have serious repercussions up to the present. Hume's sentiments of inferiority and culturelessness are still alive in contemporary Scotland as well as in England.

From the time of David Hume's writing there seems to have been a consistent tendency by other Scots to justify and support theories of African inferiority. The matter of fact way in which Hume posited African inferiority suggests that these views were part of Scottish society and consciousness. Thus even though Hume cannot be solely blamed for racists views held or developed in society, he as a Scot gave racist views intellectual credibility indicating that such views were as much part of Scottish as of other European

societies. That such views were generally held in Scotland now appears to be forgotten and this forgetfulness is indicative of the historical invisibility of African/Caribbeans in twentieth century Scotland. As history shows, the development of derogatory racist thoughts about Africans and negation of their achievements continued in the eighteenth century as well as during the 19th century, the period of colonial expansrion and emancipation. The writings of George Combe and Thomas Carlyle are two examples from this period. Combe's remarks about Africans were pre-abolition while Carlyle's remarks were post-abolition. Both employed the premise of racial inferiority when writing about African people.

4.4.2 GEORGE COMBE

Combe's contribution to the degradation of the Africans took several forms. In his book *A System of Phrenology* (1825) he posited that intelligence can be detected from the shape of the human skull. Combe, like Hume, believed in European superiority (Curtin 1964) but he took the inferiority argument one step further by using a part of the human body, the skull, instead of the absence of cultural achievements and the negation of history, to justify his arguments. African people were still inferior but for Combe it was more mental than cultural. He argued that:

> The brains of the EUROPEANS NATIONS differ considerably from other but a common type characterises them all, and distinguishes them from those now described. They are larger than the Hindoo, American Indian and the Negro. This indicates superior force of mental character (Combe 1825 :356-357).

Combe further considered the "European skull" to be the "most beautiful and perfect of all the national crania in the world" (Combe 1825:356-357). Echoing Hume, he added to the" inferiority" debate by proposing a link between stupidity and blackness. He argued that the "Negro is in bondage, because his native dispositions are essentially amiable...If he were by nature proud, irascible, cunning and vindictive, he would not be a slave and as he is not so freedom will not generate these qualities in his mind"... (Combe 1825: 355). Combe's description of Africa and Africans followed the same root as Hume and presaged the 20th century reiteration of Hugh Trevor Roper that "Africa has no history".

The reproduction of ideas of cultural inferiority and the negation of Africa and Africans continued in 19th century Scotland with Combe asserting that:

> the history of Africa, so far that Africa can be said to have a history presents similar phenomena. The Annals of the races who have inhabited the continent with a few exceptions, exhibit one unbroken scene of moral and intellectual desolation (Combe 1825 :329-330).

These beliefs in Africa having no history bear striking parallells to there being no

history of the African presence in Scotland. Combe was determined to take away from Africans anything which suggested that they could be equal to Europeans. Africans who were black, beautiful and intelligent were never Africans but more like Europeans. Thus he argued that

> the Caffres are entirely black but bear no trace of negro features. In the form of their skull andface they differ little from the most perfect Europeans. The race is ingenious in several arts (p.353).

Thus Combe having discovered that what Hume said about Africans having no arts was false, decided that these people could not be Africans even denying their Xhosa identity for the racist term "Caffres" [Kaffir] a form of racist abuse used in South Africa by whites to address Africans, especially speakers of Bantu languages. History has shown how apartheid made Africans invisible in South African society during its many years of racist practice. Africans who did not measure up to the European stereotype of Africans or more specifically to his fellow Scot, Lord Kames' (1774) description of Africans "flat nose, thick lips" were never "proper" Africans.

This denial of identity and cultural achievements continued so much so that when Africans showed ingenuity or some forms of civilisation these were considered to be of non-African origin thus stripping the African of any form of achievement or advancement. Combe commented of Africans discovered in the interior of Africa who showed "a state of comparative civilisation" ..." It is said that although they are jet black, they are not Negroes, and it is conjectured that they are the descendants of the Numidians of Ancient History" (p.330). Combe further postulated that "if representations of their attainments be correct, I anticipate in them a brain developed like Europeans" (Combe 1825:330). Thus jet black African became "honorary whites" based on level of intelligence and high achievements. These sentiments expressed by individuals such as Combe, as well as Hume, that African people had no civilisation is still fashionable and has had great influence in reducing the visibility of Africa and African people generally. For example, even though Egypt is positioned on the continent of Africa, in popular beliefs Egypt just seems to be suspended in mid-air with no particular geographical location. Rarely is it linked to the continent of Africa. Likewise, popular beliefs in history avoids linking the Egyptian civilisation to Africans. This failure to connect Egypt with Africans and Africa is so deeply entrenched that when the Tutankhamun exhibition toured Europe no reference to his African heritage was made. Again when the exhibition " Gold of the Pharoahs" was brought to Scotland no attempt was made to link the Egyptian civilisation to the continent of Africa even though as John Stuart Mill in his rebuke of Thomas Carlyle noted that "the original Egyptians are inferred, from the evidence of their sculptures,

to have been a negro race" and "the earliest known civilisation was, we have the strongest reasons to believe, a negro civilisation" (Walvin 1971: 204).

Combe's ideas were influential and did not just remain in Scotland, but crossed the Atlantic to America. Now part of the Atlantic world, they were put into practice against the enslaved African population of America. Curtin (1964) points out that "partly through Combe's influence, Samuel Morton,...became interested in collecting and measuring skulls" (p.367). Morton, who had studied medicine at Edinburgh University believed "that a ranking of races could be established objectively by physical characteristics of the brain, particulary its size" (Gould 1981:51). Morton's work on the human skull as Gould (1981) remarked "matched every good Yankee's prejudice - white on top, Indians in the middle and blacks at the bottom" (p.51). Gould in *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981) demonstrated how Morton finagled his measurement of the different skulls by "favourable inconsistencies and shifting criteria" (p.68) and "miscalculations and convenient omissions" (p. 69). For example, in measuring what would today be termed the African-American skull Gould's investigation showed that " Morton used an all-female sample of Hottentots to support the stupidity of blacks, and an all-male sample of Englishmen to assert the superiority of whites" (p.68). Thus, through Morton's friendship with Combe in Edinburgh, another theory for the denigration of Africans with the ultimate aim of reinforcing their invisiblity was transplanted from Europe to America. Combe, a Scot, added a new dimension, mental inferiority, to the inferiority/superiority framework. In the twentieth century the idea of mental inferiority of African people remained in British schools with "large numbers of black children in schools for the educationally subnormal and the overwhelming concentration of blacks in the remedial and lower streams of comprehensive schools" (Stone 1981,1985:175). Notions of black underachievement is thus one more negative stereotype (Gillborn 1993). Instead of measuring skulls to determine intelligence, sophisticated methods of Intelligence Testing (IQ) are now used, supporting Smith's (1993c) argument "that there are continuities linking the old and the new times" (p.55).

4.4.3 THOMAS CARLYLE

Racism against African people continued after the abolition of slavery in 1834 with Carlyle, a master of polemics, producing some of the most virulent racist caricatures of African people (Williams 1964, 1970; Curtin 1964; Walvin 1971,1973; Fryer 1983: Rich 1986). His defamation of the character of Africans by making stereotypes respectable continues into the present day within and outwith Scotland. In the *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question* (1849, 1853) he used the collapse of

the sugar system in the British Caribbean to launch a savage attack on the character of Africans and their descendants. Africans and their descendants became the scapegoat for the collapse of the British Caribbean sugar system (Williams 1970; Walvin 1971, 1973) as Carlyle firmly believed that their 'natural' characteristics were responsible.

Carlyle had visited Ireland and witnessed the poverty and devastation wreaked on the Irish people by the potato famine. The very different plights of white planters in the Caribbean and the rural poor in Ireland brought out the racism in Carlyle. His resentment is clear; "beautiful blacks sitting there up to their ears in pumpkins, and doleful whites sitting here without potatoes to eat" (p.6). He attacked Afro-Caribbean mirth blaming it for the wretched position of white planters without their slaves:

> That the Negroes are all happy and doing well. A fact very comfortable indeed. West Indians whites, it is admitted are far from happy ... at home too, the British whites are rather badly; several millions of them hanging on the verge of continual famine... But thank heaven, our interesting Black population... are doing remarkably well. sweet blighted lilies'... Our beautiful Black darlings are at last happy; with little labour except to their teeth which surely in those excellent horse-jaws of their, will not fail! (Carlyle 1849, 1853 :4).

Carlyle, like others before such as Edward Long (1774), was quite comfortable to equate Africans with animals. This continues up to the present day in Scotland with African/Caribbeans being called names such as monkey and ape (Chapter 7). Like the other Scottish writers discussed, Carlyle believed in European superiority and African inferiority and saw it as unjust that Africans should be living a 'comfortable' life while white men were not getting food to eat. African people in Carlyle's belief were "useful in God's creation only as a servant" (Carlyle 1853:42). Thus Carlyle took the inferiority argument further by implying that African people were inferior not by chance (Curtin 1964) but from creation, thus absolving slave masters and the institution of slavery from blame for dehumanising their existence. In response to the resistance by ex-slaves not to be subjected to their former masters, Carlyle responded with the naked power approach:

> if Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing out those sugars, cinnamons and nobler products of the West Indian Islands, for the benefit of all mankind, then I say neither will the Powers permit Quashee to continue growing pumpkin there for his own lazy benefit (p.37).

Carlyle's caricature of the "lazy" African with "rum bottle in his hand" (p.13) lingers on in 20th century England. Echoes in Scotland are typified by the late Scottish M.P. and advocate Sir Nicholas Fairbairn who once attacked a Government scheme to promote black businesses describing the plans as " in favour of lazy West Indians at

the expense of diligent Asians" (*The Independent on Sunday* 5 April 1992:2). Carlyle promoted that stereotype "Sambo" caricature of Africans being "a merryhearted grinning, dancing, singing, affectionate kind of creature" (p.14). He, as many other whites in and following the slave era, could not come to terms with the fact that the Africans could be happy in spite of their servile position. So instead of perceiving this cultural practice, reproduced in the Caribbean culture, as a means for survival and a way of alleviating the monotony and drudgery of slavery, it was seen as a justification for slavery. Carlyle misrepresented Afro-Caribbean mirth for his own benefit and reproduced with redoubled venom an already existant representation. Carlyle was well aware that "black laughter" was hated by whites in the colonies and played upon the stereotype. However, for African people, in the slave colonies, laughter was a strategy and was as Levine (1977) pointed out "a compensation mechanism which enabled blacks to confront oppression and hardship" (p.299). Even today the spontaneous joviality of African people is seen in the words of Levine as the "happy-go-lucky, Sambo image" (Levine 1977:300). As with laziness so the ready affectionate smile of the African is another enduring stereotype as epitomised by Enoch Powell's 20th century "wide-grinning piccaninnies" (Gilroy 1993a:26).

Carlyle, publicised the practise whereby the African name of the slave became a form of abuse. Thus male names, Quashee (Kwesi) and Sambo, and female names such as Quasheba, creolised forms of authentic African names, became for African people universal forms of abuse and derision. In Caribbean societies, during slavery and after emancipation, Quashee, the male stereotype denoted lying, thieving and being lazy while Quasheba, the female, was "licentious, treacherous and thieving" (Bush 1990:53). Growing up as a child in Guyana on the Demerara coastland "Quashey" and "Quasheba" were forms of abuse which Afro-Guyanese had internalised and were still in regular use in every day village life but with a meaning which signified stupidity. "Sambo", along with the modern addition of "Kunta Kinte", is still a form of abuse for African people in 20th century Scotland (chapter 7). Africans suffered doubly, not only were their indigenous African names supplanted by European ones, making their historical and their contemporary presence invisible in white societies such as Scotland, but they had to get accustomed to the fact that all African men were "Quashee" or "Sambo" and all African women were "Quasheba", denigrating and depersonalising their identities and reducing their presence to invisibility.

Walvin has commented aptly that Carlyle's work was "one of the most nakedly racist tracts to be laid before the English reading public" (Walvin 1973:166). In Carlyle's

time, however, his views had many supporters and objecting voices, such as John Stuart Mill's, were in the minority. As a result the racial dogma he penned was never universally rejected. Even today, when Carlisle is mentioned by some writers he is rebuked in two or three lines for his racist beliefs while pages are written on his work ethos. Said (1993) sees this type of omission as a:

> quite serious split in our critical consciousness today which allows us to spend a great deal of time elaborating Carlyle and Ruskin's aesthetic theories, for example, without giving attention to the authority that their ideas simultaneously bestowed on the subjugation of inferior peoples and colonial territories (Said 1993:12).

As a Scot, Carlyle differed little from the blunt tradition of some Scottish writers, but not only was Carlyle blunt, he was also offensive and racist, playing up to the sentiments of the moneyed ex-slave owning planter classes in the Caribbean and the slave owning population of the American south. Thus, while degrading the Africans "he praised the English as a chosen people, whose glorious mission was to throw open the world's waste land" (Fryer 1983: 172). Carlyle's imperialism might be the reason why some writers consciously or unconsciously make him English by referring to him only in a British/ English context. Walvin (1971), for example, comments that Carlyle's "remarks remain a shameful landmark in the English vituperation of the Negro" (p.117). Carlyle was, however, a Scot and remained so to the end preferring a burial in Scotland rather than at Westminister Abbey. G.A. Shepperson clarified the wavering nationality of Carlyle in his introduction to the National Library of Scotland publication *Scotland and Africa* (1982 :6) noting that Carlyle, who had never visited Africa, set the seal on Caledonian Caucasian prejudice.

4.4.4. ROBERT KNOX

Robert Knox, on the other hand, did visit Africa. Curtin (1964) noted that "as an army surgeon he served in South Africa from 1817 to 1820" (p.378). It was during his service in South Africa where he spent some time at the Cape of Good Hope that he became interested in the different tribal groups such as the Xhosa (whom he refers to as Caffres), the "Bosejeman" who he points out "simply means the man of the bush" (Knox 1850 p.232) and the Hottentots. A medical doctor by profession, Knox became infamous for his involvement in the Burke and Hare grave robbers scandal. Struck off from the medical profession he was as Curtin (1964) noted "forced to live by his pen rather than his practice" (p.378). His rejection by the respectable elements of society seemed to have provided him with time for his speculation on the 'races of men'. His lectures formed the basis of his formidable book *The Races of Men* (1850). Knox renewed the polygenesis argument which once prevailed though now liberated from a

religious context and advanced the concept of race:

> Men are of various Races; call them Species if you will; call them permanent varieties; it matters not. The fact, the simple fact, remains just as it was: men are of different races. Now the object of these lectures is to show that in human history race is everything (p.2).

For this dogmatic man, race was the sole determinant of human history;" race is everything: literature, science, art- in a word, civilisation, depended on it " (p.v). He even argued for "two distinct races of men in Scotland" (p.15). "To me" Knox argued "the Caledonian Celt of Scotland appears a race as distinct from the Lowland Saxon of the same country, as any two races can possibly be" (p.14). Conflict, he felt, between "lower and "higher" races was natural and inevitable, but most profoundly, for Knox the ultimate inferiority of the "lower races" was mental, with skin colour essentially a convenient outward indicator. He proposed that each racial type, which he classed as white, yellow, black, was suited to its own geographical place. Like the other Scots racist writers, discussed above, Knox was also convinced of the cultural inferiority of Africans but viewed their supposed inferiority in physical terms:

> as regards mere physical strength, the dark races are generally more inferior to the Saxon and Celt; the bracelet when worn by the Kaffirs, when placed on our own arms, proves this (p.226).

With hindsight the trivial nature of these arguments is laughable but as Curtin (1964) argued "he carried the idea of race struggle further than his fellow racist " (p.380). Knox continued the line of pronouncement by Scottish intellectuals that Africans have no history; "the past history of the Negro, of the Caffre, of the Hottentot and of the Bosjeman is simply blank - St Dominique forming but an episode" (p. 244). Thus he dismissed the victorious Haitian revolution of Toussaint L'Ouverture (James 1938) and his successor against Napoleon Bonaparte, while dropping all Africa into historical oblivion. No clearer example could be found of how nineteenth-century western thought constructed an historical teleology which excluded all save its own triumph.

Like Hume, Combe and Carlyle, Knox continued to relegate Africans from history but went beyond them in conjecturing African annihilation. He even argued that as the Negro race would become extinct, it would be desirable to preserve a few specimens "already there is one stuffed in England; another in Paris" (p.238). He was, of course, referring to the exhibit of Saartje Baartman, the South African Khoi woman whose body has been preserved in the Musee de l'homme in Paris (Edwards and Walvin 1983; Fryer 1983). Knox used the classical Greek argument, that certain categories of people were born to be slaves, to justify the continuation of African slavery in the Caribbean and the Americas. He extended this argument by arguing "that since the

earliest of times the dark races have been the slaves of their fairer brethren" (p.224). Thus, for Knox, a dark skin was not only a sign of inferiority, it was also a mark of servitude. Like Carlyle, Knox provided spurious intellectual justificat ion for slavery. The feeling of hatred of African people (Fryer 1983) which came through Knox's writing and to an extent Carlyle's, reached its peak in the heyday of empire in the early twentieth century. Hatred of African people is still felt and has been transposed into the unjustifiable racist physical and verbal abuse meted to some African/Caribbeans (see Chapter 7) in 20th century Scotland.

Philips Curtin (1964) argues that Knox has been underestimated in the development of western racist thoughts. His influence was great as his ideas were developed and perpetuated through the emergent discipline of anthropology and the Anthropological Society founded in 1863 " to test (in practice, to substantiate) the racial hypothesis" (Fyfe 1972:60). Fyfe also argued that even though Knox's book did not have "a wide readership" the theory he "expounded became widely popular in Europe and white America" (p.60) indicating the wide geographical influence of his views as well as its implications for diasporan Africans who suffered immensely from such racists thoughts. However, while Knox was writing his racist theories about the "negro" race: Afro-Caribbean (Sheridan 1985; Lorimer 1978) and African-American (Dixon 1969; Lorimer 1978) students had already started to study medicine at Edinburgh University. An African student, Africanus Horton, a medical graduate of Edinburgh University, whom Knox missed in his class by two years (Fyfe 1972) later challenged Knox's erroneous views respecting the African in *West African People and Places* (Horton 1868, 1969:19). In response to Knox's idea of inferiority, Horton argued that:

> the damaging influences to which the negro race has for centuries been subjected, have not been favourable to the improvements of their conditions, nor in any way raising their minds to a higher species of cultivation; trampled under foot by perpetual despotism, enslaved from one generation to another, inhabiting the most wretched hovels that it is possible for humanity to exist in, deprived ofevery means of education or of witnessing the conquests of arts and sciences, pent up as it were within the circumference of their own towns and villages, not daring to travel even a few miles without an escort for fear of being captured and sold as slaves, can there be the least doubt in the minds of the unprejudiced that their present unimproved condition is the natural sequence of the operation of these powerful demoralising re-agents? (Horton 1868, 1969:32).

Horton's criticism extended to the Anthropological society whose Vice President, Sir Richard Burton, the explorer, was "the most determined African hater" (Fyfe 1972: 60). He argued that the society:

> might be of great use to science had it not been for the profound prejudice exhibited against the negro race in their discussions and in their writings. They again revive the old vexed question of race, which the able researches of Blaumenbach, Prichard, Pallas, Lacepede, Quatrefages, Geoffroy, St Hilaire, and many others, had years ago (as it was thought) settled. (Horton 1868, 1969 :.32).

Horton further went on to show how absurd and misleading the racists were to those unacquainted with the African race:

> they placed the structure of the anthropoid apes before them, and then commenced the discussion of a series of ideal structures of the negro which only exist in their imagination, and thus endeavour to link the negroes with the brute creation. Some of their statements are so barefacedly false, so utterly the subversion of scientific truth, that they serve to exhibit the writers as perfectly ignorant of the subjects of which they treat.
> (Horton 1868, 1969: 33).

It must have been difficult for educated individuals such as Africanus Horton. Being the few educated African/Caribbeans around at this time they as individuals had to take on the whole white establishment which denigrated the very existence of African people making them invisible in white dominated society and denied their cultural achievements worldwide. Today, these men have to be saluted for being courageous enough to stand up to the racism many so eagerly and systematically practiced and which, in various guises, continues into the present day with changes in form over time.

Thus from about the mid 18th century, open racial prejudice was expressed about Africans by influential Scots. Even though prejudice was expressed in print by a relatively few individuals, their prominence in society made it a matter of course that their thoughts were widely known. The racial inferiority doctrines and the disparaging ideas they expressed about African people persisted in people's consciousness and unconsciousness. An examination of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of1797 when it was published in Edinburgh, show how the belief in African inferiority could have reached a wide audience in the society. The entry on Negro in the 1797 edition states "Negro, a name given to a variety of the human species, who are entirely black, and are found in the Torrid Zone" (p.794). The definition continued and reflected the prevailing views of African cultural inferiority as "being savages they have no arts to protect them from the rays of a burning sun" (p. 795). The character of Africans was thus summed up:

> Vices the most notorious seem to be the portion of this unhappy race, idleness, treachery, revenge, cruelty, impudence, stealing, lying profanity, debauchery, nastiness and intemperance, are said to have extinguished the principles of natural law, and to have silenced the reproof of conscience. They are strangers to every sentiment of compassion, and are an awful example of man when left to himself (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1797:794).

Definitions and pronouncements on African people seemed to have changed with the times and reflected current thoughts so that in the 1911 edition, Thomas Joyce, ethnographer and anthropologist, was utilising a Social Darwinian element not present in the 1797 edition "that mentally the negro is inferior to white" and stands" "on a lower evolutionary plane". It is difficult to believe that these thoughts which abounded escaped Scotland and the Scottish people. Scotland was a fairly open and liberally minded society. It was only necessary for literate Scots to look up materials such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to gain an unfavourable image of Africans. Working class Scots could also have been influenced by one important literate group in Scottish society missionaries, for as Moorhouse (1973) noted it was the working classes who first supported missionary work, the middle classes joined later. Missionaries on home leave, on lecture tours(Miles and Muirhead 1986; Bell 1992) provided first-hand information on the African people they preached to overseas. They had lived overseas converting "the heathen". Thus the close contact they had with African people makes them an ideal choice for the next phase of the discussion on Scottish historical racism vis-a-vis African people.

4.5 SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES

This section examines some ways in which racism was reproduced and perpetuated by Scottish missionaries in Scotland. It limits itself to Scottish missionaries from the late 18th to the mid 19th century,

Books written on Scottish missionaries have over the years emphasized the positive effects of missionary work on Africa in similar ways as Ayandele (1966) argued cultural nationalists in Nigeria "emphasized only the negative results of missionary enterprise on Nigerian society" (p.283). Thus the Church of Scotland Group on Multicultural Education (1990) goes a long way in acknowledging that "the Church as an institution is deeply implicated in the spread of racism ... the unpalatable but inevitable interpretation to be drawn from the history of the Church both in Scotland and abroad in the past and now "(p.82) Scotland, like other European countries, played an important part in missionary work in Africa (Ajai 1965) and in the Caribbean (Caldecott 1848,1970). Even though "Scotland was late in sponsoring foreign missions" (Drummond and Bulloch 1975 :138) it is able to boast a list of famous missionaries such as John Philips (Ross 1986; Drummond and Bulloch 1975), David Livingstone (Fraser 1911; Schapera 1960; Neill 1966; Moorhouse 1973), Robert Moffat (Northcott 1961), Hope Waddell (Ajayi 1966; Caldecott 1970; Drummond

and Bulloch 1975) and Mary Slessor (Fraser 1911; Livingstone 1916) who made a great impact on Africa and Africans in their work. The achievements of these Scots have been told time and again contributing to the anti-racist tradition for which Scotland is renowned.However what this section sets out to do is to examine how some Scottish missionaries, could have perpetuated racist stereotypes of African people. Even Livingstone, a subject of mass adulation by his fellow Scots in his life time and long after his death, felt that Africa required "a long-continued discipline and contact with superior races by commerce" (Hibbert 1982:261) and did see Africans as heathens and uncivilised. However, David Livingstone was one of the few Scottish missionaries to insist on the full human potentials of Africans.

In many ways some Scottish missionaries seemed to have continued from where the Scottish racist intellectuals left off. Scottish missionaries seemed to have imbibed aspects of the philosophy of racial inferiority and superiority widespread at this time. In some ways this was implicit in their project as they believed themselves to be bringing not only Christianity, but also civilisation. However, Scottish missionaries were by no means unique in their perpetuation of racist images. Christian missionaries of all European nations were guilty of this. Such views are brought out clearly in their writings. Titles of books written by missionaries, for example*: In the heart of Savagedom, Winning a primitive people*; or Duff MacDonald (1882) *AFRICANA or the Heart of Heathen Africa* conveyed the wrong impression, even though it can be argued that MacDonald's book was one of the more interesting and unbiased books written on Africa at this time. The language used to describe the people missionaries went out to convert to Christianity leaves much to be desired. " Savages", "heathen" and "child-like" litter the pages of Christian missionaries.

The beliefs and images held by Scottish missionaries which came out clearly in their writings suggest that ideas and images on "race" were accepted and reproduced in Scotland. Notions of racial inferiority which racist writers posited about Africans emanated from their writings. When missionaries dedicated their lives to help the heathens, savages, "or ignorant and lower races" as the Scottish missionary Donald Fraser (1911:4) described this section of humanity, they were operating within an established framework "without divesting of white supremacist thinking about blackness" (hooks 1992:10). The notion of African inferiority which came over in missionary writing seem to have been as acceptable to Scottish society as it was to other European societies.

The text book, *The future of Africa* written by Donald Fraser, missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Nyasaland (now Malawi), specifically for the training of missionaries showed how many preconceived ideas missionaries were fed about Africans even before they set foot in Africa. Missionaries were taught about the superior status which they had to adopt over the Africans:

> experience seems to teach, however, that the African is most efficient as an evangelist when guided and controlled. The time has not come yet, when his mental balance, or his religious character, are ready for entire and unguided responsibility (Fraser 1911: 206).

Undoubtedly ideas such as these contributed to the development and perpetuation of cultural arrogance. Advising incoming missionaries about their paternalistic duties Fraser stated:

> so far the African artisan has not yet shown himself as efficient as the European. His initiative faculties are great, but his power to progress when left to himself is limited. You will find natives running the steamers on the Niger, building the houses of Europeans all over Africa, making furniture, printing text books. You will find them acting as clerks and telegraphists. But they will always require European superintendence to guide them and to keep them from deteriorating (Fraser 1911:151).

Today these beliefs in European superiority have been reproduced in the modern prejudices which begin to indicate, for instance, why African/Caribbeans are not able to achieve management jobs in Scotland. Africans were judged purely by European standards from which their lifestyle differed widely. Simmons (1955), for example, argued that missionaries:

> were not willing to study and observe the people first and to base their opinions and their policy on what they saw... they had a ready-made code, and they applied it automatically, that is why the account they gave of Africa and Africans, though it edified their readers, contributed so much less than it might have done to the better appreciation of African problems: an additional reason why, once again, though knowledge had grown, understanding had not grown in the same measure (Simmon 1955:17).

This statement applies as much to Scottish missionaries as to English ones, as it should be remembered that in some areas Scottish missionaries were in the forefront of the Evangelical mission concerned with the spiritual welfare of Africans. The beliefs evident in their writings show that ideas and images about race were accepted and reproduced in Scotland as in other parts of the United Kingdom. The pioneering work of missionaries ensured that they had as large and devoted a public as 20th century astronauts on their early flights into space. Like astronauts, missionaries were pioneers into "unknown" areas. Scottish missionaries, like other missionaries, perpetuated the myth of the "childlike races of the Empire" whom they had to protect as well as Christianise. While 19th century racism promoted Africans and their new world

descendants as beasts who had to be controlled and made to labour, 20th century racism promoted Africans as hopeless and helpless beings who needed the care and attention of missionaries.

Preconceived ideas about Africans were not only conveyed to missionaries on their way to Africa. Missionaries, in turn, provided racist images of the people they worked with foradults, as well the young, at home. Mackay of Uganda is an apt example. As Moorhouse (1973 :164) noted the book begins by stating that "This book is written especially for boys, in the hope that Mackay's example may lead many of them to think of Africa, and devote their lives to its moral and spiritual regeneration" (p.164). Moorhouse further pointed out how the magazine also perpetuated racism when referring to Africa and Africans. The language used would be considered extremely racist today but in the era of Empire building was acceptable:

> The moister the climate, the darker the complexion of the black, The inhabitants of Busongoru and Karague are black as coal, while the Bangoro are more of a chocolate colour, and the tribes from the hills of Busoga and Gambaragara are, some of them not much darker than Arabs. It remains to be proved but is, I think, true, that the darker the skin, the deeper the degradation (p.164).

Similar beliefs of racial inferiority exist today in Scotland even though they may not be so blatantly expressed, and this may be an unconscious reason why African/ Caribbean people in 20th century Scotland are not publicly acknowledged by the wider Scottish society (Chapters 5 and 6) or for that matter welcomed too enthusiastically in Scottish churches (as Chapter 7 brings out).

Miles and Muirhead in *Racism in Scotland: a matter for further investigation* (1986) argue, when discussing the impact of missionary thinking, that "as yet, we can make no substantive claims about the extent to which these ideas and images were accepted and reproduced by different classes in Scotland" (p.14). They further stated that this would depend, to a certain extent, upon the degree to which different classes were open to religious influence" (p. 14). Bell (1992) suggests that both the middle class as well as the working class were exposed to religious influence and to missionaries as the "influence and power of the church was much greater in the 18th and 19th centuries" (p.16). Bell (1992) also points out that the "sermons given by ministers and priests in Scotland during the colonial period often contained references to the work of missionaries and referred to the characteristics of the people whom the missionaries were working to "civilise" (p.16). It is likely, then, that a cross-section of the Scottish population would have been familiar with missionary ideas about Africa and Africans, even if more empirical research is needed to clarify this very broad picture.

The Duff lectures also provide evidence of how missionary ideas were perpetuated in Scotland, the lectures were delivered:

> not for the man who is steeped in missionary literature and knowledge. He does not need them. They are designed rather for the ordinary citizens, who prizes the great heritage known as the 'British Empire', who keenly desires its well-being, but who hardly realises how much of its present worthiness has been due to Christian missions
> (Ogilvie 1923:iv)

Thus a wide cross section of Scots would possibly have heard these lectures. Missionary work was bound to take on a racial aspect since Europeans were bringing the divine message to Africans and the doctrine of the day was European superiority, African inferiority. The Europeans, particularly the British, were full of self-confidence in view of the technological progress made in the previous centuries and saw themselves as destined to assume superior status over "the child-like races" of the Empire. Missionaries, generally, seemed not to have seen themselves in terms of equality with African people, their fellow human beings. They saw themselves as racially superior. The early experience of Marcus Garvey in Jamaica is an apt example. As a young boy he played with the minister's daughter, who was later sent off to school in Scotland and forbidden by her parents from writing to that "nigger" (Edwards 1967, 1987:4). These missionaries, showed clearly that notions of white superiority/ black inferiority were part and parcel of the thinking and belief of Scots as much as it was with the English. Missionary work went together with Empire building (Ogilvie 1923) and Scottish missionaries, like other missionaries, deviated from their spiritual role and became actively involved in this pursuit. Empire building went together with theories of racial superiority and encompassed all forms of racism; institutional and personal, often in outrageously overt forms. Thus when "missionary pioneers for Christ became pioneers for Empire" (Ogilvie 1923:3) they worked within this same racist framework and, consciously or unconsciously, let themselves open to the perpetuation of racism. Their "implicit acceptance of the superiority of European civilisation, expressed through the ideas they taught, contributed to the maintenance of white black relationship built on white supremacy" (quoted in Roucek 1970:3). This relationship, in subtle forms, is still evident in Scotland and has been documemted in English churches (Hill 1963) and possibly results in the mostly superficial friendships characteristic of white to black church goers in Scottish churches.

Missionary work and Empire building became inseparable with Christian missions "claiming lands for Christ, and seeking to win for Him the allegiance of the people"

(Ogilvie 1923:3). Thus instead of winning souls, Christian missionaries became an asset of Empire. Missionaries, Scottish, English and European, provided a mechanism whereby information about the Empire, together with the racist images many so willingly adopted could be perpetuated. Scottish missionaries provided the Scottish people with first hand knowledge of Africans through seemingly indisputable but in reality highly skewed, ethnographic and geographical facts . They had lived and worked among Africans so their writings and what they said appeared authentic and believable and as argued byBell (1992) "their pulpit formed an important channel for the popularisation of racist ideas"(p.16). Most sections of Scottish society seemed to have been connected to missionaries in one way or another.

The British Empire in its heyday may have been perceived by the English as solely theirs but Scottish missionaries, administrators and soldiers were among the driving force behind its success and development. "Returning soldiers to Scotland" as Bell (1992) noted "would discuss with their family and friends the people they had encounter while abroad. Their accounts were often shot through with the racist attitudes which justified and explained the presence of the British Army in Africa and India" (p.16). At the school level "the church played a very large part in Scottish educational systems" and " the racism inherent in conventional views of the Empire and its people, was part of a child's education" (Bell 1992:17). Scottish adventurers played a great part in the opening up of Africa to Europe so they too would have disseminated information about Africans. Missionaries, it should be emphasized played a significant part in laying the foundation for the British Empire particularly in Africa (Ogilvie 1923; Ajayi 1965; Ayandele 1966; Livingstone 1992). What missionaries said or wrote greatly influenced attitudes to Africa and African people as well as encouraged Britain's 'Scramble for Africa'. With the passage of time the views expressed by Scottish writers as well as missionaries have been forgotten in Scottish society but as Banton and Harwood in The Race Concept (1975) aptly sum up "the layman has heard the drums and cannons of the distant battle and many of these ideas, often in over-simplified form have entered his mental world" (p. 12). Thus even though their writings might not be readily visible the ideas of white superiority/ black inferiority which they contributed to, continue to exist in the peoples' consciousness.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has illustrated that Scots in the 18th century played a significant part in the emergence of racist ideas, as illustrated in the writings of Hume, Combe, Carlyle and Knox. Hume, a forerunner of systematic Scottish racism, justified the inferiority

of Africans because of their perceived absence of cultural achievements. From the time of Humes's writing there have been Scots willing to justify and support theories of racial inferiority. With the exception of Knox, the writers examined had never set foot in Africa, some others probably never came close to an African yet they postulated the inferiority of Africans by hearsay, by measuring their skulls but most of all by skin colour.

Ironically, whenever Scots philosophised or theorised about Africans, there seemed tohave always been an individual or individuals of African origin or descent around who had gone beyond the intellectual limits imposed by the theorists and who contradicted the theories postulated. Hume, for example, had the 18th century Afro-Caribbean graduate of Cambridge University, Francis Williams (Scobie 1972; Fryer 1983). During the late 18th century there were ex-slaves, such as Olaudah Equiano, living and writing in Britain. Olaudah Equiano visited Scotland to sell his book (Edwards 1969). Combe, for example, always welcomed African-American visitors to his house (Dixon 1969). William Wells Brown, one of Combe's African-American visitors stated that "during my stay in Edinburgh I accepted an invitation to breakfast with George Combe Esq. the distinguished philosophical phrenologist... I have since become more intimately acquainted with him and am proud to reckon him amongst the warmest of my friends" (Jefferson 1991:201). Nevertheless, Combe wrote about African people in unfavourable and disparaging terms. When Carlyle was writing John Baptiste Philip, a Trinidadian doctor of African descent had already graduated in 1818 from medical school in Scotland (Sheridan 1985).

Thus it can be argued that the above writers were not concerned with detailed research and neutral empirical investigation, which would have inconvenienced their theorising. They often selected second hand and dubious data to dismiss and deny African/ Caribbean achievements and presence , in the Carlylean mode of "I never thought the rights of Negroes worth much discussing" (Carlyle 1849, 1853 :34). These sentiments are indicative of the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in contemporary Scotland. Finally, although Scottish racism was part of a general European current, Scots in and outwith Scotland made their own powerful and distinct contribution to racist ideology. Indeed, the prestige of 18th century Scotland at the forefront of the human sciences guaranteed a wide and receptive audience for the Scottish racists. Thus racism in Scotland should not be seen as an offshoot of English racism; Scots provided much of the theory for English racist practice as well as for their own. More importantly, versioned racism has been in existence in Scotland for

a very long time. This evolving framework of racist ideologies (and sometimes, practice) has influenced the ways African/Caribbeans have been received in 20th century Scotland (Chapters 5 and 6). It provides also the historical context to contemporary racism (Chapter 7) against African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

CHAPTER 5 - THE AFRICAN/CARIBBEAN PRESENCE IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTLAND.

5.1 INTRODUCTION AND AIM

People of African origin and descent have had a long historical contact with Scotland and the Scottish people in and outwith Scotland as shown in Chapters 3 and 4. In spite of this centuries-old acquaintance the African/Caribbean presence in 20th century Scotland remains largely invisible. This chapter probes beneath the cloak of invisibility to examine the origins and characteristics of African/Caribbeans in Scotland today, and to provide information about the African/Caribbean presence both descriptive and analytic. It achieves this by first demonstrating the invisibility of African/Caribbeans in contemporary Scotland by examining aspects of life in Scotland in which they are marginalised, ignored or excluded.

Secondly, it describes the nature and composition of the contemporary African/ Caribbean community examining origins, migration patterns and social demographic characteristics. This is supported by evidence from the questionnaire, written and documentary, personal experiences and census data. Thirdly, an examination is made of aspects of socio-economic status such as education, employment, housing and residential patterns. In seeking to make the African/Caribbean presence in the late 20th century visible, the chapter evaluates ways in which the long history of the presence of African people in Scotland (Chapter 3) and the history of racism (Chapter 4) shape and constrain their presence in contemporary Scotland. The argument of the Chapter is that African/Caribbeans live in Scotland even though their presence is not widely acknowledged by policy makers, the public or academe. The chapter moves forward to establish the invisibility of African/Caribbean in contemporary Scotland.

5.1.1 INVISIBILITY OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTLAND.

The intention of this section of the chapter is to demonstrate the invisibility of African-Caribbeans in Scotland. It does this by examining aspects of life in which African/ Caribbeans people are marginalised, ignored or just simply left out. It explores published sources, Scottish news papers, community activities, personal experiences and views of respondents. The presence of people of African origin and descent living in contemporary Scotland is usually ignored. Before the 1991 census African/ Caribbean people were dismissed or marginalised by a society which viewed their presence in Scotland only as transient - students, sportsmen/ women, visitors and

entertainers but never settlers or permanent residents. African/Caribbean people resident permanently in Scotland were constantly forced to assert their presence, especially at policy makers meetings (the 1991 census has recently established their presence in Scotland and made their numbers official). Written sources, as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 1) almost invariably exclude the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland in the geography and history of African people in Britain. In Scotland, this omission is evident in written and documentary sources. For example, Scotland's first major study of its ethnic minority population by the Scottish Office (1991) although entitled *Ethnic Minorities in Scotland* excluded the African/Caribbean dimension because sampling was based on "distinctive names" (p.10). The argument was that Afro-Caribbean people, because of their experience of slavery, have similar sounding names to the majority society thus they cannot be easily identified. Africans, who do not have distinctive sounding names were not even considered. The exclusion or lack of visibility of the African/Caribbean dimension is not limited to the state government; local government also perpetuates the invisibility of African/Caribbean people, again, by their omission of people with names similar to the majority society as exemplified by two studies in Glasgow *The Experience of Ethnic Minority Applicants for Housing in Glasgow* (City Housing Glasgow 1992 and *'Ethnic Minority Residents' View of Council Services* (Glasgow City Council 1993). Both excluded African/ Caribbean people.

Sociological literature, too, on ethnic minorities in Scotland tends invariably to be about the "majority minority". The fairly recent literature on issues such as racism and migration in contemporary Scotland (Miles 1982, Miles and Dunlop 1987; Miles and Muirhead 1986; Dunlop and Miles 1990;) are biased towards Asians and Chinese. African/Caribbeans, although a visible minority in Scotland, are not considered a permanent part of Scotland. While it is often observed that Asians and Chinese are part of the fabric of Scotland because of the visibility of Asian owned and managed foodstores as well as Chinese owned and managed restaurants, African/Caribbeans with similar occupations as the majority society are not so easily recognised as a permanent feature of Scotland. Although a visible minority most references to African/Caribbeans depict them as transients- students, entertainers and sportsmen/ women. With population numbers of around six and a half thousand, their presence is marginalised as the numbers game is a political game played against Scotland as well as within Scotland. While it can be argued that African/Caribbeans are not given much prominence because of small numbers, it is difficult to justify, for example, the inclusion of Vietnamese (most of whom no longer reside in Scotland) and the exclusion

of African/Caribbeans. Miles and Muirhead (1986) in discussing migration to Scotland refer to a small number of Vietnamese. Bell (1992) likewise referred to Italians in Scotland, Poles in Scotland, Jews in Scotland, Asians in Scotland, Chinese in Scotland even Vietnamese in Scotland. African/Caribbeans on the other hand are excluded from this list. This exclusion of African/Caribbeans seems to be a matter of course when the different ethnic groups are listed. The visibility of Vietnamese as an ethnic minority in Scotland and the exclusion of African/Caribbeans brings out the social invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. The numbers game, which has to do with the small African/Caribbean community, as well as the way African people are viewed in white societies means that African/Caribbean people are marginalised in Scotland.

A recently published book by Mary Edwards (1993) entitled *Who belongs to Glasgow* depicts worrying continuations of African/Caribbean marginalisation and invisibility. The author states that when the research commenced

> "it was with a view to provide teaching material for Glasgow schools, perhaps as a point for some children towards recognising their own identity and developing a more informed understanding of others amongst whom they live, or in their adulthood, may work alongside" (p.11)

Yet when the different groups were decribed individually the African/Caribbean dimension in contemporary Glasgow was omitted. The chapters consisted of "Glasgow and Slavery; The Glasgow highlanders; the Irish in Glasgow; Glasgow Jewry; the Glasgow Italians; the Glasgow Polish Community; the Chinese in Glasgow; the Asian Community" but no chapter was about African/Caribbeans in Glasgow. The contemporay African/Caribbean presence was discussed under "Glasgow and Slavery" with the author stating that "Today while there is not a large population of West Indian origin now more accurately described as Afro-Caribbeans- living in Glasgow, there are several organisations such as the Afro-Caribbean Women's Association which have been formed to respond to this group" (Edwards 1993:24). While this new book should be given credit for acknowledging Glasgow's part and past in African slavery it marginalises the present day Afro-Caribbean population in Glasgow by mentioning them briefly only under "Glasgow and Slavery". Thus removing the historical roots of the African/Caribbean community in Scotland while the present day community is seen as having no Scottish roots or precursor. African/Caribbean contemporary presence is discussed by Edwards only in relation to England's African/Caribbean population but without reference to Scotland. The present day African population in Glasgow is not even discussed. What this book effectively does from an African/

Caribbean perspective is to visualise African/Caribbean people in Scotland merely as descendants of slaves while marginalising their contemporary presence in Scotland. The invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in such a recent and important book denies African/Caribbean children in Glasgow information about their contemporary presence in Glasgow. Even after the 1991 census African/Caribbean people still do not seem to be assured of a permanent place in contemporary Scotland. Since this book was written to be used in schools, the omission of a chapter on the African/Caribbean presence in Glasgow would futher perpetuate invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland among the younger generation.

The omission of the African/Caribbean dimension in Scotland is witnessed time and again, in circumstances that may sometimes seem trivial but when this practice is seen repeatedly it reinforces invisiblility of presence. Exclusion was evident in a letter by the Campaign for a Scottish Parliament to the Scotsman newspaper deploring "the recent harassment of English Settlers by Settler Watch" (*The Scotsman* 21 October 1993). Again the list of the different groups in Scotland omitted African/Caribbeans by stating that "Many Scots are of Polish, Italian, Asian, English or other descent just as many Australians and Canadians are of Scottish descent". While it might be argued that writers do not always have to list all the minority ethnic groups in Scotland when writing articles or books, the African/Caribbean dimension is invariably the one most likely to be omitted. These accumulated omissions, over the years, not only render the African/Caribbean presence invisible in Scotland but have the effect that when the majority community do see people of African origin or descent in Scotland they view them only as transients, like students, who will "go back where they came from".

An examination of some Scottish newspapers was undertaken to assess the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. While newspapers are acceptable sources of data both in a historical and contemporary context, it should be borne in mind that a newspaper's aim, while fulfilling its task, is to sell to make a profit. Thus newspapers reflect their readership market and provide information to meet those needs. As a whole newspapers pay attention to specific groups or sections of society. Thus *The Guardian* in a British context caters for a liberal and broadly middle class readership. *The Sun,* on the other hand, seems to aim for a more working class readership. In Scotland, *The Scotsman,* serves a mainly middle class readership while *The Record* seems to cater essentially for a more working class market. Neither *The Scotsman* nor *The Record* needs African/Caribbeans to sell newspapers. Hence

it is not compulsory to provide for their needs. Newspapers, however, reflect society and provide witting and unwitting testimony. With this awareness of source in mind the chapter proceeds to examine some newspapers.

A scrutiny of *The Scotsman* and the *Edinburgh Evening News* a year before the murder of the African student Ahmed Shek in Edinburgh in January 1989 for reference to African/Caribbean people in Scotland indicated that although people of African origin or descent were written about, often accompanied by the inescapable large photographs which dominate the page on which they are on, most of those featured have no permanent residential connection with Scotland. There are photographs of musicians, singers, actors, actresses and sportsmen/women, but very few of them live in Scotland. *The Scotsman* newspaper, from an African/Caribbean perspective, began the year 1988 with reports of the racist attack on Ranger's black English player, Mark Walters (18 January 1988) where "bananas were thrown on the pitch by Celtic and Hearts supporters" (*The Scotsman* 20 January 1988). The "racist incident" resulted in appeals to Scottish club supporters by Member of Parliament, Brian Wilson (*The Scotsman* 20 January 1988). Thereafter, most articles dealt with people of African origin or descent in the usual and familar frame of reference as entertainers or sports personnel. This stereotypical view of African people was particurly evident in the *Edinburgh Evening News*. Some typical captions included: "A giant blows in to celebrate" featuring Sonny Rollins (28 March 1988); "Real life humour" with Bill Crosby (5 April 1988); "Shuffling to stardom" with Robert Townsend (5 July 1988); "It's tough at the top" highlighting Sidney Poitier (12 July 1988); "Capital Gig for Jacko" [Michael Jackson] (14 July 1988). Other features were: "Amapondo, Africa's top traditional dancers" (1 June 1988); "Harlem Globetrotters" (10 June 1988); and "Robert sings the blues" (17 June 1988). While it can be argued that people of African origin or descent are visible in Scottish newspapers by huge captions and prominent photographs, invariably these individuals have no residential connection in Scotland. What is evident when the newspapers are scrutinised is the invisibility of those African/ Caribbean people who actually live in Scotland and of their community. At the same time the stereotypical occupations - singers, dancers, sportsmen/women -by which African people in Scotland (and elsewhere) have become associated are given prominence. These visual images of African people as visitors, entertainers and sports personnel from England and overseas (even on billboards) accentuate the mental image that African people are only transients in Scotland.

In 1989, the murder of the African student, Ahmed Shek, in Edinburgh provided some

unfortunate visibility for the African/Caribbean community, and also acted as a focal point for ethnic minorities in Scotland in general. This murder drove racism in Scotland onto the Scottish political agenda and racism was debated in the national press. However, this happened only after racism became a campaigning issue in the ethnic minority communities. At first it was the silence which surrounded the death which was most evident in Scottish newspapers. It seems strange that an incident of an African man visiting a pub in Edinburgh's Cowgate, being glared at menacingly, and then stabbed in the back (while retreating after sensing the atmosphere), by a white individual whom he did not know and had never met before, could be seen as any thing other than racist (barring mental disorder). Yet the issue was marginalised in the press.

A scan of *The Scotsman* index from January to June 1989 shows ten articles under the heading 'Race Relations' with five articles concentrated in the month of June. Nothing seems to have been written on this death before June. In January 1989 the caption for the index states "Govt to alter question on racial origin in census". In February 1989 the caption reads "When fear is the neighbourhood", while in March 1989 the caption reads "Judge may be reprimanded for remarks in after dinner speech". Nothing was mentioned of the death under Race Relations. In May it referred to "A race debate that cannot be shrugged off" (*The Scotsman* 20 May 1989). Two articles later in the year picked up the issue of the racist motivated death, "Racism in Scotland. Why the young will not wait" (*The Scotsman* 23 June 1989) and "Tension under the skin" (*The Scotsman* 27 June 1989) discussed the deteriorating situation of racism in Scotland. What is notable about these articles entitled "Racism in Scotland" was that even though the death was of an African, public debate concentrated on the Asian experience of racism. African/Caribbean people were virtually ignored. No African/Caribbeans were among the contributors or interviewees quoted or photographed in *The Scotsman* articles, racism was seen mainly from the Asian perspective. The African/Caribbean experience of racism in Scotland was marginalised.

A further perusal of *The Scotsman* index from July to December 1989 produced five articles under Race Relations. Two dealt with the issue of racism in Scotland. One discussed "the popular myth that there is no racism North of the Border" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989) and the other discussed the "myth of racism in Scotland" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989). The latter article examined racism mainly from an Asian perspective. What was even more exclusionary of the African/Caribbean dimension was the fact that the booklet *'A People Without Prejudice? the experience of racism in Scotland'*, "written to confront the popular myth that there is no racism

north of the Border" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989) focused only on the "increasing racial tensions and gives examples of Asian families in Scotland who suffer verbal abuse, arson, racist graffiti on their property, physical attacks and murders" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989). No mention was made of the racism experienced by African/Caribbean people. Their experience and presence remain invisible.

For the purpose of balance the *Glasgow Herald* was also examined for the month of January 1989 to see if the larger number of ethnic minorities living in Strathclyde might have some impact on what is reported on African/Caribbeans in Scotland. However, the same pattern of invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland was observed. While it can be argued that people of African origin or descent are featured, of the six articles/ photographs, none was of African/Caribbeans in Scotland. On the 11 January the Glasgow Herald newspaper showed two African boys holding guns as "soldiers leave Angola" (p.11). On page twenty-one there was a photograph of African-American television chat-show hostess, Oprah Winfrey and on page twenty-three a photograph of black British heavy-weight boxer, Frank Bruno. January 13, featured the Princess of Wales talking to a black woman in London at a visit to "Families together project" (p.13) while on the 25 January, opera singer Willard White is pictured in a group in front of the Theatre Royal in Glasgow (p.3). Last but by no means least, the 27 January shows African-American boxer, George Foreman under title "Stuff which legends are made of" (p.47). The murder of the African man in Scotland seems not to have been featured in the Glasgow press.Thus although people of African origin or descent are seen or read about in Scotland they are viewed through images which have no connection with Scotland. The invisibility of African/Caribbeans living in Scotland is enhanced by the visibility of those who do not. While people of African origin or descent from elsewhere are recognised and celebrated those in Scotland are marginalised with little or no notice taken of their presence.

In order to further demonstrate the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland, a later survey of *The Scotsman* for a six month period in 1993 (June - December), by which time it might have been thought that the population figures of the census would have been digested, shows no change. Of the eighty-seven articles/ photographs counted of people of African origin or descent, only two dealt with their presence in Scotland. One article "The raw pain of new roots", (*The Scotsman* 4 November 1993), featured Afro-Scot singer Susan Bonnar and her trip to Blacksburg in the United States of America to find her African-American father and roots. The

other article dealt with footballer Justin Fashanu's "bid to buy Old Town pub" in Edinburgh (*The Scotsman* 29 December 1993). Most articles and/or photographs concerned Africa and the African diaspora: "Uproar in court as [Chris] Hani murder accused goes on trial" (5 October 1993); "Mandela warns of IRA style terrorism in South Africa" (11 October 1993)"; "South African talks to go into eleventh hour" (20 December 1993); "Black American wins Nobel prize" (8 October 1993) [announced Toni Morrison, the first African-American woman to win a nobel prize for literature]; "Nobel peace prize for Mandela" (16 October 1993); "Jean-Bertrand Aristide greets Haitian exiles" (25 October 1993). While it can be argued that people of African origin and descent living outside of Scotland are given fairly wide coverage and are very visible by unusually large (and to some extent patronising) photographs which dominate the page on which they are on, their counterparts living in Scotland are as invisible as those living outside of Scotland are visible in Scottish newspapers. The invisibility of African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is remarkable in *The Scotsman* newspaper, which in particular, shows people of African origin and descent, especially in its overseas coverage, but articles on those who live in Scotland are few and far between.

The stereotypical view and image of African people is, however, maintained in Scottish newspapers. Wide coverage is given to sportsmen/women and entertainers from England or the United States of America: "Christie storms to victory" (31 July 1993); "Burrel blasts back to pip Christie as Lewis flops (5 August 1993); "a spar turn, know what I mean Arry" (1 October 1993) showing the black English boxer Frank Bruno in a less than flattering role; "Eubank demands over 2.5m for third Benn fight" (22 December 1993). It is these prominent images in the media which reinforce and perpetuate stereotypes. Again, although people of African origin or descent are featured as being in Scotland, many are visitors: "Mandela to receive nine 'freedoms' in Glasgow" (4 October 1993) ; a photo and write up of contralto singer Cleo Laine (of part Afro-Caribbean descent) at the Glasgow Concert Hall (5 October 1993). While African-American entertainer "James Brown thrilled the Aberdeen Alternative Festival Audience" (18 October 1993), another article was entitled "Muhammad Ali greets a fan in Edinburgh" (20 November 1993). The prominence of visitors, sportsmen/women and entertainers in Scottish newspapers, it is argued, assists in accentuating the stereotypes associated with the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. While it is pleasing to see Africans and diasporan Africans on television and to read about them in Scottish newspapers it is disconcerting not to be seeing, or reading about, those for whom Scotland is home. Since these articles/photographs are rarely balanced by reports of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland the impression created and perpetuated is that African/Caribbean

are transients and do not belong to Scotland.

Similar trends have been encountered in the *Edinburgh Evening News*. Of the fifty-four photographs/write ups, which featured people of African origin or descent, counted for the months of June/July 1993, only one about Justin Fashanu (15 July 1993) referred to a resident (and even this was dubious as Fashanu was only here to play football). Basically the coverage was the same of mainly African-American entertainers or visitors: "Cheers for Whoopi" (5 June 1993) referring to actress Whoopi Goldberg; "Tina just loves her rugby" referring to singer Tina Turner (8 June 1993); "Plans signal Diana's return" (17 June 1993) referring to singer Diana Ross; "Prince pops into Meadowbank Stadium (28 June 1993) referring to the singer now "formerly known as Prince" ; "Whitney in off-key return" (8 July 1993) referred to singer Whitney Houston; and "Oprah to make new movie" (9 July 1993) referred to television chat show hostess Oprah Winfrey. What is evident from an African/Caribbean perspective is that Scottish newspapers are more about giving visibility and voice to people of African origin or descent who live outwith Scotland than it is about recognising those who live in Scotland. Bell hooks (1992) from an African-American context, while "acknowledging our place in the African diaspora, our solidarity and cultural connections with people of African descent globally" (p.133) warns against this practice which give voice [and visibility] to African people from elsewhere while systematically suppressing the local ones (hooks 1992). However, it can also be argued that the small size of the African/Caribbean population (6000) hardly makes them significant in terms of newspaper sales and circulation in Scotland. The apparent lack so far of newsworthy Afro-Scottish celebrity figures who might help to boast newspaper sales may also contribute to their absence in Scottish newspapers.

At the community level, omission of African/Caribbean people was and still is to a certain extent a matter of course. It is at the community level, in particular, in which the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is invisible. While Scots are willing, however reluctantly, to acknowledge Asians and Chinese living in Scotland the same awareness is not extended to African/Caribbean people even though residence is known. In my own experience as a community education worker, I have always found it necessary to remind committee members, policy makers and service providers that African/Caribbean people live in Scotland. In fact, even the community education worker job in which I worked, though advertised for a "black" female worker, stipulated that applicants should know a community language which only took the Asian and Chinese languages into account. So pervasive was the invisibility of the

African/Caribbean presence among service providers that African/Caribbeans were ignored even when they were part of community groups or committees. This omission was particularly evident when the proceedings was chaired by an African/Caribbean, whose presence in Scotland was totally ignored with members just pursuing matters concerning the "majority" minorities. *Avenues to Equality in the Arts* (1989) a conference organised by The Scottish Arts Council and The Scottish Council for Racial Equality is one such example. Most speakers dealt solely with the 'majority' minority at the exclusion of both the Chinese and the African/Caribbean communities. Even the guest speaker from Strathclyde Regional Council Education Committee spoke only about the 'majority' minority until the marginalisation of the Chinese community was pointed out by a Chinese participant. An African/Caribbean participant was not allowed a say on the exclusion of the African/Caribbean community as this session was quickly brought to a end because of the obvious dissatisfaction among delegates at the blatant omissions.

What is worthy of note at the community level, and among service providers is the consciousness and unconsciousness which operate with regards to the African/ Caribbeans. At one level African/Caribbean individuals are recognised but at another level community is not. Although individuals are acknowledged and known to be living in Scotland they are still seen as strangers. One respondent described the situation of "not being recognised as being present in Scotland (as an African) to the point where when you fight for services, policy makers don't know how to treat you because to them minority ethnic group refers to Asians". Basically African/Caribbeans are not accepted as belonging to Scotland no matter how long they have lived here as their dark skin colour, their badge of "alieness" and "absence", makes them outsiders and invisible respectively.The consciousness of physical presence and unconsciousness of any qualities attached to that presence enable the majority society to view African/ Caribbean people in Scotland how and when they want to see them. This one of the paradoxes of invisibility.

Articles written on the position of ethnic minorities in Scotland in English/British National newspapers show a similar exclusionary pattern. *The Guardian*, for example, one of the more egalitarian of British newspapers, marginalises the Scottish experience per se concentrating mainly on English and British issues (with Scottish issues almost invisible). When articles are written about ethnic minorities in Scotland the African/Caribbean presence is invisible. Two articles are of special note. In 'The Underdog bares its teeth' (*The Guardian* 11 March 1992) written about ethnic

minorities in Scotland, it was claimed that the "Scots are too busy hating the English to abuse ethnic minorities" (p.25). These ethnic minorities in Scotland were estimated by a senior official of the Commmission for Racial Equality in Scotland as being "more than 50,000 people" ."About 65 % are Indians or Pakistanis and 15 % are Chinese" the article stated. It further noted that Scotland has "substantial populations of Italians and Jewish people" (p.25). Nothing was mentioned of African/Caribbean people as the popular view that African people do not live in Scotland had not yet been challenged by the 1991 census results. Again 'Races Apart On The Celtic Fringe' (*The Guardian* 5 January 1993) even though acknowledging the visibility and presence which the census accorded ethnic minorities in Scotland proceeded to marginalise the African/ Caribbean presence. "The vast majority of ethnic minorities" the report stated "is of Pakistani or Indian origin, about 20 percent are Chinese and a tiny fraction is Afro-Caribbean" (p.10). Thereafter the African/Caribbean dimension was completely invisible with not even the mention of the presence of Belizean forestry workers in Scotland during and after the Second World War, which is the period of time discussed by the article.

This denial of an African/Caribbean presence in contemporary Scotland society is in opposition to the fact that Africans have been living, working and walking the land of the Scots for over 400 years (Chapter 3). In 20th century Scotland these facts remain invisible. A general amnesia attends the historical presence of Africans in Scotland (Chapter 3) as well as the development of racism by Scots against African people (Chapter 4). While many Scots are aware that African people lived in historical England, particularly in the 18th century, as a result of Britain's involvement in colonialism and slavery, the same awareness does not extend to the African historical presence or to the fact that African people might well be living permanently in contemporary Scotland. Although an official survey of the views of the majority society was not undertaken, evidence, such as that perpetuated in the media (as discussed above), suggests that African/Caribbean people are transients and do not live in Scotland. These views were also evident at established reference libraries in Scotland. Enquiries about information on African people in Scotland for this and other research, both in a contemporary as well as historical context were met with negative responses. Some library staff were adamant that information on people of African origin or descent in Scotland would not be found even though, as it turned out, Scottish libraries do possess information (albeit fragmentary) of the presence of African people in Scotland. This is, however, not widely known.

In my experience, the belief that African people do not have a permanent presence, contemporary or historical, in Scotland was often held by academics too. A few with whom I spoke or to whom I wrote soliciting information were not knowlegeable of the historical presence of African people in Scotland. However, knowledge of an African presence and "the sense of otherness" (as one academic replied) in Scottish literature was known. At least one official of the National Galleries of Scotland although providing me with information on the use of reference material in the gallery, never-the-less stated in his letter "I must say, however, that no obvious examples of black people in paintings of Scotland come to mind". The research has proved this to be inaccurate as the National Galleries of Scotland do possess such paintings. Exhibitions, workshops and seminar-presentations which I undertook on the African presence in Scotland, at the International Women's Day celebration in 1990, 1991, 1992 at the City Chambers, Edinburgh, and the Second Scottish Conference for Geography Post Graduates (1991) at Glasgow University, created surprises. Many participants were taken aback by the revelations particularly of African people in slavery in Scotland in the 18th century, Africans at the Scottish court of James IV as well as the presence of Belizean workers in contemporary Scotland. Several participants stated that they were not aware that African people had lived in Scotland particularly as slaves, much less of their contemporary presence. Many assume the present day African/Caribbeans to be mainly students, visitors /entertainers.

African/Caribbean people living in contemporary Scotland are rarely thought of as permanent residents even though many have lived in Scotland for many years and have children and grandchildren born here. Forestry workers of Belize (discussed in chapter 5) who worked in the Scottish Highlands during the Second World War (Ford 1984; Sherwood 1985) have been living here for ove 50 years. Today, these men are old, some living a lonely life but many in Scottish society are unaware that they exist (Pendreigh, *The Scotsman* 8 May 1993) much less of the valuable services they provide during the second World war. Their efforts and lives go unnoticed in Scottish society with not even the fiftieth anniversary of their war efforts celebrated.

Scotland's longstanding student association with Africa and the Caribbean (National Library of Scotland 1981; Fryer 1983; Besson 1989) and African-Americans (Dixon 1969) and the tradition of African, Afro-Caribbean and African-American entertainers visiting Scotland has produced stereotypes. As a result African/Caribbean people living in Scotland are seen as transients, students, entertainers, artistes and sports men/ women irrespective of their occupation, and no matter how long they have lived in

Scotland. Perceiving African/Caribbean people in Scotland mainly as transients - students in particular who upon completion of their studies would go home indicates the level at which the unconscious perceptions are operating. This enables marginalisation of the settled community with it assuming the mantle of invisibility. This ability to see African/Caribbean people in Scotland mainly as students and all as transients is a paradox.

Viewing African/Caribbean people mainly as students/transients is a rather convenient way of ignoring those who live permanently in Scotland. Questions asked and statements made by many in Scottish society convey the feeling of strangeness: "Are you a student?", "Are you a visitor?", "Don't you speak the language well!" (no matter your accent may be Scots), "When are you going home?" , "You must be freezing in this climate!". What is particularly pointed with the queries by complete strangers is the taken for granted way in which it is assumed that African/Caribbean people are not part of the fabric of Scotland. All these are constant reminders to African/Caribbeans in Scotland that even at the close of the the 20th century they are still aliens, "dark strangers" who do not belong here, although some have been born here and know no other home.

Most importantly, this invisible status and denial of presence of African/Caribbean people in Scotland is recognised by African/Caribbeans themselves. In the survey 54 % of African/Caribbean respondents stated that they are treated as strangers in Scotland. Comments made included: "just unaccepted by not being spoken to", "Scots think only white people are Scottish"; "black people not accepted as belonging here"; "most think we are students, on our first meeting I'm often asked where are you studying?"; "Always assume I have immigrated or if the conversation is about Scotland or Edinburgh can seem surprised that I can know so much about its history not realising I was born here"; "Apart from close friends - they always assume that because you are black, you are temporary"; "Strangers ask how I cope with the cold and want to know when will I go home"; "blacks not Scottish, not indigenous, not white"; "just unaccepted by not being spoken to"; "People would not accept 'Scotland' in reply to the Question "where are you from", they push for an answer of an African country for example" ; "the fact that you are always treated as an outsider that must not be encouraged to stay too long"; "Always think you are on a visit, black people not accepted as belonging here". On the awareness of their presence in Scotland 29% of respondents felt that Scots are not aware that African/ Caribbean people live in Scotland, while 46 % felt that Scots are aware that they live here even though "they pretend not to" and "they don't want to know" but "increasingly

becoming aware especially in the central belts".

The overall invisibility which attends the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland may well not in the main result from a deliberate and conscious choice on the part of most individuals in the majority society to exclude them as a permanent part of the social formation in Scotland. Rather such factors as their small numbers, geographical dispersion, white collar occupations and the lack of a clear profile or niche in Scottish life (unlike the Pakistani retailers or Chinese restauranteurs) mean that many Scots simply have little awareness of their presence. This invisibility may therefore partly result from lack of knowledge on the part of the host society or on information.The fact that, until recently, many African/Caribbeans in Scotland were students probably reinforces the picture that African/Caribbeans tended to be transient and therefore not really involved in the permanent mainstream of Scottish life. It is possible that some individuals in Scottish society who are aware of the permanent presence of African/ Caribbeans do make more or less conscious choices to ignore or exclude them from various facets of Scottish life. Lack of awareness and deliberate exclusion both contribute in different ways to invisibility and adversely affect the attempts of African/ Caribbeans to be accepted and integrated into many facets of life in Scotland.

The preceding arguments demonstrate the many aspects in which the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland has been marginalised or ignored. Although the transient presence is acknowledged the permanent presence is shrouded in invisibility. This social invisibility despite physical visibility enables African/Caribbean people in Scotland to be taken note of as and when it is convient to do so. Even though the permanent African/ Caribbean presence stretches back to the early part of the 20th century this fact remains invisible and unacknowledged. Now that the fact of invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland has been established in several aspect of their presence, it is the intention henceforth to bring to visibility the contemporary presence. The chapter proceeds to lift the veil of invisibility by examining how the 20th century community developed.

5.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN/CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY IN 20TH CENTURY SCOTLAND.

The assumption is often made that the presence of black skinned people in 20th century Britain dates back to the period immmediately after the second World War when there was an influx of Commonwealth immigrants into Britain (Jackson 1987). The same assumption is made for Scotland where there was immigration from the the Indian

subcontinent (Miles 1987). This foreshortened view of the presence of black minorities in Scotland is a shortcoming of ethnic studies in general (Lawrence 1982b). By forgetting history, shrinking the immediate past and classing the present African/Caribbeans as transients their presence becomes invisible.

However, African/Caribbean people were residing in Scotland throughout the early 20th century apparently unnoticed, certainly forgotten. It is difficult to put a beginning to the community since there seems to have been some continuity from the late 19th century population of seamen, students and ordinary residents, mainly children of the two previous groups. It is this historical presence of African/Caribbean seamen and students and the temporary and transient nature of their abode which now determines how the contemporary African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is perceived. The historical location of African/Caribbean seamen in dockland areas and students in close proximity to University areas seem also to have influenced the way the contemporary permanent community is viewed as transient.

Since the presence of African/Caribbean people in Scotland was never systematically documented, even for the early 20th century, evidence for this period is derived from piece-meal information. Rich (1986) for example, noted that an appeal was launched in Glasgow in 1916 "to provide recreational and welfare amenities for 300 African men" (p.40). They were probably soldiers, seamen or labourers who were assisting in the war efforts. Jenkinson (1985) provides further evidence of an African/Caribbean presence in Scotland when:

> Cornelius Johnstone, a coloured man, was charged at Glasgow Police Court on Saturday with having kept or used a hall at 60 Mains Street, Gorbals, for public dancing without having obtained a licence, as required by the Glasgow by-laws for places of entertainment ... the premises had been rented for purpose of a coloured man's club... (*Glasgow Herald* 3 November 1919; Jenkinson 1985).

When the police raided the premises in the early morning of September 27, the hall was packed with dancers. The court case, unwittingly, provides a glimpse of a hidden African/Caribbean presence with individuals enjoying themselves socially and culturally.

There were several likely reasons for the developing presence of people of African origin and/or descent in early 20th century Scotland. As with other British cities around this time the 20th century black population growth seem to have started with the transient sea going population in the port areas of Leith and Glasgow. Jenkinson (1985) in the *Glasgow Race Disturbances of* 1919 showed at least 30 African seamen (p.49)

who seemed to have been victims of racism, arrested and charged for their involvement in the disturbances between white and black seamen. The first influx of seamen occured around, during and after the First World War. The discharge of seamen from the Merchant Navy in Glasgow and Edinburgh is one origin of the permanent African/ Caribbean community. Two Afro-Scots in their 70's, with whom I came into contact during my research, had fathers who were seamen from the Caribbean. One was born in Glasgow where his father was based. The other was from a celebrated black family from Leith who himself had a career at sea and now lives in retirement in Edinburgh.

Following the First World War African/Caribbean people remained in Scotland. The 1920s provide concrete evidence of a striving African/Caribbean community in Glasgow with seamen, students, and professionals in residence (Jenkinson 1985; Besson 1989). One such individual, Leo Daniels, a black Canadian, founder of the African Races Association of Glasgow, who lived at 11 Carnarvon St, Charing Cross, "had lived in Glasgow for 34 years" (Jenkinson 1985: 63). An exchange of letters between Leo Daniels and Mr Robert Russa Moton, Principal and successor to Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute Alabama, USA after MotonÆs visit to Glasgow in 1922 showed something of their ecomomic level. Moton's reply to Daniels' appeal for funds stated that " I would strongly urge you to draw just as largely as you can upon your own people there in Glasgow for the support of your movement. From what I saw of them they are far from poverty stricken" (Jenkinson 1985:63). This suggests that individuals, such as James Miller, ships joiner, seamen, and professionals such as Dr Riberio of Accra and Dr James Horsham of Meharry Medical College (Jenkinson 1985:63) did indeed make up a community.

Another reason for an increase in the presence of people of African origin and descent in Scotland in the early part of the 20th century was the pull of the Scottish Universities. African-Americans, in particular, were attracted to Scottish Universities (Dixon 1969) as they offered the educational opportunities that they were debarred from at home because of segregation laws. British colonial students, too, seized the opportunity that the Scottish educational system offered. The study of medicine was one of the attractions of Scottish Universities and students from West Africa and the Caribbean came to Scotland (Sheridan 1975; Besson 1989). Besson (1989) for example, noted that when he arrived in Scotland from Trinidad in 1921 to study medicine there were West Africans, Trinidadians, Guyanese and Jamaican students studying there already, following in the footsteps of Trinidadian John Baptiste Philip who graduated as a doctor of medicine in 1815 (Sheridan 1975) and Africanus Horton, the first African student

at Edinburgh University who also graduated in medicine in 1859 (Fryer 1983).

Becoming a doctor posed problems for many British colonial blacks who studied in Britain. The racism they encountered upon completion of their medical studies forced many to remain in Britain. It was not easy for them to gain employment in the country of their birth at the height of the Empire as their employment was decided by the Crown Agents and Colonial Medical Service in England (Besson 1989). Besson came in direct contact with racism after he graduated in Edinburgh in 1926 when he inspected advertisements for jobs in the medical quadrangle of the University and one advertisement for a job on a tea plantation in Celon stated that "only those of European origin need apply "(Besson 1989:73). This reason may partially explain why Caribbean doctors were prominent in England and Scotland in the late 1940's and the 1950's.

Many doctors trained in Scotland eventually practised here. Former Belizean forestry workers spoke of Dr Beckles, Dr Savage and Dr Labenjoh as doctors who worked in Scotland. Later there were dental surgeons, Mr Oddoye who worked for many years in Fife, Mr Neizer, and Mr Tetteh-Larteh, the black dentist of Dalkeith, all Ghanaians. Dr Besson, with his Guyanese wife and children, returned to Edinburgh in 1956 and lived here until his death in 1986 (Besson 1989). The names of African/Caribbean doctors and dentists kept coming up during informal discussions and gave the impression that it would have been fairly easy for a person of African origin or descent to go to a black G.P. or dentist in the late 1950s or 1960s in certain areas of Scotland. A few Belizean workers said that their family doctor was African/Caribbean. Some of these doctors have died, others chose to go back to Africa or the West Indies upon retirement. A few still remain in Scotland. Their Scottish born or Scottish raised children still live here.

The experience of black professionals not being able to obtain employment in their country of birth did not only apply to the medical profession. Besson (1989) stated that a Trinidadian friend who studied in Britain could not gain employment as a teacher at home because that profession was open only to whites. He took up residence in Edinburgh where Besson claimed "he must have starved many a day" (p.65), being jobless. His inability to obtain a job in Scotland too would most probably have had its underlying racism similar to that experienced by Thomas Jenkins in mid 19th century Scotland (Chapter 3 and 4). Eventually Besson's friend went back to Trinidad and opened his own school.

The Second World War brought new African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans to Scotland (Sherwood 1985). Forestry workers, mainly from Belize (then British Honduras), but including Trinidadians and Guyanese, became part of Scottish society after working for the war effort in the Scottish Highlands (Ford 1984; Sherwood 1985). Many married Scottish women after the end of the war and settled down in Scotland to a Scottish working class lifestyle. Since many had Scottish, English and other European names as a result of the forced changes made during the era of slavery (Chapter 3), their families were not distinctive in appellation and blended in with the majority society again making their official presence invisible.The presence of Belizean (or formerly British Honduran) forestry workers in Scotland is an interesting one. Amos Ford, himself a former forestry worker in his book *TELLING THE TRUTH - The life and Times of the British Honduran Forestry Unit in Scotland* 1941-1944 (1984) documented a group of people whose presence remained invisible in late 20th century Scotland.

Belizean Forestry workers were recruited to fell trees in Britain because the Second World War curtailed Britain's overseas sources of timber necessary for industries. The first unit of forestry workers arrived in 1941 and the second in 1942 (Ford 1985). The foresters were dispersed to various camps in Golspie, Lechmelm, Achnashellach in the North and Kirkpatrick, Duns and Traprain Law in the south. Social life for the men particularly in the northern camps were restricted, "the larger towns and cities being some 46 miles away. There were no transport and even if there were, the men could not leave their camps as they were in restricted areas and out of bounds as far as the locals were concerned" (Ford 1985: 57).

Amos Ford elaborated on the treament in the *Independent on Sunday* newspaper. In spite of arriving in the depths of winter, forestry workers were given unsuitable clothing and only wooden huts for accommodation *(Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992). In deploring the conditions under which the men worked Ford stated "that this was war time and none of us expected chandeliers but our situation was much worse than we expected. We were treated as lackeys" (*Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992). Even though the men were skilled loggers accustomed to felling mahogany and greenheart trees larger than those to which the men from Canada, Australia or New Zealand were used , eighty or more of the British Honduran foresters were seconded to undertake menial tasks for the Australian company units (Ford 1984). Unequal treatment was evident, while Australian, Canadian and New Zealand foresters "had basics such as purpose-built accommodation and changes of clothing" (*Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992) the Honduran foresters had none. In fact, they "had one battle dress to work in and relax in during the evenings. Sickness and fatigue were common ... three

men died of pneumonia" (*Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992).

Although there were men in the Belizean camp capable of undertaking supervisory positions it was insisted that "the foreman or whatever name is given to the man in charge of each camp, should be a white man". This unabashed, taken for granted, support for white superiority was considered necessary so as to "respect not only the feeling of the proprietors of the estate in which the men will be camped, but we must also consider the feelings of the people living in the surrounding villages and cottages". What is remarkable is the treatment that was meted out to these men "who had come to remove the scourge of German racism and bigotry" (Ford 1984: 58). Thus even though the Belizean foresters were very highly skilled in their occupation and making a contribution to war efforts they were subject to racism and humiliation based merely on the idea of "race" and notions of African inferiority/European superiority.

Today, the efforts of the Belizean forestry workers in Scotland are not acknowledged locally or nationally. In fact, official war time documents on the Scottish forestry units have ignored their existence. Amos Ford, a former forestry worker and now an ardent researcher and crusader for recognition of the presence and work of these forestry workers in Scotland noted that there are "detailed accounts of Australian, Canadian and New Zealand contribution but there was nothing about us. No mention that the British Honduran Unit had been there at all" (*Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992). Ford who now devotes his efforts towards achieving recognition for the former forestry workers in Scotland noted that " I want people to read our account and to know that we were in Scotland working for the war. I don't want anyone to take that from history" *(Independent on Sunday* 22 September 1992). The mantle of invisibility surrounding the presence of Belizean workers in Scotland is indicative of the invisibility attending the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland in general. Today, the oldest overseas born residents of the African/Caribbean community seem to be former Belizean forestry workers who have lived in Scotland for over fifty years. Brian Pendreigh, examining their presence in "Jock Tamson's exotic bairns" remarked that these former forestry workers "now in their seventies and eighties" ... "represent a unique human chapter in the history of a society where black people, as oppose to Asians ... remain relatively rare. Yet few Scots know about their existence or fascinating story" (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993).

During the Second World War American soldiers, black and white, became a part of Scottish social life. Thus the black presence was no longer confined to the port areas of British cities, as American soldiers were based in towns and villages. In the 1980's

several African-Americans were still based at RAF Edzell so there is a small concentration of African-Americans from Edzell to Dundee. Dunoon, another American base, which once had several African-American residents, has now been closed but left Afro-Scottish descendants such as the jazz singer, Susan Bonnar. Another prominent Afro-Scot, David Devine, former Director of an inner London Social Services department was born of an African-American father and a white mother in Scotland.

The 1950s witnessed an increase of the black student population in Scotland with students from the New Commonwealth countries. Some married Scottish women on completion of their studies and remained in Scotland. Others returned home to serve their countries and to fight for independence. Some such as former President Nyerere of Tanzania and former President Banda of Malawi, both Edinburgh University graduates, became leaders of their respective countries. Political instability as well as warfare in some African countries forced some Africans to take refuge in Scotland. Some of those with whom I had informal discussions said that they could not return home and have lived in Scotland for many years.

The oldest residents of African descent in Scotland seem to be the descendants of early 20th century seamen and students. One respondent and an informant, a seventy year old born and bred Afro-Scot, was born of an African student father from Ghana whom he never knew. Two other Afro-Scots in their seventies had fathers who were born in Africa. One was the son of an African who in the 1930's sold snake oil in Argyll Street, Glasgow and other areas of Scotland and performed acrobatic skills to show the strength of his product. The fathers of two other Afro-Scots in their 70's were seamen from the Caribbean. One was born in Glasgow where his father, from Jamaica, was based . He now lives in Edinburgh with his children and grandchildren. His grandchildren show hardly any trace of their African ancestry. The other, from a celebrated black Leith family had a career in the Navy and now lives in retirement in Edinburgh. The presence of these individuals in Scotland again confirm the early 20th century African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. A brief sketch of one Afro-Scot illustrates this presence.

Mr James Abrew was born in Leith over 70 years ago. Both his parents were from the Caribbean, even though the general belief, even today, is that they were from Africa. The Boxing Times of September 15, 1989 for example stated that his father was a "Portuguese West African" possibly because of the name Abrew. Even those white Scots who brought this family to my attention and went to school, and were brought

up , with them viewed them as coming from Africa. It was only when I asked from which part of Africa his father came, that I found the mistake as well as confirmedthe commonly held belief that every black person in Scotland, whether born in Scotland or in the Caribbean, is from Africa. Mr Abrew's father was in fact from St Vincent in the Caribbean. His mother was a mixed race Jamaican, who was brought to Scotland as a child by her mother, an Irish woman who had been in service in the Colonies. His brother, Manuel Mani Abrew, became one of the two greatest heavyweight boxers in Edinburgh and Scotland *(Edinburgh Evening News* Saturday 11 May 1991) but later followed in his father's footsteps and went to sea (*Boxing News* September 15, 1989). The Abrew sisters were entertainers, one was a member of the Blackbirds review in London *(Boxing News*, August 5, 1988).

In short there are several sources which suggest that African/Caribbean people born and bred in Scotland have been living here since the early 20th century. However, because of the nature of the seamen's occupation, most African/Caribbeans were not considered settled thus making their presence invisible. Additionly, the temporary residence of overseas students compounded the prevalent view of black people as transients in Scottish society. The idea that every person of African descent is from Africa whether born in Scotland or the Caribbean still holds sway among Scots. This belief enables white Scots to disregard the present day African/Caribbean community for they are seen as perpetual students, visitors, entertainers or strangers and "not workers or settlers" as one respondent noted.

5.3 COMPOSITION OF THE CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN/ CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY.

Since the beginning of the 20th century (or even earlier, see Chapter 3), people of African origin or descent in Scotland have consisted of individuals born in Africa, in the Caribbean, in Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom. In the late 20th century there has been no change from this pattern. Afro-Caribbean and African migrants in Scotland, from informal discussions, seem generally to have come from a rural background. The older generation such as the Belizean forestry workers were initially rural while the younger generation of African/Caribbeans are from the recently urbanised classes of the developing countries. Thus there is a mixture of rural and urban origin among African/Caribbean people in Scotland. Afro-Scots tend generally to be urban, even though there seems to be a small group in the Scottish highlands (0.1%

of 204,004)(1991 census). This might be attributed to the Belizean forestry workers who worked and lived in this area. However, the 1991 census does show a presence of Afro-Scots in other rural areas of Scotland. Thus in addition to African/Caribbeans in Scotland having their origin in Africa, the Caribbean, Scotland and other parts of the U.K. they also have a rural/urban background in Scotland similar to the African presence in Scotland during the era of the slave trade when they were employed by the propertied classes in rural areas or merchants, planters and professionals in town houses. Hence people of African origin or descent in Scotland are not a homogenous group.

Although several generations of Afro-Scots have lived in Scotland, this fact, like their presence, often remains hidden and invisible. Habitual questions such as, "which country in Africa do you come from?" gives the impression that many in the majority Scottish society perceives all African/Caribbean people to have come from Africa. Statistically, however, there is some logic in this view as both the 1991 census and the questionnaire survey (see Figures 5.1, 5.2 below) show that Africans form the largest group of the African/Caribbean population. However, Afro-Scots of mixed ancestry (white Scot/British and African origin or descent), even though born and bred in Scotland, are not perceived generally as Scottish. This exclusionis nothing new and seems to have some throw back to the "centrality of miscegenation to the racist ideologies" (Gilroy 1987:162) of mid-20th century Britain and "the question of inter-racial sexual liaisons" (Rich 1988:120).

The "mixed race" question in Britain, or more specifically in Scotland, is not unique and as recently as the mid 20th century such children in Britain have been overlooked in terms of Scottishness, Englishness or Welshness and the assumption made that all 'coloured' people are recent immigrants. While efforts were being made in England and Wales (Little 1947; Scobie 1972; Fryer 1983) to remedy the position of ' mixed race' children, Scotland seemed to have kept quiet on the issue even though objections were made about the relationships between white women and coloured men and the "unfortunate half-caste children", " miserable in physique and dull mentality " (Dunlop and Miles 1990) who would result. That mixed race children existed in Scotland is evident by the number of 70 year old Afro-Scots I came across while undertaking this research. Jenkinson's (1985) *Glasgow race riots* further showed that after work was found on ships for the out-of-work African/Caribbean seamen "most never came back" leaving "wives and their babies behind" (p.62). The Scottish wife of an African seaman who wrote to a newspaper complaining about the treatment meted out to those in mixed marriages showed that they did occur. She wrote:

> I think as the white wife of a British coloured man I have a right to speak. 'Hal O' the Wynd' thinks it repulsive to see a white woman in the company of a coloured man. It is a shame to say that. They are as God made them: they cannot help the colour of their skin. We the white wives know better than anyone what they are- we have been married for years and find the British coloured man - I don't say all, but I say most make us very good husbands (Jenkinson 1985:62 ; *Evening Times* 25 June 1919.

The letter indicated that racism was an important cause of the difficulties African seamen and their wives faced in Scotland. It also shows that African people lived in Scotland despite problems of racism based on phenotypical difference.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2. show the origins of the African/Caribbean respondents in the sample and compare sample results with the 1991 census figures. They show that those of African origin are in the majority, but not by a very large margin.

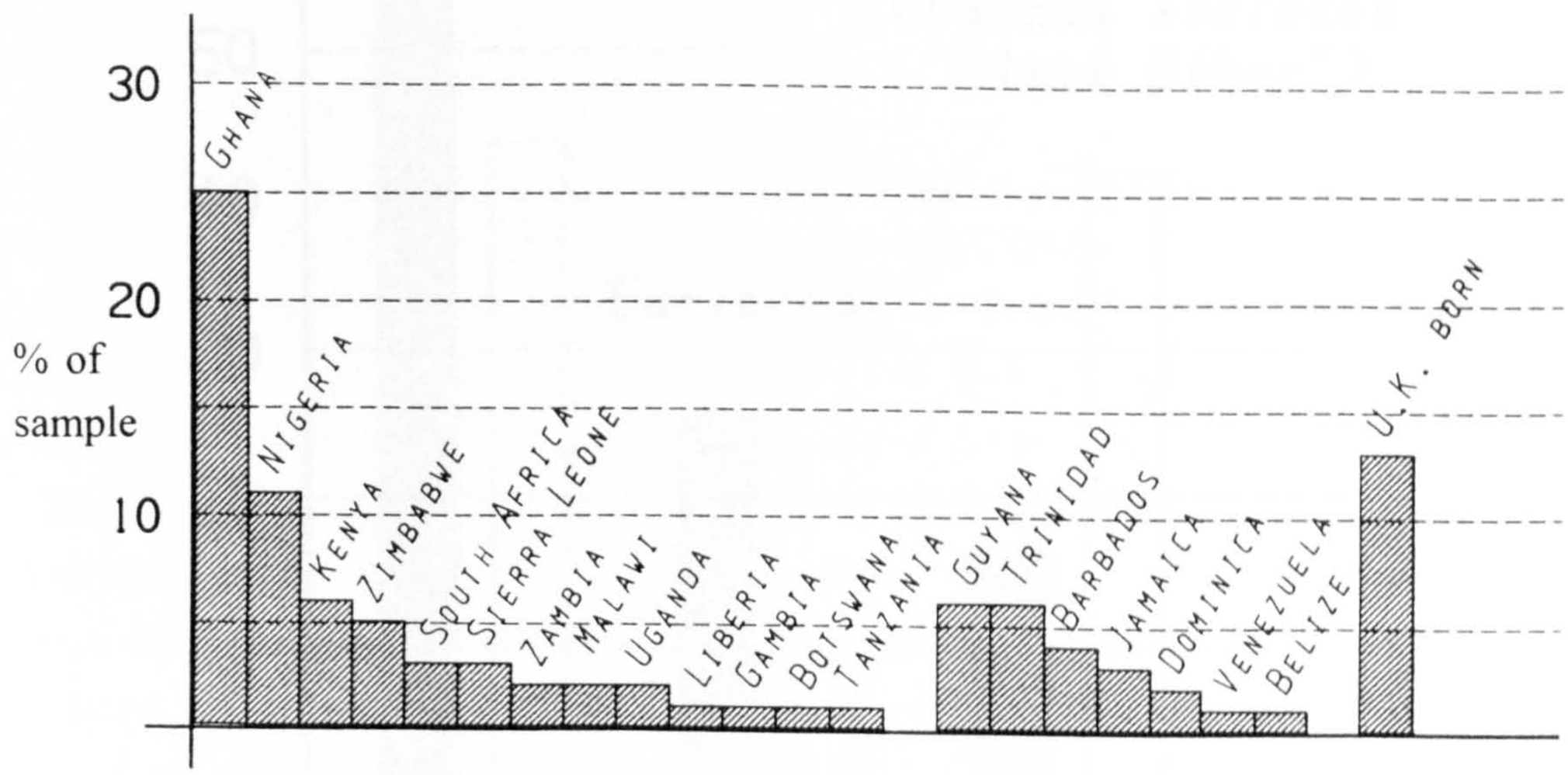


Fig 5.1 Countries of origin of respondents

Fig. 5.1. shows the countries of origin of the African/Caribbean respondents. It shows that Africans are indeed the largest group, with a spread of origin across all anglophone Africa. Ghanaians form the largest group of respondents. This may be due to the long period of political instability after becoming the first country in Africa to gain independence. Coup d'etats led to successive generations of students being marooned in Scotland while others from the middle class sought refuge here. South Africans may not be representative, at the time of the questionnaire some were apprehensive about mixing with the wider African/Caribbean community for fear of South African police

action. Since the change of government many have returned home. The sample of respondents from the Caribbean show a spread of origins across virtually all the anglophone Caribbean and Guyana. There is one non-anglophone representative. The predominance of Jamaicans in England is not reflected in Scotland. The percentage of Afro-Scots/UK born is relatively low.

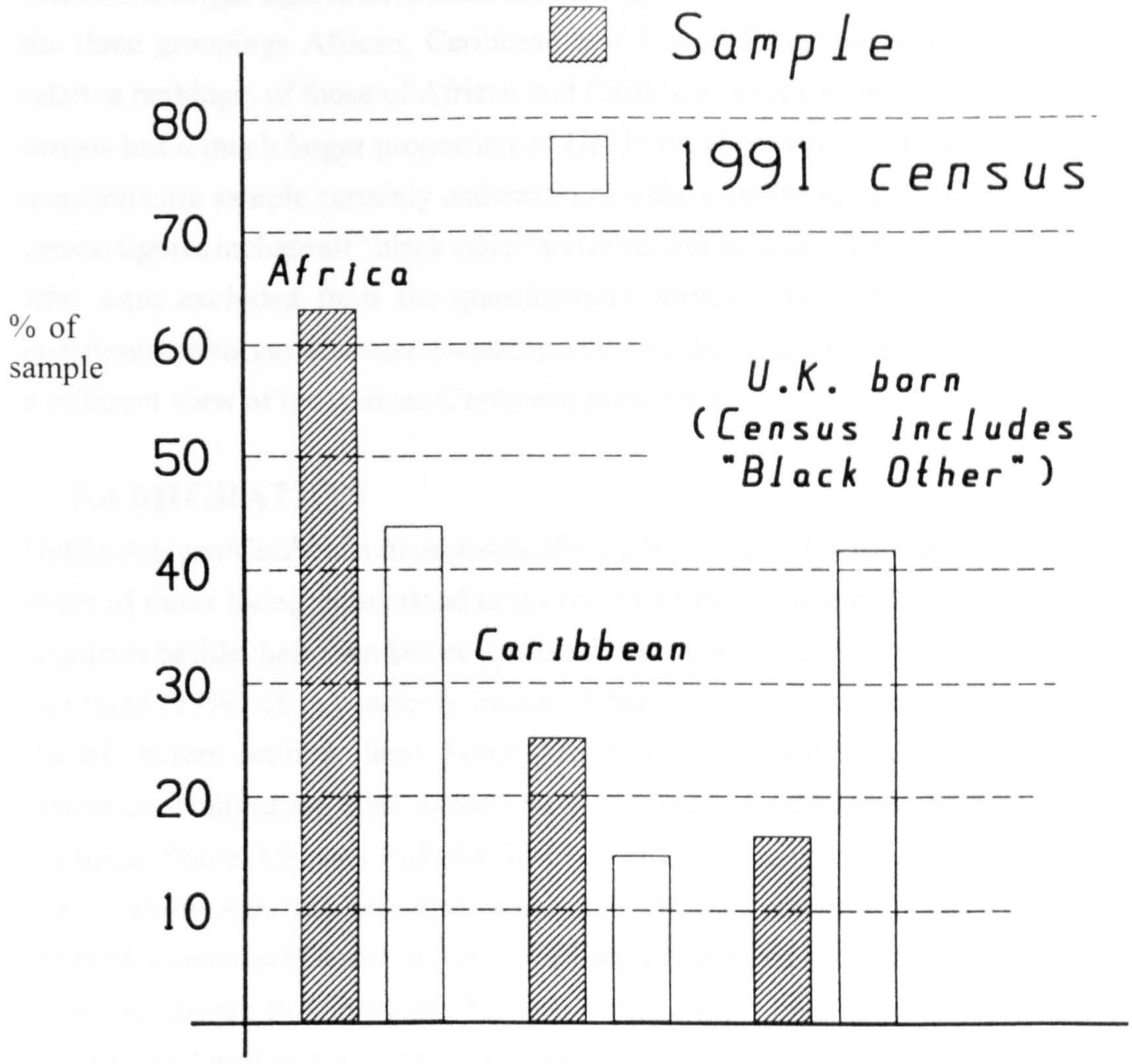


Fig 5.2 Origins of respondents compared to census figures

As discussed later some individuals are not interested in 'African heritage' and in the socio-cultural life (Chapter 6). Some Afro-Scots do not consider themselves part of the African/Caribbean community, while others are isolated from it.It was hoped to use the 1991 census results to check on the accuracy of the questionnaire sampling by comparing the population ratios of Black Africans:Caribbeans:Afro-Scots, but the published census results to date do not allow this. For example, in the summary of

country of birth (1991 census, table 15) the total African-born population is given as 7,294, where as the Black African population from the ethnic grouping (1991 Census Table 5.6) is 2773. There are similar discrepancies in the Caribbean totals. Both totals include whites born abroad and Asians, and they are clearly present in such large numbers as to make the census totals unusable as controls.

The ethnic origin figures have been used to compare with the questionnaire sample for the three groupings African, Caribbean and United Kingdom born. This shows the relative rankings of those of African and Caribbean origin to be in agreement but the census has a much larger proportion of UK born. However, as already explained the questionnaire sample certainly underestimates the proportion of "black British". The census figures include all " black other"and are certainly high. They also include children who were excluded from the questionnaire survey. Thus it is believed that the questionnaire survey accords reasonably well with the census figures, but it does produce a different view of the African/Caribbean population.

5.4 MIGRATION

Unlike African/Caribbean immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s to other parts of Britain, many of those living in Scotland today have had experience of living in one or more countries beside their own before settling in Scotland (Table 5.2 see Appendix). Over one third (39%) of respondents indicated that they lived in Europe, the U.S.A, or Canada before settling here. Some Afro-Caribbeans had lived in other Caribbean countries, continuing their accustomed inter-island migration, before coming to Scotland. Some Africans had also lived in other African countries from five to ten years. While Africans had lived mainly in European countries such as Switzerland, Holland, France and Germany, Afro-Caribbeans had lived in the USA or Canada. 45% from both groups had lived in others parts of the U.K, mainly England, before living in Scotland. Originating from the Caribbean I had also lived in Tanzania and England before coming to live in Scotland. The migratory pattern of respondents suggests that Scotland was not the first stop for many. Other African-Caribbeans had come to England as children with their parents in the late 1950's early 1960's and had grown up there before migrating to study or work in Scotland.

This exposure to western life before taking up residence in Scotland may have made many African/Caribbeans confident about living in Scottish society and this possibly is reflected in their individuality and their determination to avoid clustering, which it is felt triggers racism from individuals in the host society. However, at the same time

this practice of living dispersed accentuates their invisibility in Scottish society. The contemporary presence of African/Caribbeans in Scotland contrasts with early African-Caribbeans in England (or even in Scotland) where residence would have been in specific dockside localities separated spatially and physically from the wider society (Little 1947; Banton 1955; Richmond 1954) or later Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in London who tended to avoid each other but concentrated by country or religious beliefs (Peach 1984) for mutual support in inner-cit y areas.

5.4.1 REASONS FOR COMING TO SCOTLAND

Chapter 3 showed that African people came (or were brought) to Scotland for cultural reasons eg to provide exotic music and dance, or for servitude as slave/servants, and later to study. Contemporary African/Caribbean people likewise are in Scotland for a variety of reasons. Seamen worked in the Merchant Navy and made Scotland their base, Belizean forestry workers came to assist with war efforts and stayed on after the war ended. Some females came to study nursing, others are living in Scotland because of marriage to a Scot or other Briton who worked in Africa or the Caribbean. Most such women seem to have met their husbands overseas. Studying, from informal discussion and knowledge of the community seems to be the principal reason for African/ Caribbeans being in Scotland, in contrast to England where Afro-Caribbeans in particular came in search of employment (Peach 1968). The questionnaire bears out this view of the community.

Figure 5-3 suggests that studying was the most important initial reason for African/ Caribbeans first arriving in Scotland with 44 respondents indicating thus. This contrasts with studies in England. Pearson (1981) showed employment to be the main reason while education accounted for a mere 5%. Smith's (1977) earlier study showed employment accounting for 57% of black minorities being in Britain while education accounted for 13%. However Pearson and Smith were only concerned with Afro-Caribbeans while the present survey consists of both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. The preponderance of Africans in the sample in Scotland reflect the high percentage of respondents who initially came to study. Generally, in the past, Africans came as students to Scotland, in particular, or to the U.K. as a whole with virtually no immigrant workers (Hill 1980:69). The African/Caribbean sample in Scotland is an indication of how this population in Scotland differs from that in England (however this trend may be changing as more Africans come to England as political and economic refugees or in search of employment over the years). It also reflects the tradition of education in Scotland as being more open to Africans than England. Hence the African-Caribbean

population in Scotland has developed differently from the African/Caribbean one in England. Knowledge of the community would suggest that the reasons may be changing as more individuals arrive as refugees or asylum seekers. Since some African/ Caribbean came to Scotland to study and stayed to live, their permanent presence was not acknowledged and still remains invisible. The high proportion of students who stayed on suggestswhy the African/Caribbean population is relatively highly educated.

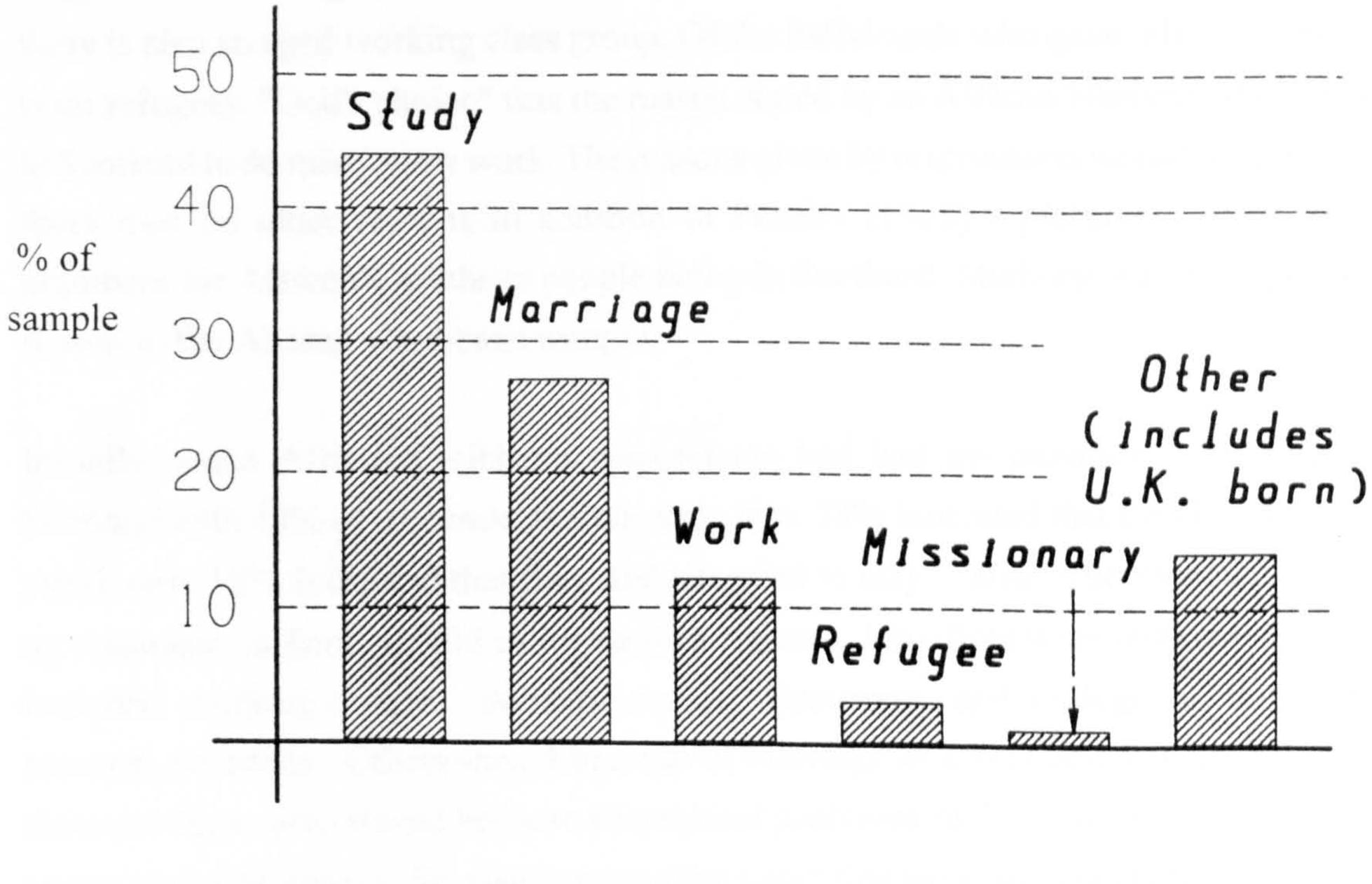


Fig 5.3 Respondents reasons for coming to Scotland

Marriage was the next most important reason for living in Scotland with 27% of respondents stating this.This was particularly marked among African/Caribbean women indicating an interesting source of recruitment to the community. Marriage also reflects an openness in the African/Caribbean community in that men and women who marry 'out' are not ostracised. In fact many African/Caribbean women in Scotland who are involved with Pan-African cultural organisations are married to whites and this promotes interaction with the white community. The high proportion of African/ Caribbean women in Scotland differs from the past where there seemed to have been a sexual imbalance. Another point which should be stressed for posterity (as there seems to be much confusion about the marital status of African/Caribbean women who lived in the British Isles during and after slavery and had white partners) is that many African/Caribbean women in Scotland are married to whites.

Of the 12% of respondents who had come to work some had grown up in other parts of the United Kingdom and had earlier 'got on their bikes' and come north in search of employment. One respondent stated "war efforts", representing a remnant of the 1000 plus Afro/Caribbeans who came to Scotland to assist during the Second World War (Ford 1984). Most of these individuals are in their eighties and are not really interested in surveys (as discussed in Chapter 2) at this stage of their life. However their presence suggests that although Afro-Caribbeans in the sample were mainly white collar workers there is also an aged working class group. Of the individuals who gave other reasons, 3 were refugees. "God's choice" was the reason stated by an African Minister who came to Scotland to do missionary work. The reasons given by respondents would suggest that there may be other reasons in addition to Peach's (1968) replacement work force argument for African/Caribbean people being in Scotland. Studying was an important reason in the African/Caribbean sample.

Initially, some African/Caribbean respondents had had no intention of staying in Scotland with 43% of respondents indicating this. 28% indicated that they had an open mind, only 18% indicated that they had intended to stay. Those who eventually took up residence in Scotland did so for various reasons. Job offers were one reason, these included medical doctors, dentists, nurses, University and college lecturers and research scientists. Others stayed because of marriage to a Scot or other Briton. Then there are those who stayed because of political problems in their home countries. One respondent who came to Scotland as a student noted that because of his family's position (some Africans are descended from traditional ruling families whose hereditary positions and privileges conflicted with the new political order) he could not go back to Africa following a coup d'etat and has lived in Scotland ever since. Others came as refugees, fleeing political conflicts at home, or exiles who did not want to go back to face apartheid in parts of Southern Africa (the situation has changed since the survey). These individuals comprise the present day African/Caribbean residents. An examination of respondents lengths' of stay from the questionnaire data (Fig 5.6) shows that few of the sample have been in Scotland more than 30 years which suggests that the rise of African/Caribbean population in Scotland in the 1960's parallels that in England, with a time lag. Some of this increase is also due to increased funds being made available to African/Caribbean students to study in Scotland with some being offered posts after completion of their studies. More travel by Scots and more acceptance of interracial marriages may also have increased the numbers after 1960. The steadily rising proportions with stays in Scotland of less than 30 years suggest that

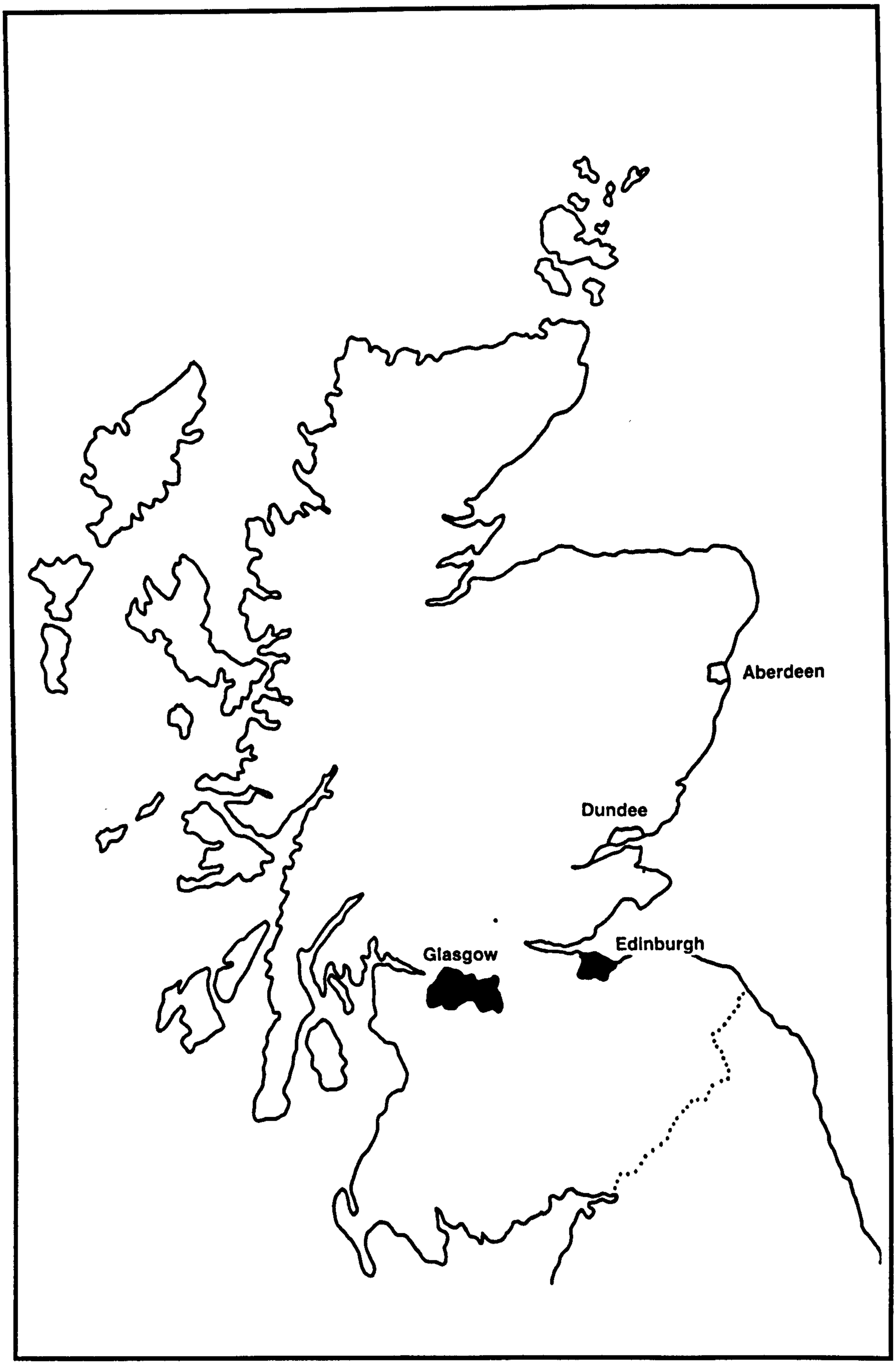


Fig 5-4 Main cities where respondents live in Scotland

immigration has been the main source of recruitment for the population studied as not many Afro-Scots would have reached 25 by the time of the survey.

5.5 RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

Early studies of African/Caribbeans in Britain such as (Little 1947; Banton 1955; Richmond 1954) showed African/Caribbeans concentrated in cities but spatially segregated from the host society in dockland areas. From discussion with older African/Caribbeans in Scotland, and from available documentary sources (Jenkinson 1985; Besson 1989). African/Caribbeans in early twentieth century Scotland seemed to have followed the same pattern of dockland residence in Leith and Glasgow. Recent studies on residential structure of ethnic minorities in Britain have shown them concentrated in large English cities (Jackson and Smith 1981). In Scotland the situation does not differ as ethnic minorities tend generally to live in urban areas. African/ Caribbeans, like other black minorities, generally live in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow and to a lesser extent in Aberdeen and Dundee (Census 1991). Figure 5-4 (over) shows whereabouts in Scotland the respondents in the sample live.

The residential pattern suggests that African/Caribbean are geographically separated from each other even though most do live in the cities. However, the social status of being black in a predominantly white society is an ambivalent one. This may be one of the reasons why many choose to live in established middle class areas of Scotland such as Newington and Morningside in Edinburgh and the West End and Hyndland in Glasgow to reinforce their status. Although it can be argued that African/Caribbeans live in these areas from choice as a result of their economic position, that choice is usually shaped by the racism present in Scottish society as the general belief is that racism for them and their children would be less in white middle class areas.

The data also indicates that African/Caribbean respondents do not cluster in the heart of Scottish cities, as they do in England and this contributes to their low visibility. However, certain geographical nodes can be perceived in the two major cities. The sample showed that for Edinburgh there is a tendency for the Leith, Newington/ Morningside/Marchmont areas while in Glasgow it is the West End/Hyndland and Maryhill area. An analysis of the 1991 census by Glasgow City Council stated that there are no areas of concentration for Black African, Black Other, or Black Caribbean but the largest Black African community is found in Woodlands (Thornley 1993).

In Edinburgh, Leith and Newington seemed to have always been the areas to which

African/Caribbeans in Edinburgh were most likely to live. Seamen made their homes in Leith, within close proximity to the port, while African/Caribbean students sought accommodation around the Newington and Tollcross areas within walking distance of the University. These residential patterns still occur with Leith, Piershill to the north, and Newington, Marchmont, Morningside and Merchiston to the south being the principal areas for African/Caribbeans in Edinburgh. The Newington/Marchmont/ Morningside areas attract students and the black professional middle classes whether consisting of husband and wife both of African origin or descent or a mixed race family with a white husband and black wife or white wife and black husband. With the gentrification of Leith, this area is once again becoming sought after. In addition to attracting white young professionals the area with its relatively cheap and spacious accommodation is also attracting people of African origin and descent and other black ethnic minority groups as well as other recent immigrants.

Other areas of Edinburgh where people of African origin or descent in the sample lived are Georgie Dalry, Sighthill, Wester Hailes, Niddrie, Bingham, Oxgangs, Stenhouse, Viewforth, Penicuik. Former Belizean forestry workers and their descendants are found particularly in the Gilmerton, Liberton and Loanhead areas in Edinburgh. In Glasgow African/Caribbeans indicated Maryhill, Pollockshield and Govanhill, Drumhar, Partick, Clarkston. Outside of Edinburgh and Glasgow African/Caribbeans live in Fife, Aberdeen, and East Kilbride. Just as the African/Caribbean population is dispersed in the Edinburgh and Glasgow areas, it is also dispersed through Scotland as is shown by the 1991 census.

The dispersed nature of the African/Caribbean community in Scotland whether in middle class areas or council estates contrast with the African/Caribbean situation in England where most tend to live in 'ethnic' concentrations in inner city areas. This scattered distribution of African/Caribbeans in Scotland helps to make their presence invisible. From a political perspective African/Caribbeans have achieved involuntarily in Scotland what both the British and Canadian Governments tried to achieve through legislation (Smith 1988; Smith 1993). The proximity of the African/Caribbean community to the centres of learning particularly in Edinburgh and Glasgow or in the past in dockland areas also makes it difficult for the African/Caribbean presence today to be seen as permanent. However, despite 'invisibility', exclusion from statistical sources, images of transience and inaccessibility to public eye, this chapter shows evidence of a large, longstanding and vibrant African/Caribbean community and goes on to describe some of its key demographic characteristics.

5.6 AGE OF RESPONDENTS

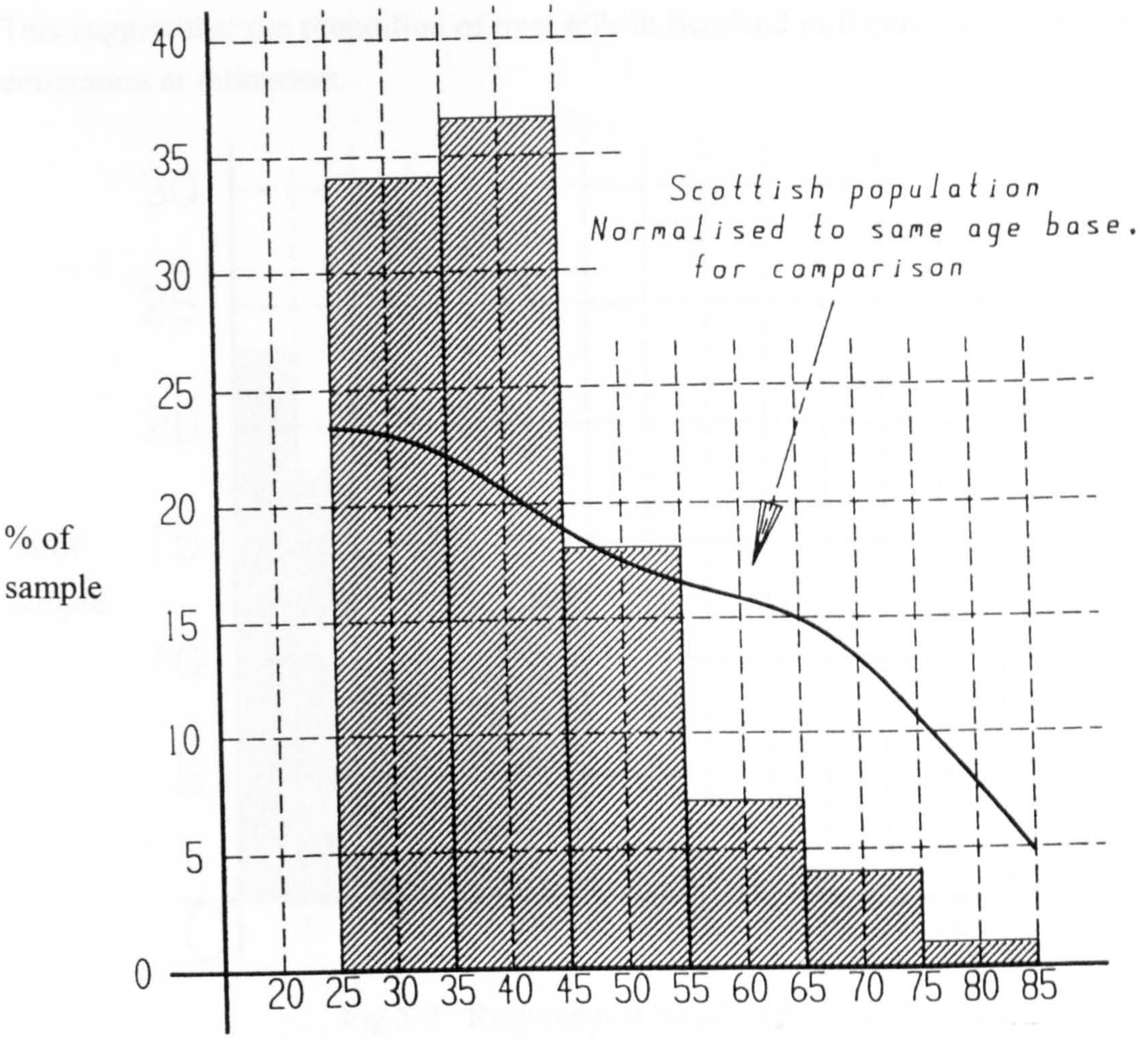


Fig 5-5 Age profile of respondents

Analysis of the 1991 census commissioned by Scottish Homes indicates that "the ethnic minority population is substantially younger than the white population" (Scottish Homes 1993:14). The report further shows that only 2.9% of ethnic minorities were over the pensionable age while 60.3% were aged 29 and younger (Scottish Homes 1993:14). This younger age profile was also evident in the age structure of African/Caribbean respondents as shown in Figure 5.5. At first glance the age structure of the sample population resembles that of a developing economy with a large majority of the population below the age of 45 and very small numbers in the older age groups. Again this bears similarities with the age structure of ethnic minority groups in Britain in (Smith 1977; Sarre 1989). However, since birth and death are not the only factors affecting the African/Caribbean population in Scotland the "developing economy" model is not valid. When an examination is made of the longer stayer, there is a cluster at the 50-55 range representing the remnants of the Belizean forestry workers and children as well as children of early

African/Caribbean students. It is known from interviews, discussions and documentary sources (Ford 1984) that some Belizean workers retired to Belize or migrated to England. This suggest that the proportion of over 60's in Scotland in Figure 5.6 is reduced by emigration or retirement.

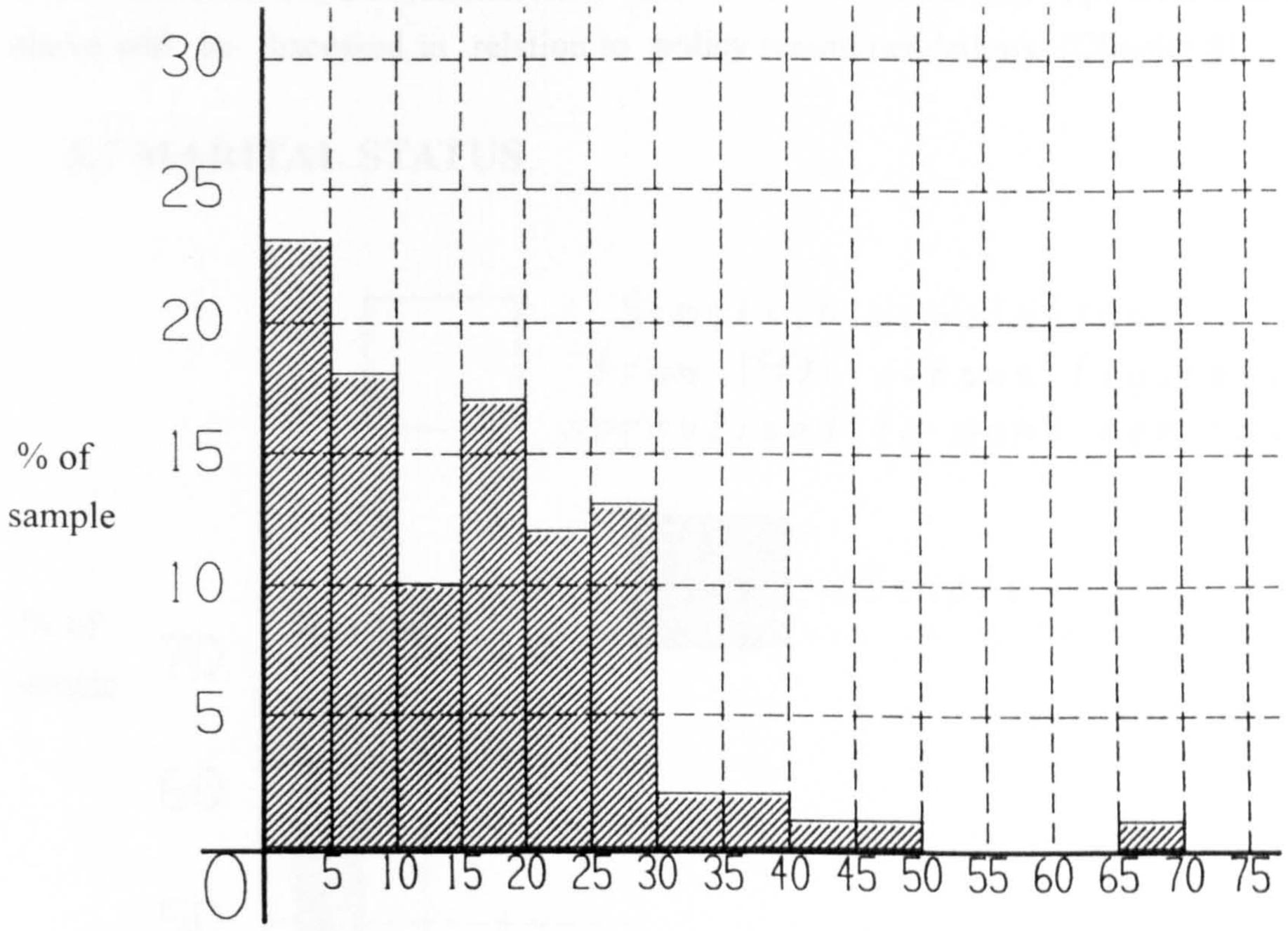


Fig 5-6 Respondents lengths of stay in Scotland

An analysis of the 1991 census results (Thornley 1993) indicates that Afro-Caribbeans have the highest proportion of elderly of all the different ethnic groups in Scotland, again an indicator of a long established community. The African/Caribbean survey showed that the oldest Afro-Scot respondent is 70+ years old, the oldest Afro-Caribbean respondent is over 80 years and the oldest African is in the mid-seventies. The oldest African female respondent was 50+, the oldest Afro-Scot 44 and the oldest Afro-Caribbean female was 70+. In both Edinburgh and Glasgow, Afro-Caribbean respondents were the oldest of the African/Caribbean sample. Additionally 11 respondents are 55 years old and over, suggesting an ageing population indicative of the long presence of this " invisible" minority. It should be noted that the elderly in the sample are not those brought in by their children but they are people who have lived and worked in Scotland for many years. 7 respondents in the sample were retired as well as 4 others with whom I had informal discussions.The age of community discussed above as well as length of stay (Fig 5.6) in Scotland suggest an ageing

African/Caribbean population whose needs have to be met. Scottish Homes (1993) has drawn attention to this need as in the next decade and into the next century, the needs of elderly people from ethnic minorities will come into sharper focus (p.20) The high proportion of those in the childbearing age range also indicates a youthful population whose educational and vocational needs have to be considered. The implications of the above will be discussed in relation to policy recommendations (Chapter 8).

5.7 MARITAL STATUS

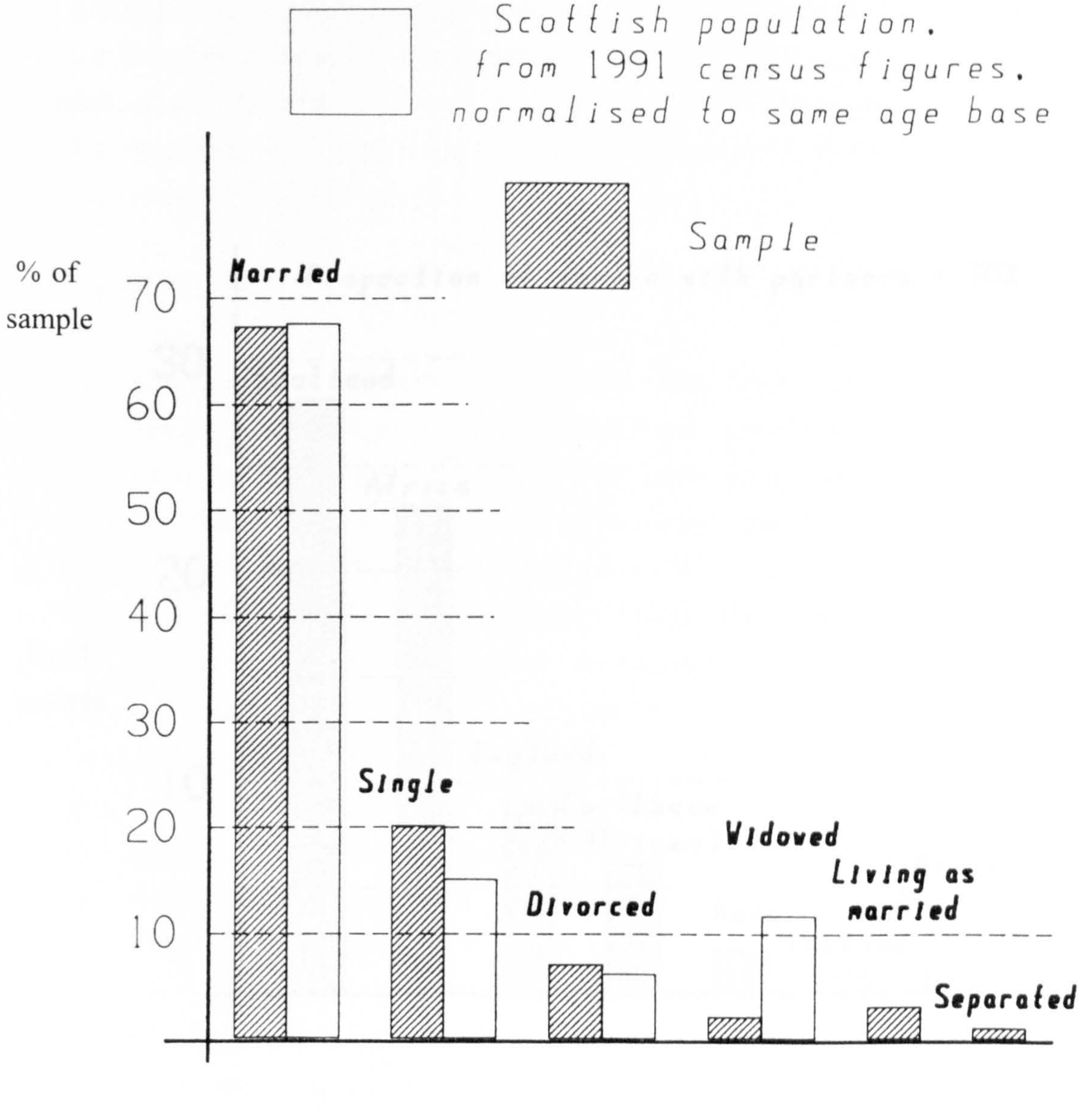


Fig 5-7 Marital status of respondents

Fig 5-7 shows that the majority of respondents are legally married. Only 2 respondents

were cohabiting or living as married, both were formerly married. 8 respondents are divorced. Mixed marriages seem to be the rule rather than the exception with 42% of respondents married to whites. This contrasts with the Scottish Office survey (1991) showing that "5% of ethnic minority householders were married to a white spouse" (p.15). It should be pointed out that African/Caribbeans were not included in this study.

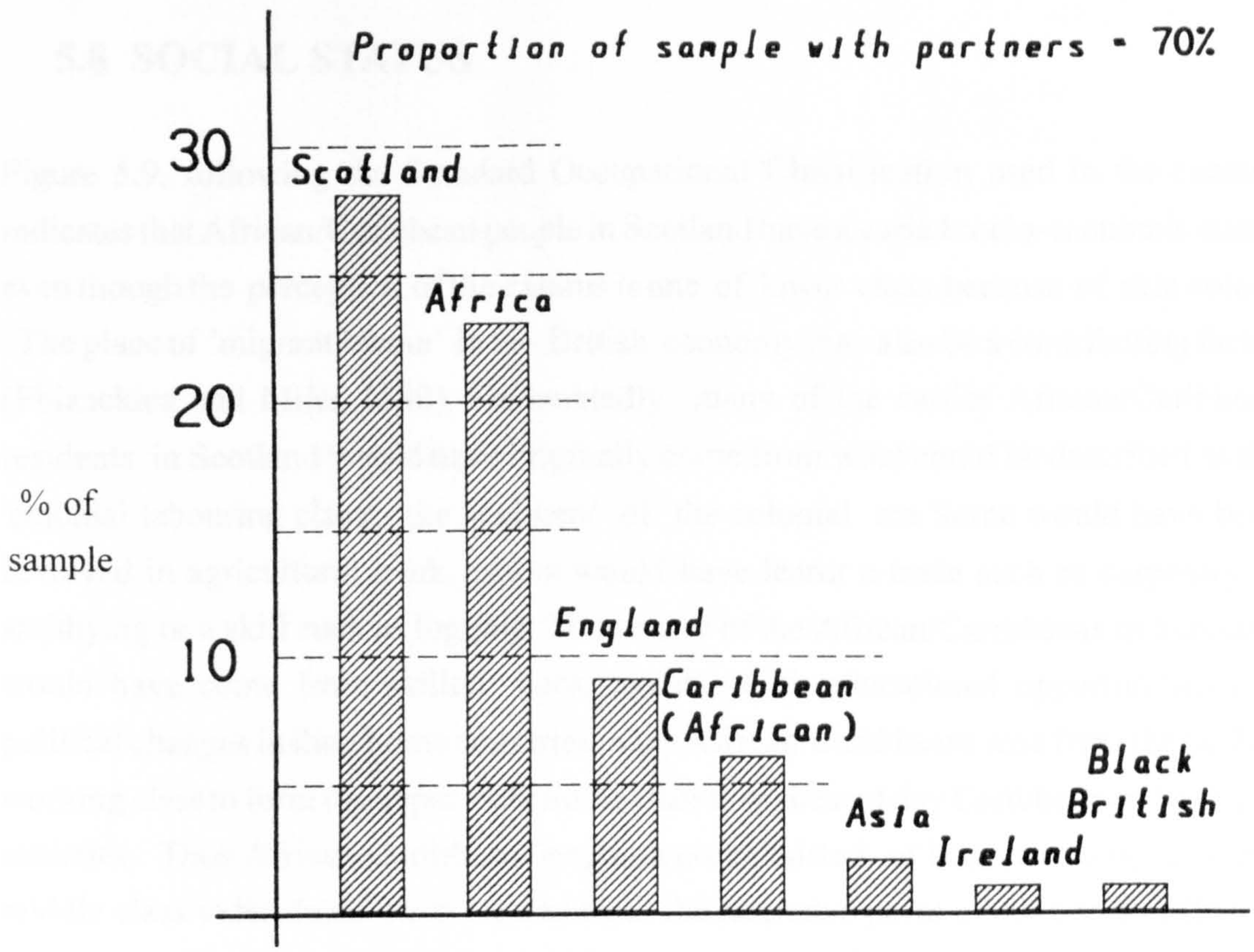


Fig 5-8 Origins of respondents' spouses

Intermarriages are an indication of the degree to which African/Caribbeans are integrated

both with the ethnic community and with the wider Scottish community. The high proportion of African/Caribbean women in the sample would suggest no serious sexual imbalance although,there would have been in the early years of African/Caribbean residency in Scotland. Few African/Caribbean women were around when Belizean forestry workers came to Britain or when older African/Caribbean men in the sample arrived as students. Thus intermarriage may be an indication of a sexual imbalance at a certain point of African/Caribbean residency in Scotland. Even though there are many African/Caribbean women in Scotland and it appears from the female respondents that African/Caribbean women are in equal proportion to African/Caribbean males in Scotland, many women were married overseas and came to Scotland to take up residency. African-African marriages indicate a younger generation of African professionals. The older generation of African and Afro-Caribbean males invariably married white women. Intermarriages between other "visible" minorities tend to be low. Only two Asian spouses were found in the African/Caribbean sample.

5.8 SOCIAL STATUS

Figure 5.9, following the Standard Occupational Classification used in the census, indicates that African/Caribbean people in Scotland have a varied socio-economic status even though the perception of their status is one of lower class because of skin colour . The place of 'migrant labour' in the British economy may also be a contributing factor (Phizacklea and Miles 1980). Undoubtedly many of the earlier African/Caribbean residents in Scotland would have originally come from what could be described as the 'colonial labouring class', the 'plebians' of the colonial era Some would have been involved in agricultural work, others would have learnt a trade such as carpentry or smithying or a skill such as logging. Thus many of the African/Caribbeans in Scotland would have come from skilled backgrounds. With educational opportunities and political changes in their home countries many African/Caribbeans rose from the skilled working class to form the upper and middle classes of present day Caribbean and African societies. Thus African/Caribbean respondents consisted of both working class and middle class individuals when viewed from the reference point of the Scottish/British class system but upper, middle and working classes when viewed from the social systems of African and Caribbean societies. Some Africans are from traditional ruling families. However, African /Caribbean s in Scotland, like their counterparts in England, seem not to be graded into social classes as is the white majority society, with their being viewed as low in status on the basis of stereotypes and skin pigmentation. Racism emanating from historical racial theories (chapter 4) still plays an important role in

determining the social status of African/Caribbean people in Scotland.

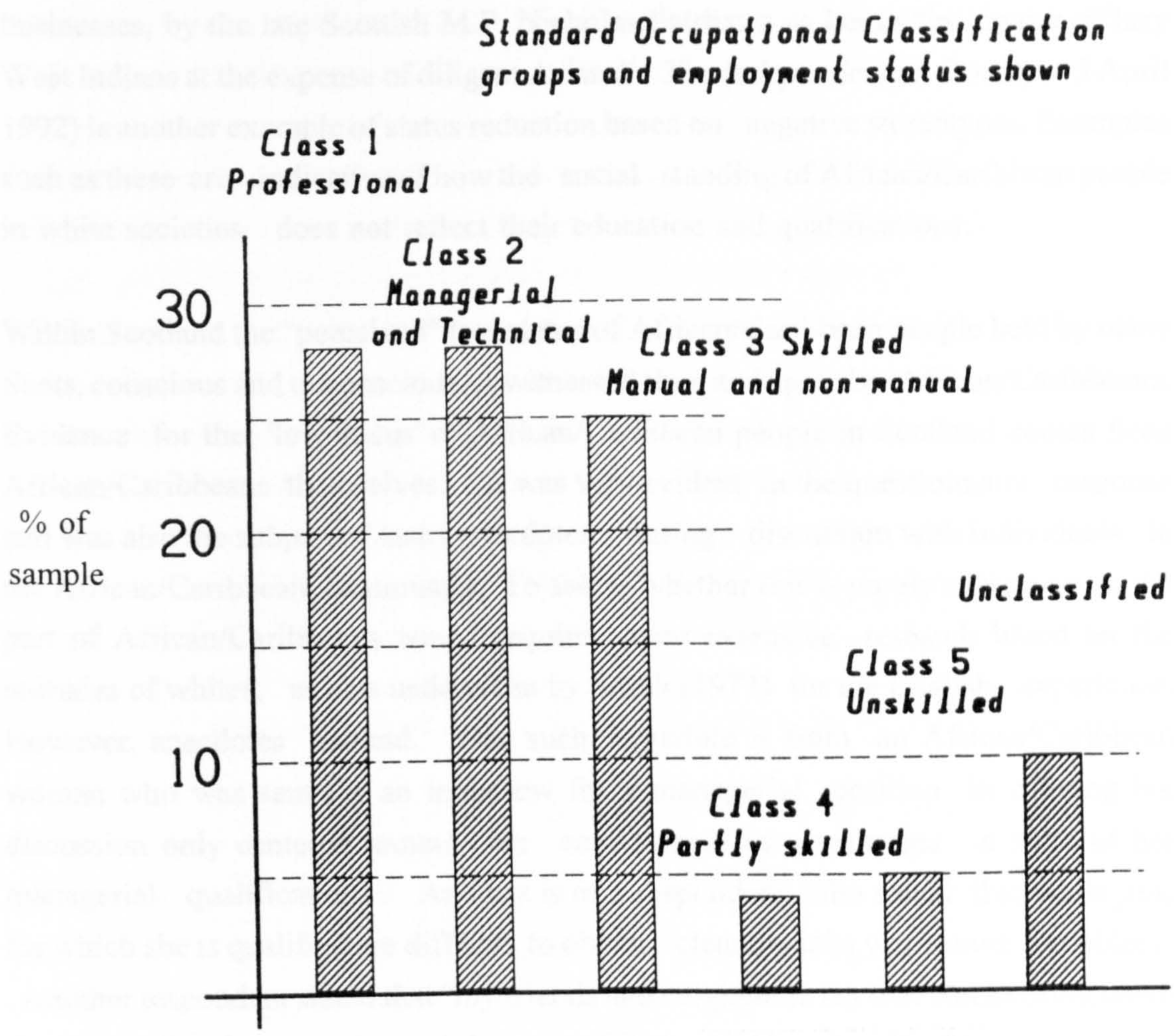


Fig 5.9 Social class of respondents, by occupation

The low social status attributed to African people in European racist discourse has not escaped Scots and Scotland in spite of the anti-racist tradition upheld by the Scots . Individual Scots still hold negative racist stereotypes about African people generally. Two examples are given to illustrate this. The first is the incident between the Scot, Mr Galbraith and Mr Taylor, the former black prospective Tory candidate for Cheltenham. Although Mr Taylor is by profession a lawyer and well respected he was racially abused with his status reduced to a "coconut kicker" and a "bloody nigger" (*Edinburgh Evening News* 4 December 1990). Mr Taylor's professional status was irrelevant , what mattered was stereotypes associated with African people and his skin colour. It is this "significance of colour to racist beliefs" as argued by Phizacklea and Miles (1980: 23)

which "goes some way towards explaining the prevalence and apparent potency of the racism articulated from within all classes in Britain since the 1950's" (Phizacklea and Miles 1980: 23) The attack, on a Government scheme aimed at promoting black businesses, by the late Scottish M.P. Nicholas Fairbairn as being "in favour of lazy West Indians at the expense of diligent Asians" (*The Independent on Sunday* 5 April 1992) is another example of status reduction based on negative stereotypes. Examples such as these are indicative of how the social standing of African/Caribbean people in white societies does not reflect their education and qualifications.

Within Scotland the "perceived" low status of African/Caribbean people held by many Scots, conscious and unconscious, is witnessed time and again by African/Caribbeans. Evidence for the 'low status' of African/Caribbean people in Scotland comes from African/Caribbeans themselves. It was very evident in the questionnaire response and was also the subject of many anecdotes during discussion with individuals in the African/Caribbean community. To assess whether this is purely subjective on the part of African/Caribbeans would require more extensive research based on the attitudes of whites, as was undertaken by Smith (1977) for the English experience. However, anecdotes abound. One such anecdote is from an African/Caribbean woman who was sent for an interview for a managerial position in catering but discussion only centered around her employment as a waitresss in spite of her managerial qualifications . Another is of a respondent who stated that while jobs for which she is qualified are difficult to obtain "cleaning jobs were never a problem" . Another respondent stated that "my friends and neighbours say that blacks bring down the value of their properties and the tone of their neighbourhood". This readiness to accept the stereotypes and images of European racist discourse about African people may begin to explain the covert and subtle forms of racism (discussed in Chapter 7) experienced by African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland whereby over 50 % have experienced slights in the work place, have acknowledged that white colleagues are friendly in private but ignore them in public, have experienced the refusal by white commuters to occupy a vacant seat next to an African/Caribbean person. These experiences are related to ideas of African inferiority/European superiority and the resultant negative images of people of African origin or descent in white majority societies such as Scotland, England and Europe generally.The low status image of African/Caribbeans in Scotland relates to the conscious and unconscious way in which they are viewed in European societies. White people in Scotland (with some exceptions) do not view African/Caribbeans differently.

A paradox, however, exists in Scotland, for although African/Caribbeans are viewed as being of low status they are also seen as mainly students. Viewing African/ Caribbeans in Scotland as students - transients, mainly because of past traditions discussed earlier , is specific to Scotland. As students they belong elsewhere and will soon return home. They are visitors to, rather than residents of Scotland. These views, of African/Caribbeans having low status and being students/transients are held concurrently in Scotland and form part of the paradox of the African/Caribbean presence here. It might be argued that since they are perceived as students African/Caribbeans cannot not really be seen as having low status. However, although African/Caribbean people are perceived as students this does not alter the stereotypical views and image of their 'inferiority' in white societies and the resultant 'low' status. This is epitomised by an African student who described how his presence in Stirling, Scotland was received by sections of the community he did not know or who did not know him. Describing his experiences of racist verbal abuse the student notes that he:

> "cannot count the number of times" that he has been called "nigger", black bastard" or "Darkie".. I suppose the words are part of a local nursery rhyme about which some of us have been left in the dark" (Bell 1992:54).

Further elaborating on his experiences when he sometimes bumped into a group of youths he stated:

> "They would spot me from a distance, and I would see them getting visibly excited. I would brace myself for the inevitable. They would tell me who they thought I was, as if I need reminding when they had told me so a million times before"(Bell 1992:54).

Describing from a student perspective the everyday experiences for African/ Caribbeans on Scottish buses the student elaborated:

> "I would catch my bus; there would be the usual incomprehensible piercing stares (I have now discovered a technical term for this phenomenon). If there is a face I know, I feel grateful for being recognised as a human being. Sometimes a "kind" soul sits next to me. Often they don't, they prefer standing even if the only free seat is next to me, especially on the 5 o'clock University bus. Nothing against freedom of choice, of course". (Bell 1992:54).

On his way to a meeting at the Cowane Center the student describes his experience of physical racist abuse. He notes:

> " I walk past the Bistro. A few yards away I pass a man, he starts calling me "Darkie". I pretend as I have done on a number of occasions, that I haven't heard. I increase my pace, he increases his too and continues spouting an impressive stream of venomous synonyms. No one stops him. I can think of equally offensive words. I stop to protest. My spectacles have been thrown on the pavement. I can't see properly. People pass by. I realise I am on my own. There is a fist fight. I feel like crying and catch myself telling him that "you have dehumanised me." ... A few days as I pass Stirling

Library I hear "Nigger come here." I turn round it is a boy."
(Bell 1992:54).

The experience of this student is not uncommon to many African/Caribbeans (and other ethnic minorities) students in Scotland. However, this aspect of their presence in Scotland is not readily acknowledged by Universities or to some extent lecturers as students are reluctant to talk about this aspect of their student life in Scotland as agonised by the above student who, on arriving late for his seminar presentation, stated "I can't really bring myself to talk about the "nigger" I left in town" (Bell 1992:54). It is this painful reluctance by students to discuss these incidents of racism with the appropriate authorities which gives the impression that racism is not a problem and contributes to invisibility. However, the experience of this student (and others) in Scotland (see Chapter 7) indicate clearly that their status as students is irrelevant in Scotland. What matters is the colour of their skin and negative stereotypes attributed to African people. This argument is in agreement with the study undertaken by Richmond (1955, 1961) of the English experience which found that the person of African origin or descent "is likely to find his colour a handicap. This is true irrespective of his social status. He may be a stowaway ... a skilled worker or professional, a student, politician or member of the African nobility" (p. 249). The limited examples as well as personal experience would suggest that Scotland does not differ. The social status of African/Caribbean people whether student, professionals, skilled or unskilled worker seems to be essentially similar in Scotland to that in England.

Students in Scotland/Britain, may potentially be of 'high' status but students rarely have actual high status. Viewing African/Caribbeans in Scotland mainly as students and transients goes hand in hand with the invisibility of their presence. As students and therefore transients, they do not belong, they can be dismissed with their presence ignored. Likewise viewing African/Caribbeans as low status is in tune with their image in European racist discourse and enables them to be marginalised in white societies. In other words many Scots, as in England or other European countries, do not measure the social status of African people by the same socio-economic standards as whites. The perceived social status of African/Caribbean people in Scotland is determined by stereotypes and images and is indicative of the differing levels of consciousness which operate within the wider Scottish society with regard to African people.

When an African/Caribbean individual is known, his/her middle class and residential status is recognised, but as African/Caribbeans go out into wider circles where they are unknown the perceived status changes and is now defined not by education or

occupation but by the idea of "race" and the negative images of Africa and African people generally held in white societies. The levels of consciousness enable the majority society to see African/Caribbean people in Scotland just how and when they want to see them or not to see them and this is one of the paradoxes of invisibility. Even when individuals are recognised, there is no recognition of any form of African/Caribbean community.

5.9 EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

5.9.1 EDUCATION

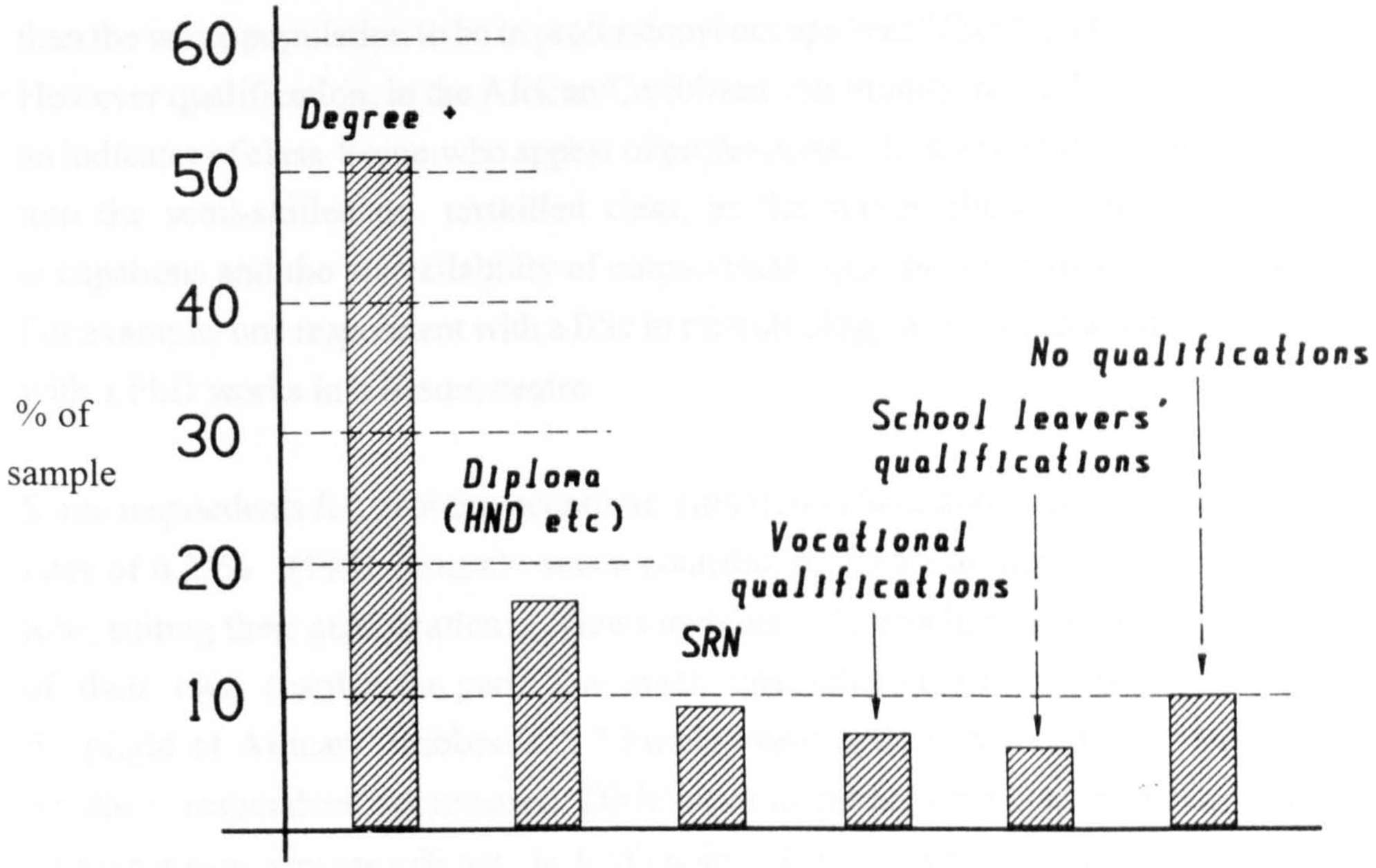


Fig 5.10 Highest educational qualifications of respondents

Education levels among African/Caribbean respondents vary from PhD's and equivalent to no qualification at all (see Fig 5.10). Over half have degrees, frequently obtained from British Universities, particularly Scottish institutions, reflecting the historical link between countries in Africa and in the Caribbean with Scotland. Older African/ Caribbeans seemed to have obtained their primary and secondary education in Africa or the Caribbean before coming to Britain for University or college training. The diplomas and certificates obtained by some younger respondents indicate that their qualifications were obtained in Britain. For example, ScotVec qualifications featured for catering and secretarial courses for women; car mechanics had undertaken City and Guilds training. The high proportion of degrees and vocational qualifications among African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland contrasts significantly with studies undertaken in England

where Smith notes that (1977) only "1% had qualifications of 'A' levels or degree standard" (p.46) and Pearson (1981) states only "29 out of 108 respondents possessed some form of school, technical or professional qualification" (p.47).

The educational and occupational backgrounds of respondents show a high proportion of respondents in the professional class, contrasting with the English situation and supporting the findings of the Ethnic Minority Housing Economic profile that "ethnic minorities in general and black Africans and Indians in particular, seem to be more likely than the white population to be in professional occupations" (Scottish Homes 1993:15). However qualification, in the African/Caribbean community in Scotland, is not always an indicator of class. Some who appear of professional class by qualification would fall into the semi-skilled or unskilled class, as the survey showed, because of their occupations and the unavailability of employment appropriate to such qualifications. For example, one respondent with a BSc in microbiology works as an attendant, another with a PhD works in a leisure centre.

Some respondents felt that the economic situation in Scotland, with unemployment rates of 6.23% (1991 census), was a contributing factor to their failure to obtain jobs suiting their qualifications. Views included: "Scots have got 'major' problem of their own (pardon the pun). Too much unemployment for Scots to worry about the plight of African/Caribbeans "; " Employment options reduced over the years"; Another respondent commented "Difficulties in getting employment mean that you take what ever you are offered - lack of choice". Choice, was the response of only one respondent who stated that "I have decided to do a job other than what I am qualified to do because I got fed up doing my previous job". However the general impression of respondents who are so employed, as well as informal discussion on this subject over the years, is that racism is an important underlying cause. The high unemployment rate of African/Caribbeans in Scotland (9.14% 1991 Census) would suggest that the claim that racism is a contributing factor is not an unreasonable one. Comments made by respondents: "I feel I am too highly qualified and experienced for the level of job I do"; "my degree was not worth the paper it was written on " gives an indication of the feelings on this issue for African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

The educational situation of African/Caribbean respondents differs from the English situation where the stereotypical image ofAfrican/Caribbeans as being without qualification is fashionable because of the earlier African/Caribbean migrants to England who were mainly unskilled or semi-skilled workers. More importantly, as Smith

(1988) noted "beliefs that blacks differed from whites primarily in terms of cultural and educational inferiority" are still fashionable in Scottish society. It is contended here that the high educational level of African/Caribbean respondents is possibly one reason why their presence is played down and a "visible" minority is seen as "invisible". Scottish society is unable to claim (as is done in England) that African/Caribbeans are not qualified and therefore are not able to obtain suitable jobs as this would make visible the institutional and to a certain extent personal racism which exists in employment in Scotland. The competition between African/Caribbeans and Scots for scarce resources means that institutional racism based on skin colour is one possible practice used to prevent qualified African/Caribbeans from obtaining suitable jobs. The experience of African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland indicates that that racism is not confined to working class occupations as African/Caribbeans generally experience in England but is also a middle class phenomenon.

However, inspite of the "perceived" low status, the educational level and background of many African/Caribbeans in Scottish society enable them to interact more on an equal basis with individuals in the host society than African/Caribbeans in English society who were in the initial stages of settlement mainly working class with little or no further education qualifications and unaccustomed to the mores of Western societies. The educational level of African/Caribbeans in Scotland suggests that education has improved their life-chances in Scotland in terms of better employment and hence better housing. However, the presence of racism (see Chapter 7), in particularly institutional and personal, as well as the high unemployment situation in Scotland mean that African/Caribbeans are thwarted from reaching their full potentials in employment.

5.9.2 OCCUPATION

Figure 5.9 shows that a high proportion, 56% of respondents are in white-collar jobs. A far cry from the study of Hepple (1968:) where " coloured workers are employed in labouring and dirty work and in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations ... and rarer for them to penetrate white collar and sales jobs" (p.61). This high proportion of African/Caribbean in Scotland in mainly white collar occupations is not generally recognised in Scottish society or in academia, as African/Caribbeans, are perceived to be working class and of low status because of a dark skin colour and the negative stereotypes ascribed to Africa and Africans. Scottish historical racism against African people (see Chapter 4) as epitomised by writers such as Hume, Combe, Carlyle and Knox of African inferiority/European superiority still seems to constrain the job prospects of African/Caribbeans in contemporary Scotland. The high proportion of

African/Caribbeans in Scotland in professional and white collar employment indicates the contrast between those who live in Scotland and those in England. The perceived low social status of Africa/Caribbeans in Scotland inspite of their high educational levels and white collar employment suggests that "race" plays an important part in their being seen as working class. As noted above some respondents were difficult to classify for although being well qualified worked below their educational level or outwith their profession. For example a vet worked as a laboratory technician, 4 professional engineers have turned to self-employment, 2 to the music and visual arts business, 2 others have taken up financial consultancy. From the 1991 census OPCS social class classification professional engineers are social class 1.

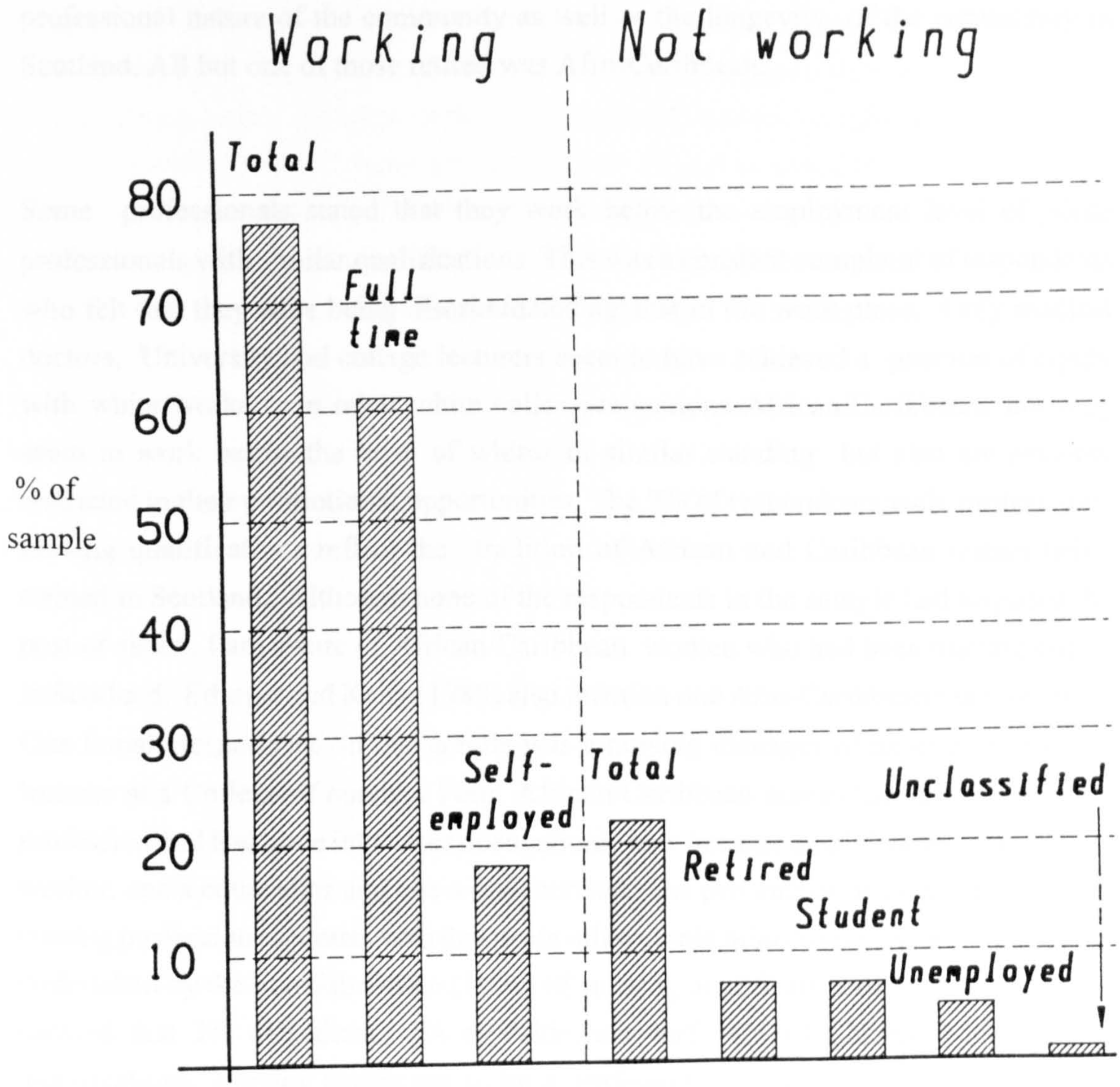


Fig 5.11 Working patterns of respondents

18% of African/Caribbean respondents were self-employed perhaps reflecting the hardship of obtaining mainstream employment or promotion in Scotland, as one respondent stated " ended up being self-employed kept under everyone else in the job". 9% of whites and 50% of ethnic minorities were self-employed (Scottish Office 1991). The high self-employment in theScottish office research has been attributed to the bias in the sample towards Pakistani respondents. The 1991Census shows a self-employment rate of 28%. In the sample 5% of respondents are unemployed. This contrasts with the 1991 census which shows a 9.14 % unemployment for African/Caribbean people .7% of respondents were following some sort of training. The 7 retired respondents included 1 principal teacher, 2 university lecturers (one female), 1 general labourer, a street cleaner/paper mill worker, a civil servant and a midwife, showing the predominantly professional nature of the community as well as the longevity of the community in Scotland. All but one of those retired was Afro-Caribbean.

Some professionals stated that they work below the employment level of white professionals with similar qualifications. This was a constant complaint of respondents who felt that they were being discriminated against in the work place. Only medical doctors, University and college lecturers seem to have achieved a position of equity with white workers. In other white collar occupations African/Caribbeans not only seem to work below the level of whites of similar standing but also are severely restricted in their promotional opportunities. The 9% of respondents with professional nursing qualifications reflect the tradition of African and Caribbean nurses being trained in Scotland. Although none of the respondents in the sample had acquired the post of sister , I am aware of African/Caribbean women who had been nursing sisters in Scotland. Edinsor and Kelly (1989) also mention one Afro-Caribbean nursing sister. One female respondent in the sample was a nursing manager while one male was a lecturer at a College of nursing. Four African/Caribbean nurses had left the nursing profession and had gone into other occupations, one became a hairdresser, one a social worker, one a counsellor and one a civil servant. The percentage of respondents in the nursing profession contrasts with that from other ethnic minorities in Scotland. A study undertaken by the Scottish Office (1991) of nursing qualification of ethnic minorities showed that 3% of Indians, 1% of Pakistanis, and 4% of Chinese had nursing qualifications. Nursing seems not to be a profession followed as yet by other black ethnic groups in Scotland. That contrasts with the African/Caribbean community where women are more likely to be in the nursing profession. Of the 3 auxiliary nurses

in the survey, one worked also as a part-time shop assistant while another worked as a child-minder.

The predominant employment pattern of the African/Caribbean sample is one of white collar employment, despite the difficulties experienced in obtaining suitable jobs. This is in agreement with the findings of Scottish Homes which stated that although ethnic minorities in Scotland "chances of being unemployed are greater than those of the white population, those in work appear more likely to be in high status employment than white people" (Scottish Homes 1993:15). This contrasts with the pattern in England where employment was predominantly blue collar employment (Smith 1977) until recently. However, it is because African/Caribbeans in Scotland are qualified that many are able to stay and work. Although African/Caribbeans tend generally to be in white collar occupations, 25% of respondents stated that they worked below their qualification and experience. The reasons given by respondents suggest that racism could be an underlying cause. Reasons included "unemployment level might be high but it is a situation which you don't have any control over no matter how clever you are", "my experience warranted a higher level of pay", "because I'm Black", "highest professional qualification within my department for ten years, yet among the lowest paid and rank", "considering my years of experience I could be working at a higher grade than I'm doing", "job description and responsibility similar to colleagues but I'm on lower pay scale", "graduates with my qualification start at a higher level".experience. While consideration, too, must be given to the employment situation in Scotland and to the fact that many in the majority population are also employed below their level of qualification in the present economic climate racism as a limiting factor should not be ruled out or played off against the current economic problems.

The employment experiences of African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland suggest that they are not a replacement workforce as was the case with other migrants into English cities (Peach 1967; Sarre et al. 1989). African/Caribbeans in Scotland have had to compete with the Scottish labour force in a dwindling work market. In the present recession African/Caribbeans (and other black minorities) position in Scotland is akin to West Indians in Bedford (Sarre et al 1989), where they were perceived as "surplus labour force" (p.75). However, for certain categories of employment, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs such as care assistants, auxiliary nurses and cleaners, African/Caribbeans do not necessarily have to compete with or displace Scottish workers. African/Caribbeans who are thus employed make do with hours that Scottish workers find unsociable and do not particularly want to work. Another similarity with the English situation was time

worked (Fig.5-11). Although 50% of respondents work(ed) 9-5 as the majority society, a substantial proportion 24% worked nights, 9% work shifts and 7% work at weekends, patterns similar to African/Caribbean and other migrant groups in England (Sarre et al 1989:137). 16% of female respondents were engaged in part-time work reflecting more the pattern of white women (18%) than ethnic minority women (6%) in Scotland. (Scottish Office 1991:53). African/Caribbean women, in particular, work nights and weekends. Some of this unsocial hours work arises from the high proportion of respondents in the medical profession and is not necessarily the result of displacement into unwanted jobs

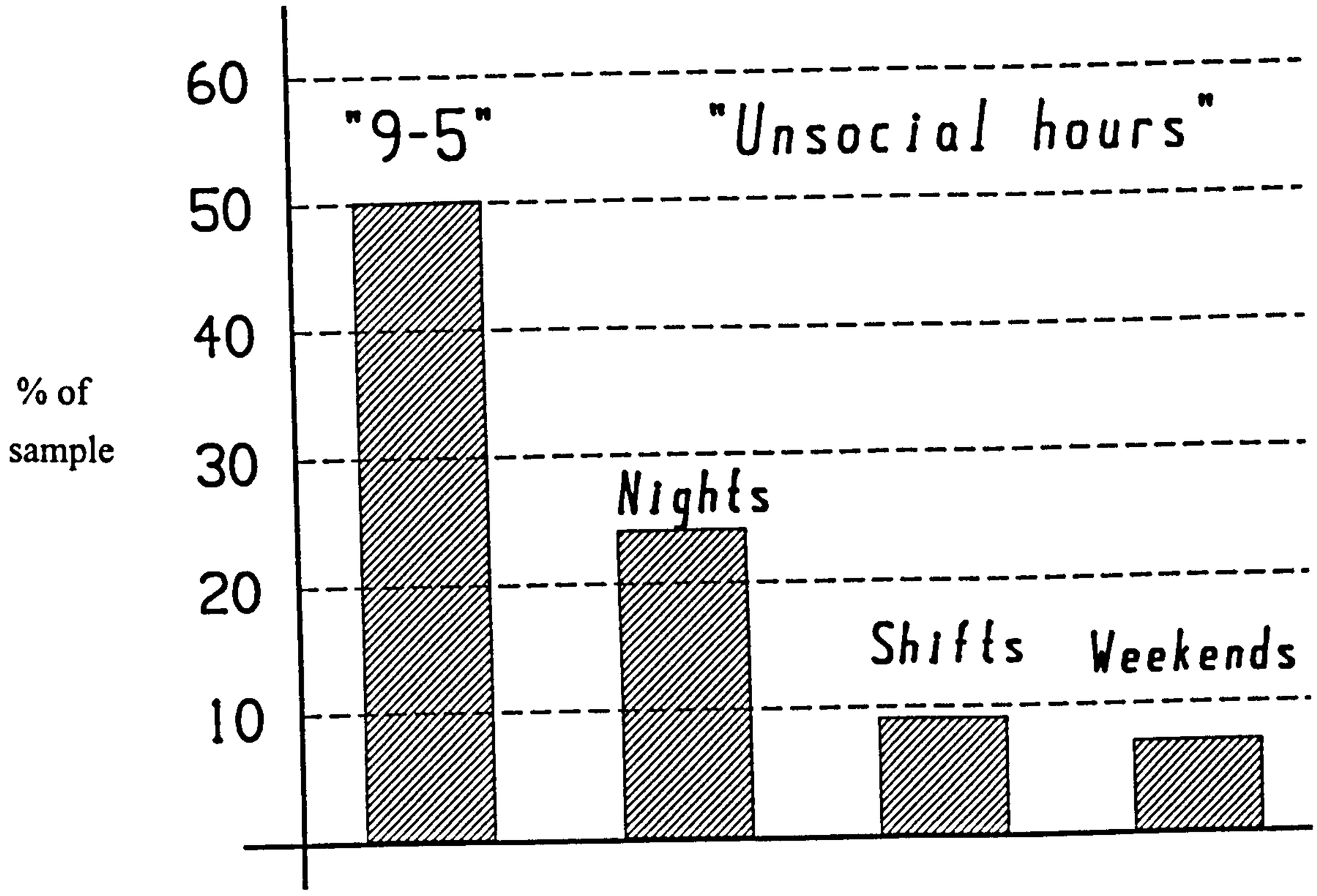


Fig 5.12 Working hours of respondents

Although when entering employment African/Caribbeans make concessions to work below their qualification levels, their promotional prospects do not seem to change much with years of experience. 39% of respondents felt that racism hindered them in obtaining promotion. Comments made included "colour of your skin wouldn't let you progress up the ladder for promotion", "institutional racism", "definite limit to how far African/Caribbeans can go", "not easy to gain promotion", "if I wasn't Black I would have progressed in my job" suggest that racism in employment operates in Scotland as it does in England .This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

On the whole African/Caribbean seem not to be considered for management jobs as "black people not regarded in Scotland as management material", and "white people normally prefer whites for jobs". Some individuals in the sample as well as those that I have spoken to informally, believe that the employment situation is stacked against them "with petty rules to prevent black employees participating in management". One former nurse stated that "when in nursing - I was not given any support for future training or promotion". The employment situation in Scotland for African/Caribbeans shows more similarities with the English situation in terms of difficulties of obtaining employment. Thus it can be argued that even though, overall, African/Caribbeans in Scotland might be more qualified than African/Caribbeans in England they face similar types of disadvantages in the job market. Chapter 7 on racism provides one possible explanation to this disadvantage in the job market. The employment status of African/ Caribbeans in Scotland suggest that African/Caribbeans in Britain, generally, have come a long way in terms of employment. They are no longer confined to mainly unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. If a temporal perspective is taken from the longstanding historical presence (Chapter 4) of occupational status it shows a change from servant/ slave, unskilled and skilled labour to their present professional status. The white collar status of employment of many African/Caribbeans in Scotland enables them to be integrated into the social structure of Scottish society more than African/Caribbean migrants in the south who worked at the lowest rung of the occupational ladder concentrated in jobs considered peripheral or low status. Ironically the white collar status of African/Caribbeans in Scottish society also makes them invisible as it goes against the mind set of Scottish society. Since the types of occupation African/ Caribbeans follow in Scotland are more in line with the aspirations of the host society than those followed by other ethnic minorities, who are involved in the restaurant or store business the visual impact of their permanence is not readily seen. Even when African/Caribbeans are self-employed it comes in the form of the arts, hairdressing (which caters mainly for an Afro clientele), sales or accountancy. The low visual impact of these jobs together with job dispersal in main stream employment accentuate their invisibility in the Scottish work force as well as members of black minorities in Scotland.

5.10 HOUSING

Barriers to employment, higher status jobs or even promotion can affect housing choices as studies in England (Smith 1977; Pearson 1981; Davidson 1973) have brought out. Figure 5.12 show that 67% of African/Caribbeans are owner-occupiers. 11% of respondents are council tenants, 5% are housing association tenants and 15% rent

11% of respondents are council tenants, 5% are housing association tenants and 15% rent privately. When the survey figures are compared with the 1991 census figures (Fig 5.12) it shows that there is more house ownership among African/Caribbeans and fewer council tenancy than in the general Scottish population. The census figures for "all black" head of households show the reverse and subject to reservations mentioned earlier, may well reflect the lower prosperity of Afro-Scots.

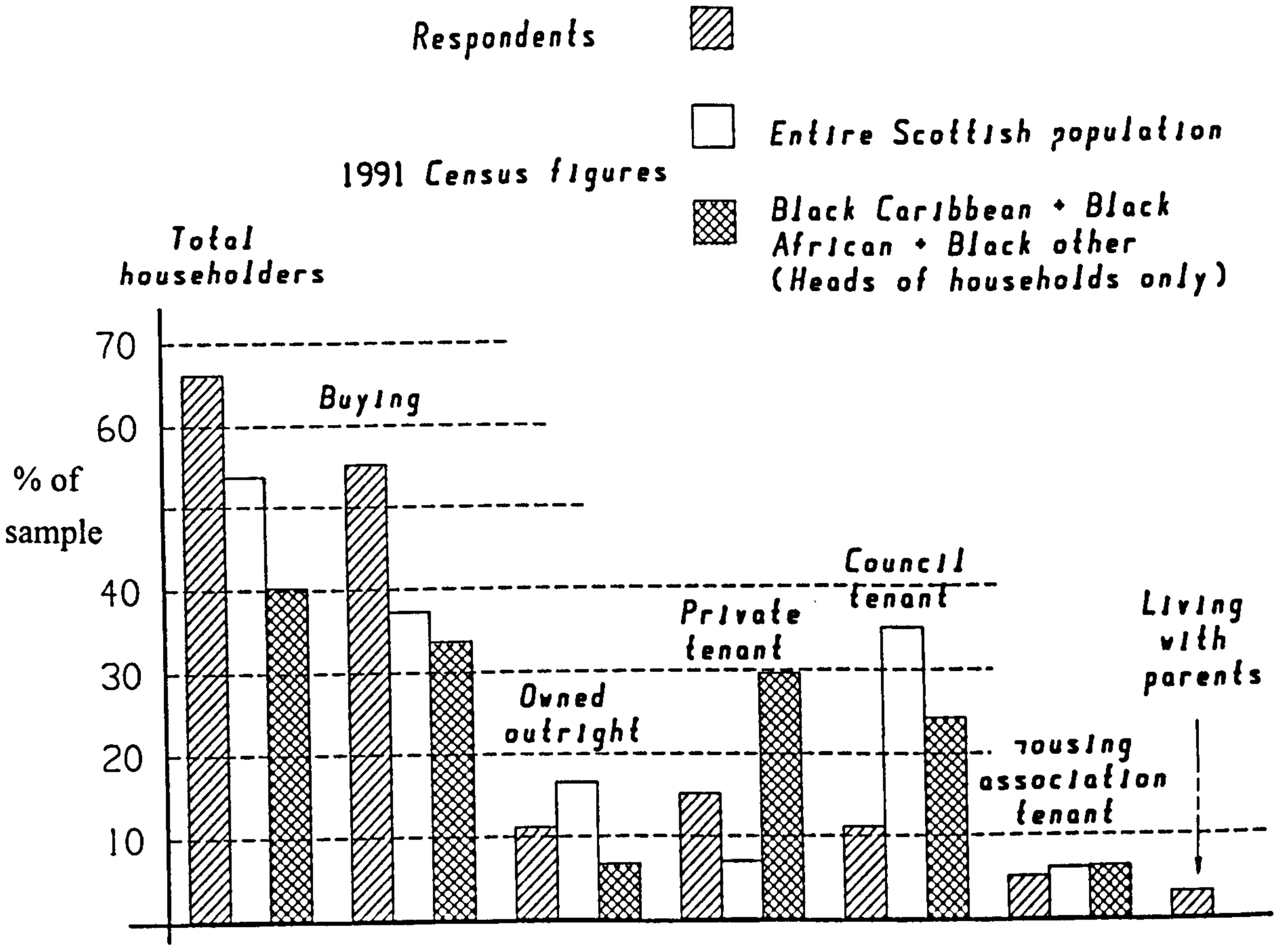


Fig 5.13 Householding of respondents and comparison with census

The pattern of high house ownership among African/Caribbeans in Scotland is similar to that of their counterparts in England but contrasts significantly with the overall Scottish housing pattern where public sector ownership is relatively high. High house ownership among African/Caribbeans in Scotland is more in line with their back-ground. This cultural fact is often overlooked by researchers when studying Africans and Afro-Caribbeans, who come from a tradition of house ownership. Owner occupancy of African/Caribbeans in Scotland reflects both their traditional housing background as well as their white collar status. With relatively good employment many are able to own their own home. The areas in which many African/Caribbeans in the sample live suggest that they also own good quality housing as opposed to the poorer

England.

When the present African/Caribbean situation in Scotland is compared with the English situation over the years differences exist. Studies undertaken by Davidson (1966), when migrants were settling down to life in Britain, showed a low owner occupancy of 18.5%, very low council tenancy (1.0%), and very high private tenancy both in rented furnished, and unfurnished accommodation. Private tenants in furnished accommodation, were 66.7% while private tenants, unfurnished accommodation, were 12%. Smith (1977), a decade later showed a 31% rising council tenancy and rising owner occupancy of 39%. My own study (Evans 1986) on African/Caribbeans in England showed that 48% of respondents were owner-occupiers, 44% were council tenants and 8% were private tenants. These studies contrast over time with the African/Caribbean sample survey in Scotland where houseownership is high, a low but rising council tenancy, and higher than expected private tenancy. High owner-occupancy in Scotland by African/Caribbeans suggests less dependency on council tenancy. Hence their presence is not brought to the attention of the wider Scottish public as African/ Caribbeans in England (as they are not seen as taking scarce resources away from the host society). Although the high level of house-ownership common among African/ Caribbeans and other immigrant groups in England is maintained by African/Caribbeans in Scotland there are also differences in the housing pattern.

African/Caribbeans in Scotland deviate from the African/Caribbean housing pattern in England where council tenancy is also very high. Given the size of council sector housing in Scotland this is surprising and this over-representation of African/ Caribbeans in the owner-occupied sector may be explained by several factors such as the relative prosperity of African/Caribbeans in Scotland compared to England; the difficulties experienced to get onto the waiting list in Scotland and most importantly the safety factor, the impression being "that good housing in safe neighbourhoods was less easy to find in the social rented sector" (Scottish Homes 1993:18). The Ethnic Minority Housing research also showed that the strongest reports of racial harassment and racial abuse "came from those living on large council estates" in spite of the fact that "ethnic minorities are under represented in public sector housing" (Scottish Homes 1993:18), which confirms the reluctance to live there is justified. Safety and the fear of racism, from personal knowledge of the ethnic minority communities, are very important reasons for not wanting to live on a large public sector estate. Even though the sample shows an 11% council and private tenancy respectively, the 1991 census shows a higher than expected representation in Local Authority and Housing

Association stock for African/Caribbeans possibly reflecting the incoming refugees and asylum seekers, pensioners and the fact that those born here, trapped by the economic situation are opting for Council tenancy. This study shows a 5% housing association tenancy for African/Caribbeans in Scotland in comparison with a 2% for ethnic minorities in the 1991 census. Both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, a significant proportion of Africans rent privately as supported by the 1991 census which shows 29% rentaing.

Council tenancies among African/Caribbeans in Scotland show differences and similarities when compared to the English situation. Low council tenancy in Scotland is complemented by dispersal on peripheral estates as opposed to England where African/ Caribbean council tenants are found concentrated in inner city areas on older council estates. Whether the dispersal of African/Caribbeans on council estates is intentional or unintentional it accentuates their invisibility. Although figures show a low council tenancy among African/Caribbeans in Scotland this may be rising as the younger generation of Afro-Scots are thwarted by the educational system and the inability to obtain suitable employment. From personal knowledge of the community and informal discussions, former Belizean forestry workers, refugees, asylum seekers, single parents and some internal migrants from other areas of the U.K. form part of this council tenancy. Some Afro-Scots with whom I am acquainted live on council estates. These are mainly the children of Belizean forestry workers or former sailors. Some African/Caribbean women who were once middle class have also found themselves living on council estates after the break up of their marriage. Young people moving away from their parents home also opt for council housing. Thus speculating with personal knowledge of the community, council tenancy may be on the increase for African/Caribbean people in Scotland. Information gleaned from other sources supports this trend towards council tenancy. The Director of Glasgow City Housing reporting on the housing experience of ethnic minority applicants for housing in Glasgow forecasted " increased levels of demand" for housing in the wake of "rising house price levels" (Race and Housing Project 1992:11). Figures issued at an Edinburgh District Council Ethnic minority consultative forum on Housing allocation of the black ethnic minority communities, point to an increase in the waiting list of African/Caribbeans as well as other minorities in Edinburgh.

Table 5-1

Afro-Caribbean	69
Bangladeshi	26
Black British	83
Chinese	72
Indians	35
Pakistanis	133
Whites	26,491
Other	170
Not known	1,689
	28,768

(Waiting list presented to Ethnic Minority Consultative Forum 1993 by Edinburgh District Council).

5.10.1 HOUSING TYPE

Figure 5.13 on housing occupied by African/Caribbeans in the sample does not appear to differ significantly from that occupied by the general Scottish society. More respondents live in flats and fewer in terraced houses than is the case for the general population. This probably reflects the concentration of African/Caribbeans in Glasgow and Edinburgh, with proportionally fewer living in the old industrial areas or small towns. The survey figures also agree very closely with the 1991 census figures, the only difference being in occupation of semi-detached houses where 26% of African/ Caribbean respondents live. The 1991 census figures show a 12% for "all blacks" in semi-detached dwellings.

Although many African/Caribbeans live in flats in Scotland as in England the status image differs. Flats are traditional accommodation in Scotland and residency in flats, in areas such as the West End of both Edinburgh and Glasgow is more an indicator of high status than occupying detached and semi-detached housing. Living in a flat in Scotland is a less useful indicator of council tenancy than it is in England.

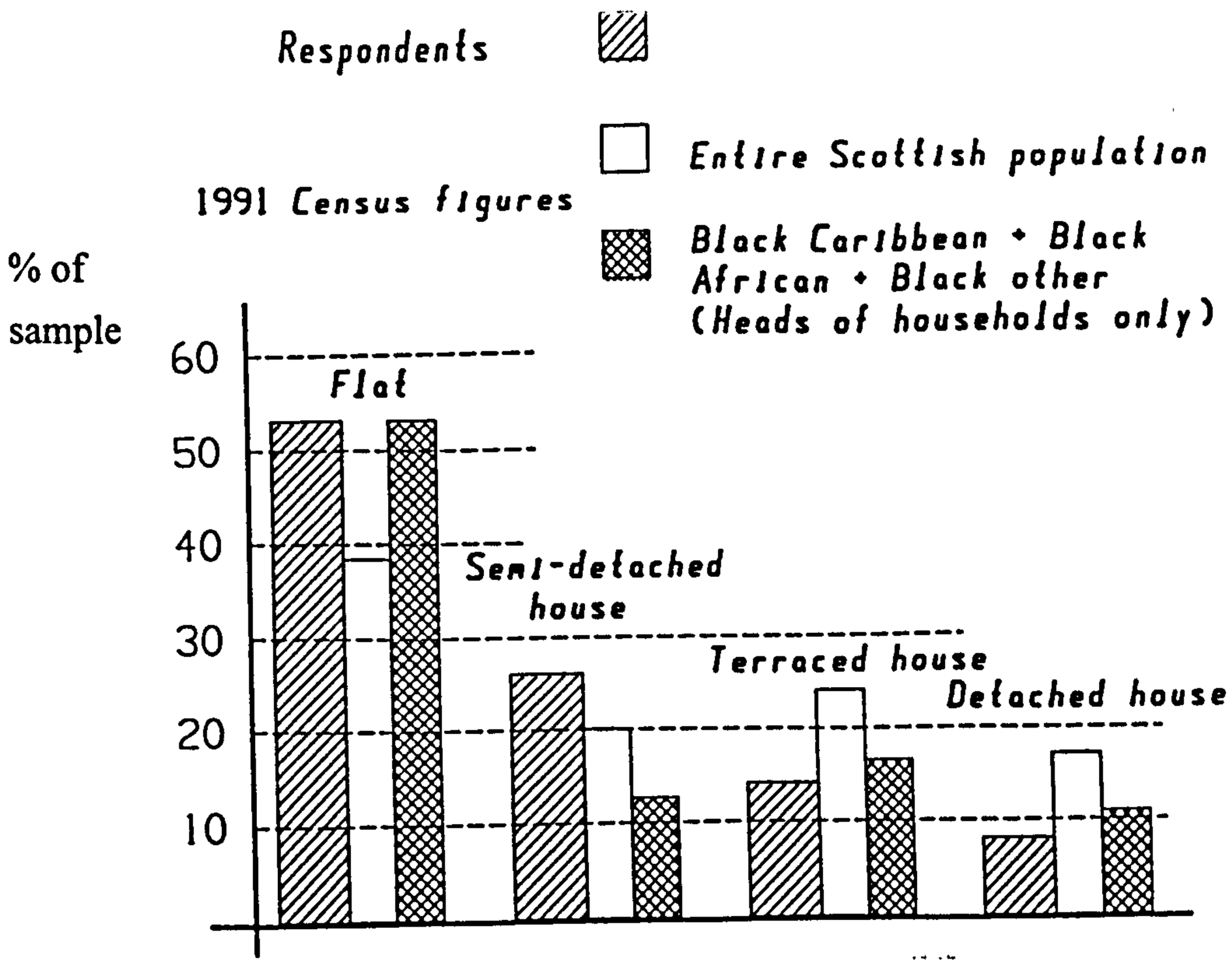


Fig 5.14 Types of housing of respondents and comparison with census figures

A feature which is, however, noticeable from personal knowledge as well as from 'African/Caribbean humour about climbing to the top to visit' is that some African/ Caribbean flat owners occupy the top floor level of flats whether students with young families or permanent residents. While this might not be as significant in terms of council house accommodation in England (Peach and Byron 1994) it may indicate relatively cheaper accommodation than lower level flats (although in a Scottish context top floor flats within close proximity to historical sights such as a castle or panoramic views such as the Pentland Hills are sought after and are expensive). More importantly African/Caribbeans in earlier years would have found it easier to purchase top floor flats that were less desirable because of more stairs to climb. While this might indicate cheaper accommmodation than lower floors, it should be pointed out that in a Scottish context these flats would only be marginally cheaper (about two or three per cent) and that physically they would be the same as flats below.

Tenements in Scotland have been noted for their horizontal social divisions (Smout 1969; Wordall 1989). In the medieval era residence in top floor flats was more desirable with "the poor on street level, the merchants and craftsmen higher up and the nobility on the top floors where they could breathe the fresher, cleaner air" (Royle 1980:29). In the 18th century the most respectable floors were generally the second and third (Smout 1969) above the worst of smell but not so many steps to climb " (p.346). In the nineteenth century"one floor up was considered ideal away from the noise, smell and dirt of the street, yet not too far to climb ... It was kept warm by the storey beneath and not losing heat through a roof above" (Wordall 1989). Today, the horizontal social divisions do not exist but lower level flats, especially garden flats (for children) are considered more desirable than top floor flats with more steps to climb. In the late 20th century, with the greater ease of obtaining mortgages and the availability of affordable flats with house prices remaining fairly level or static as well as the construction of new homes in Scotland, top floor flats do not now always have to be the first choice for African/ Caribbeans. However, it should not be concluded that a disproportionate number of African/Caribbeans live on top floors in Scotland as the impression discussed above may be subjective speculation on the part of African/Caribbeans and would need to be tested by collecting more data on what proportion of African/Caribbeans actually do live in top floor flats to establish what the true picture is. The blending in of African/Caribbeans with the host society in owner-occupied flats increases their invisibility in Scottish society compare to their high visibility in England where African/Caribbeans stand out in terraces or council flats in inner-city areas.

The survey showed that of those respondents who owned their homes 11% are outright owners while the 1991 census shows 16% for the general population. Individuals who own their homes outright are either retired or bought homes in student days. 3 respondents bought their homes with loans, while the majority of respondents 52% used'the mortgage system not dissimilar from the majority society. Conventional mortgages seem to be the rule rather than loans characteristic of early African/ Caribbeans and other black minority groups in Britain. This finding accords with the Scottish Homes report that "in terms of finance used, there is little difference between ethnic minority and white owner-occupiers" (Scottish Homes 1993:17). The study is unable to compare the African/Caribbean situation in housing with studies undertaken before the 1991 census as such studies general excluded them. Studies, such as *Race and Housing Glasgow* (Dalton and Daghlian, CRE 1989), *Ethnic Minority Housing Problems in Glasgow* (1989) undertaken of ethnic minorities in Scotland did not consider it worthwhile to include Africans, Afro-Caribbeans or Afro-Scots. This

willingness to omit African people with "Anglicised names" (p. 12) or the belief that "Afro-Caribbeans in Glasgow are so small that it does not constitute a problem" (p.12) hence it is alright to exclude them from studies assists in perpetuating their invisibility. The situation seems not to be changing for a recent report by Glasgow City Council *Ethnic Minority Residents' View of Council Services* (1993) stated that "Caribbeans and others using English or European names will not be included in the sample".

Housing research, too, in Scotland has contributed to African/Caribbeans being invisible. By adopting a form of "racist" methodology based on "distinctive names" African/Caribbeans were excluded from major studies. The report on *The Experience of Ethnic Minority Applicants for Housing in Glasgow* (1992) shows how the longstanding historical contact of the Scots (Chapter 3), the English and other Europeans with Africans together with the ritual of enslavement (Patterson 1983) of changing their names to European ones continues to conceal them from Scottish society. The report stated that "it is not of course possible to extract African or Caribbean names which are European, due to the policy of slave owners, who changed original African names to something considered to be more "suitable" at that time". Thus this practise of slave owners discussed in chapter 3 (and later practiced by missionaries in Africa) is now being used in contemporary Scottish society to ignore a group whose names are similar to the majority society. The views of this section of the community are not taken into consideration by policy makers or service providers with this persistent practice.

How easy or difficult it is for African/Caribbeans to obtain a council flat or a mortgage to purchase a flat or house is uncertain. Now that many African/Caribbeans have lived in Scotland for many years and have become established residents, some in middle class areas, few want to discuss their previous housing experiences. However, obtaining a mortgage in Scotland seemed not to be as difficult for African/Caribbean people as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s in Britain generally when most migrants arrived.

5.11 CONCLUSION

This Chapter confirms that African/Caribbean people are a permanent and enduring presence in the population of Scotland despite the invisibility which attends them. This social invisibility which prevails in spite of physical visibility is a paradox of the African/Caribbean presence. Invisibility is evident in the media, in academic discourse, within community circles or just by many in the wider Scottish society

seeing African/Caribbeans in Scotland only as transients. This Chapter shows that the contemporary African/Caribbean presence in Scotland has its beginnings in the early part of the twentieth century or beyond with transients, seamen followed by an increasing number of African/Caribbean students. Small communities developed in Glasgow and Edinburgh close to the sea while residential concentration by students in and around university areas provided another spatial location. Belizean forestry workers later added a highland, rural dimension to the permanent community. However, these facts have been ignored and/or marginalised and are hardly known within Scotland. As political conflicts overwhelmed Africa many students stayed on or returned to live in Scotland. Their status as students, intellectuals or professionals has resulted in an educated African/Caribbean community. However, this fact like their presence is dismissed with the "common-sense" belief that African/Caribbean people do not live in Scotland. Migration patterns which involved living in another society, whether western or 'third' world in addition to their academic background seemed to have provided the self assurance that was absent from early African/Caribbean migrants to English cities who were in the main working class. Intermarriage with white Scots is common even though there is a high proportion of black/black marriages.

The research shows that the majority of African/Caribbean respondents are middle class well educated and in professional or white collar occupations. This middle class/ white collar status of a high proportion of African/Caribbeans in Scotland has not been generally acknowledged by Scottish society or by academia (even though individuals in known circles are recognised as being of middle class status). The belief is one of low status based possibly on the early English experience but more importantly on historical notions of African inferiority/European superiority and negative notions associated with a dark skin present in European racist discourse about African people. Hence the route to invisibility. Concurrently African/Caribbean people when acknowledged are viewed as transients, particularly students. This assists in rendering the permanent presence invisible.However, the academic background, the unperceived high social status of African/Caribbeans and intermarriages seem to have helped their interaction, and to a certain extent, integration into Scottish society both professionally and socially but in doing so may have also contributed to their invisibility. As professionals and white collared workers dispersed within the mainstream workforce their presence is not as obvious as African/Caribbeans in England who were clustered around mainly low status occupations and other highly visible jobs (i.e. transport) until recently. Their dispersal in main stream occupations means that they are more physically integrated into the Scottish work force thus blurring their visible presence in Scotland

as a "black " workforce. Even for working class African/Caribbeans in Scotland, dispersal in occupations seems to be the norm.

The socio-economic status enables middle class African/Caribbeans to make choices more freely in housing and in area of residence resulting in their dispersal and reduced visibility in Scottish society. African/Caribbeans in public sector housing, with limited choices, are also dispersed on council estates according to the availability of housing. The high proportion of African/Caribbeans living in flats whether in middle class areas or in council or housing association tenancy similar to the majority society also helps to blur their presence in Scotland. Through dispersal they are physically integrated, into the wider Scottish society. Although physically visible it is their collective social presence which is being denied and ignored. More importantly, the reluctance of the wider Scottish society to acknowledge a permanent African/Caribbean presence instead of a transient one also contributes to their invisibility in contemporary Scotland. However invisibility does not mean that they are ostracised or excluded as was the case in Wales and England (Little 1947; Richmond 1954; Patterson 1963) for while their general presence is denied, interaction occurs at utilitarian levels, and as the following chapter into their social and cultural life in Scotland will bring out, at individual levels too.

CHAPTER 6 - THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND

6.1 INTRODUCTION

African/Caribbeans have been living in Scotland for many years, as the preceding chapter showed. As long stay residents they have had to adjust to life as a black minority living within a white majority society. Their dark skin makes them strangers, even those born here or those with long residency (Chapter 5). The chapter examines this long settlement which remains socially invisible to the wider Scottish society to illustrate some aspects of the social and cultural life existing among African/Caribbeans in Scotland as well as their relationship with the wider Scottish society. It assesses whether the invisibility of their presence in Scotland means that they are ostracised or ignored culturally and socially. Working within the conceptual framework of invisibility (Gates 1986) the Chapter argues that historical beliefs of racial and cultural inferiority of African people (Chapter 4) given intellectual respectability by the works of Scottish intellectuals such as Hume (1753), Combe (1825), Carlyle (1849, 1853) and Knox (1850), still affect the present day community and contribute to cultural invisibility. The chapter also demonstrates the contradictions and constraints which generally exist in the life of migrants. On the one hand they want to be an integral part of their new society, on the other hand, the natural propensity to hold on to their own culture and way of life result in cultural tensions. The Chapter examines these cultural expressions and provides evidence to support the concept of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1992, 1993) from a Scottish perspective.

The Chapter begins by examining the nature of the African/Caribbean culture in Scotland. This is followed by a review of the socio-cultural characteristics of African/Caribbeans in relation to the the African/Caribbean community as well as to the wider Scottish society. It then examines African/Caribbeans collectively by analysing social and cultural interactions among themselves, looking at some areas of life based on the English experience of African/Caribbeans, namely house parties or get-togethers, food, music, dance, hairstyles. Comparisons are made with early studies done in other parts of the United Kingdom. The study then discusses some of the conscious ways in which African/Caribbean cultural knowledge is being reproduced in Scotland. Finally, African/Caribbean interaction with the majority society is examined. The approach differs from traditional studies which examined African/Caribbean interaction with majority society principally through what individuals in the host society thought of them.

6.2 THE NATURE OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEAN CULTURE IN SCOTLAND.

6.2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section examines some cultural aspects of African/Caribbeans in Scotland. It argues that although the African/Caribbean community is small, dispersed and regarded as invisible it does maintain a cultural lifestyle of its own. However, the general impression that African people are cultureless, given respectability by the influential 18th century Scottish philosopher David Hume is still part of the Scottish/ British tradition and does influence beliefs about African/Caribbean culture with the result that whatever culture is grudgingly allowed African people is labelled "primitive". Thus this section begins by examining the concept of culture which as Rose (1988) noted is "far from being an unproblematic term" (p.151). This is then followed by an examination of the nature of African/Caribbean culture.

6.2.2 DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE

Culture "defies easy definition" (Jackson 1987:ix). It has been defined as "a whole way of life material, intellectual and spiritual" (Williams 1958:xvi) or as viewed by Parson Talcott as a social tradition which is once transmitted, learned and shared (Stenhouse 1967). Smith (1989) defines culture as "systems of shared meaning based on perceptions of common identity and experience (whether past or present)" (p.12). The various meanings given to culture in the past and today make it a " contested term" (Jackson 1987: ix). This flexibility today suggests that culture is relevant to any ethnic group, black or white, unlike its Eurocentric, ethnocentric and elitist past. This conceptualisation of culture used in the past as a yardstick of measurement of African people (Chapter 4) has resulted in the present day worldwide derogatory stereotypes and negation of their cultural presence and achievements particularly in white dominated societies. In academia the preoccupation of cultural studies with "physical artefacts and landscape features" (Jackson 1987:45) restricted cultural geographers to the study of the physical rather than the social landscape. The new cultural directions in social geography (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987) and the retheorisation of culture have led to new ways of approaching the concept geographically (Jackson 1989). This study in analysing the cultural expressions of African/Caribbeans, a marginalised group in Scottish/British society, adopts this new approach. It explores the working definitions of culture of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies as "that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive forms to their social

and material life-experiences" (Clarke et al., 1975:10) and, "the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted" (Clarke et al., 1975: 11). These notions of culture seem apt for the study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland as they enable "areas of social life that have rarely been treated by geographers" (Jackson 1987:45) to be studied, and in an African/Caribbean context allow examination of forms of expression which have been marginalised and made invisible in cultural studies. The Chapter now proceeds by a discussion of culture in an African and Afro-Caribbean cultural context to place the study in perspective.

6.3 CULTURE IN AN AFRICAN AND AFRO-CARIBBEAN CONTEXT

Generally, culture in an African or Afro-Caribbean context is believed in European cultural thought, like its history, not to exist. This unwillingness even today to accept 'Africanism' in culture may be explained in two myths of the 'Negro' (African) past documented by Herskovits (1941). The belief that:

> the cultures of Africa were so savage and relatively so low in scale of human civilisation that the apparent superiority of the European customs as observed in the behaviours of their masters, would have caused and actually did cause them to give up such aboriginal traditions as they may otherwise have desired to preserve. and that the Negro is a man without a past (Herskovits 1941:2),

have misguided generations of scholars and non-scholars, about African people the world over. Even writers such as the eminent sociologist Robert Park writing about African-Americans argued that "there is every reason to believe ... that the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament" (Park 1919:116).

This belief, that African people are cultureless, and the "view of Africa as a continent lacking culture, civilisation, progress and therefore history, had the sanction of such distinguished figures in Western culture as David Hume ..." (Duffield 1981:34). Hegel, echoing Hume, was also dogmatic that the African "is capable of no development of culture, and as we see them this day, such have they always been" (cited in Gates (1987:20). This 18th century belief that African people lack indigenous culture still persists in the 20th century and in sociological discourse which has been greatly influenced by individuals such as Robert Park (1919). Patterson (1963) writing about West Indians (Afro-Caribbeans) immigrants in London posited that they "lack any distinct and separate culture of their own" having "come from an English subculture" (p.200). Rex and Tomlinson (1979) argued that Afro-Caribbeans were

forced into accepting British culture along with servitude. Park's influence was so great that even Pryce (1979), an Afro-Caribbean, saw Afro-Caribbean culture as being derived from European culture without, as Lawrence (1982) pointed out, noticing "the importance of African elements" (p.100).

This misconception about diasporan Africans, Jackson (1987) noted comes from the common-sense ideas that "generations of colonial rule have obliterated all traces of an authentic indigenous culture" (p.148). Compton (1980) counterbalances this misconception in *Africa in the West Indian consciousness* arguing that Afro-Caribbeans were always culturally "Africa oriented" (p.34). He stated that although Afro-Caribbeans were "forced to discard some of their African heritage" (p.34) they never discarded Africa. Africa remained in their consciousness and was always in their way of life even if sometimes they had to keep up some traditions "secretly" (Compton 1980:34). He further argued that this African cultural tradition, was kept alive "in their dances, their musical traditions, folk tales, legends and a few of the religious rituals from Africa" (p.33). The late Afro-Caribbean intellectual C.L.R. James in noting that his book *The Black Jacobins -Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo revolution* "was written not with the Caribbean but with Africa in mind" (James 1938, 1980: vi) lends support to Compton's argument of Africa in Afro-Caribbean consciousness. My own experience as a child growing up in an African village on the Guyana coastland was also very Africa orientated. For example, it was customary for villagers to get together on moonlight nights to tell tales of bygone years, of slavery, of Annancy and Brer Rabbit stories and to sing songs about our "home" in Africa. The mental images the elders painted of Africa were so real and fascinating that not even the negative visual images of today's television have been able to displace these spiritual images. Africa was so much in our consciousness that even our food had to be cooked with the correct amount of salt so that upon death our spirit would depart to Africa. (Too much salt in meals impeded the return of the spirits to Africa.)

Through resistance to the dominant European colonial culture and syncretisation of elements from the various African tribal cultures African people in the Caribbean negotiated a new culture specific to the Caribbean environment in which they found themselves. Present day Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland are the products of this African culture in the Caribbean context which evolved when African slaves "peoples of different backgrounds, different languages, different traditions and different religions" were thrown together on plantations. From this emerged a 'new amalgam' as there were many common features amongst the various tribal cultures (Compton 1980:34).

It is from this rich 'pan-African' cultural tradition, a "hybridisation and cut and mix" (Hall 1992a) later influenced by a European way of life, that Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland have come. Africans, on the other hand, come from an indigenous culture of customs and beliefs. To speak of an African culture in a universal manner does not, of course, give credit to the many diverse peoples and political units that make up the large continent of Africa. However some common elements of culture which may be described as an African cultural tradition do exist as a reservoir of ideas and practices available to African and Caribbean peoples in Scotland today. Cultural patterns in music, dance, drumming, respect for elders, folklore, age group, storytelling, hairstyles are to be found throughout Africa. Thus both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans living in Scotland operate within an Afrocentric (Gilroy 1993) framework where some cultural roots may be identified as African or as Afro-Caribbean depending on geographical background. The fusion of these cultural elements result in a distinctively Afro-Scottish diasporan experience which is particularly evident when the dominant cultural form among African/Caribbeans in Scotland is compared with its English counterpart.

The dominant cultural element evident among African/Caribbean people in Scotland is African and more specifically West African. This differs from the English situation where the Afro-Caribbean culture and more specifically the Jamaican culture, the most African of Caribbean cultural traditions, dominates. Thus while a child of African origin or descent in London may eventually adopt an outwardly Afro-Caribbean cultural lifestyle, an African/Caribbean child in Scotland is more likely to follow African cultural influences with events such as "Africa sunsplash" instead of "reggae sunsplash" and the drums of Africa rather than the steel-bands of the Caribbean catering for cultural life. This is also true for some adults. As an Afro-Caribbean in Scotland, my cultural way of life has become more African orientated than it would have been had I been living in England. For example, when I visit my friends' homes it is likely that I will eat fu fu and Okra (gumbo) stew, or jaloff rice, ugali or sadza rather than gunga peas and rice, ackee and salt fish, ku ku and flying fish, or jerk pork. On special occasions I would wear an African dress (buba or kitenge) instead of a western style dress. Such events as Nigerian family day, Africa day, Ghana day all contribute to the creation of an Afro-Scottish cultural heritage indicating that the cultural life of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, as in England, is negotiated with symbols being drawn from a variety of sources. These "hybridised identities" as Mercer (1994) argues "point to ways of surviving and thriving" (p.5). Although today the African cultural form is dominant it seems to have been the Afro-Caribbean

cultural tradition with its songs and steel band which have held sway in the 1960's and 1970's suggesting that African/Caribbeans in Scotland draw on a variety of African and Caribbean symbols to assert their own cultural identity in a specifically Scottish setting. Old age, retirement to the Caribbean, internal migration to England as well as intermarriage has resulted in its lower cultural profile.

Communal celebration of cultural life is, however, spasmodic among African/ Caribbeans in Scotland possibly because of the absence of many voluntary associations to actively organise and promote, and/or the difficulties sometimes of coordinating events for the scattered community. Although there are Nigerian, Ghanaian and Kenyan associations these tend to work with nationals and students. However, these associations formed to provide support for students also provide annual cultural input on national days such as Kenya Independent Day, Nigeria independence day or Africa Day resulting in a syncretisation and fusion of cultural elements. The West African Association which once functioned in the early 1920's when numbers in Scotland from individual African countries were few seems now to be defunct as associations changed because of the larger numbers of students from African countries. The South African Student Association is now one of the biggest associations in Scotland because of the large numbers of students coming to Scotland for higher education. Other, older, associations such as the West Indian Association founded in 1923 to look into the interests of West Indian students have had to adapt to changes as the numbers of West Indian students coming to study in Scotland fell with increasing fees for overseas students. Changing its function from a student association to "include West Indian residents" it was renamed 'Lothian Caribbean Association' in the early eighties" (Besson 1989:148) signifying a shift from the periphery or margin of Scottish society to one in the centre. In the 1980's the organisation became a resident organisation signifying, a "coming home" (Mercer 1994:19) of African/Caribbean people in Scotland. However, it still provides a base from which students can make initial contacts on their arrival in Scotland. Thus while some associations have disappeared or contracted others have grown because of student numbers and social or sometimes political developments in some African countries. With a more settled community of both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans and their descendants, Afro-Scots, over the years and the visible status that the 1991 census has given to the community, Pan-African organisations such as the Pan-African Women's Association, Pan African Arts Scotland, Afro-Caribbean Women's Group Glasgow and more recently the Africa Cultural Centre, Scotland, have been developed to bind the African with the diasporan African in a Scottish context resulting in an "intermixture of a variety of distinct

cultural forms" (Gilroy 1993) which pass unremarked in the wider Scottish society.

The chapter now goes on to examine the social and cultural characteristics of African/ Caribbeans using the questionnaire data supported by informal discussions, documentary sources and personal experiences.

6.4 SOCIOCULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS

6.4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section I examine some early socio-cultural characteristics of African/ Caribbeans to provide an understanding of their position both in relation to the African/Caribbean community as well as to the wider Scottish society. First I discuss this in relation to the standing of early African/Caribbean migrants in England and Wales to provide a comparison. Then an examination is made of the differing positions from which African/Caribbeans approach their socio-cultural life in Scotland, this is further illustrated by short individual studies.

6.4.2 SOCIOCULTURAL POSITIONS OF AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS

Early studies undertaken of African/Caribbean people in others parts of the UK, showed racism influencing their social and cultural life as well as their standing in the society. Little (1947) showed African/Caribbeans ostracised from the rest of the majority society socialising among themselves. Banton (1955) in *The Coloured Quarter*, set in the East End of London, again showed African/Caribbeans socialising among themselves but also with other ethnic minorities. Patterson (1963) in her study of West Indians in England showed them carving their way into a particular place resulting in a spatial concentration in Brixton which exists in the present day. In addressing the adaptation, of incomers to their new society Patterson further noted that "social and cultural life" are two aspects of immigrants lifestyles in which interaction with host society was minimal or non-existent. While immigrants, generally, have to compete for housing, whether public or private, or for employment, their social and cultural lives can go on without involving the host society. Thus while there is interaction at utilitarian levels, there is separation and distinctiveness at others. This dualism which operates in the life of immigrant people have been noted elsewhere. (Gans 1962), for example, has shown that social and cultural lives are the two factors to which immigrants pay special attention, for sometimes their whole well being and adjustment to the host society depends on them.

Like most migrants, social and cultural interaction is initially within the group for mutual support. This interaction might be in the form of going out together, dances or house parties where traditional meals are cooked and eaten. As the migrants become familiar with the host society these ties change through new contacts being made within the host society. African/Caribbean respondents seem not to differ much from the above, as long established residents spoke of various social and cultural events: outings for children, dances, independence celebrations and national day holidays that were once organised by African/Caribbean individuals and cultural organisations, some of which have now ceased to exist and others which continue up to the present. Socio-cultural life for African/Caribbeans in Scotland, because of numbers, cultural orientation, as well as solidarity seems to have been pan-African in emphasis catering for African and Afro-Caribbean migrants as well as their descendants, native born Afro-Scots. With adaptation, and in some cases acculturation, to the host society some of these early networks have lost their strength as individuals dispersed as a result of job opportunities or because they no longer needed the same degree of communal support.

Although the general feeling among overseas born is that the social and cultural life for them in Scotland is limited, when compared with the one they experienced in their home country, there is compensation in the variety of social events and places they can go to and things that they can do in their leisure time. Since Scottish/British society does not possess laws hindering freedom of movement for black people as was recently practiced in South Africa and in the distant past in the American south, African/ Caribbeans in Scotland are not constrained by law from enjoying recreational and social facilities. Although there is a lack of participation of Afro-Scots in the field of sports locally, compared to that of their counterparts in England, and few make it into the sporting arena, both African and Afro-Caribbeans are avid television followers of football and cricket respectively. Others are members of sports clubs. One respondent is a member of Scottish football club, another is a badminton umpire and regularly umpires matches throughout Scotland. Social interaction with the wider Scottish community is the norm rather than the exception in these cases.

Since the African/Caribbean community is heterogeneous, with people born in Africa, the Caribbean, Scotland or other parts of Britain, orientation, interests and positions differ. Not every African/Caribbean individual is Afro-centered or sees or conceptu-alises him/herself as part of what can be termed a wider "African " or "Afrocentric" community. Some African/Caribbeans in Scotland base their social life on attendance

at African/Caribbean dance clubs and other events. Others do not. The older generation with colonial upbringing often do not embrace "Afrocentric " ideals and some individuals see themselves as "British", not only in terms of nationality but also socially and culturally. Arthur Coleman, a former Belizean forestry worker, lends support to this argument. In *The Scotsman's* article, "Jock Tamson's exotic bairns", he remarked that "I have been born British and have been taught that way at school" ... "I know the Battle of Bannockburn and the Battle of Trafalgar" (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993). Banton (1955) attributed this tendency to the the fact that "West Africa and the West Indies were particularly susceptible to British influence" (p.43). This 'Britishness' is evident in many of the older generation in Scotland, both African and Afro-Caribbean. For example, Alvin Tillet, from Belize, in the same interview for *The Scotsman* s tated that he considers himself Scottish and feels like a foreigner when he goes back to his home country. (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993). Thus many of the older generation of African/Caribbeans, in particular those who migrated to Scotland before their country of origin gained independence from Britain, see themselves as an integral part of British society.

Some of those with whom I spoke saw this link with the "mother country" and the fact that they were born and brought up British made them indisputably part of the Scottish society in which they found themselves. Some already had Scottish names having been descended from Scots who migrated to the Caribbean many years ago. So it is understandable that they see themselves as "Jock Tamson's bairns". Social life for these individuals involves a greater interaction with the white society than with other African/Caribbeans. In fact it can be argued that these individuals have become socially integrated within sections of Scottish society. Those with whom I am acquainted are involved in pensioners' clubs, sports clubs, participation in the management of church activities, outings and visits to pubs. One individual once managed a pub. In these activities social interaction is essentially with individuals within the host society.

The attachment of these individuals to the majority society has been such that they are reluctant to participate in socio- cultural events within the African/Caribbean community. Former Belizean forestry workers in particular, and other longstanding African/ Caribbean residents were described as a 'difficult lot' to get involve in any social or cultural events within the African/Caribbean community. From personal knowledge of this group not much of what can be termed an Afrocentric cultural life was transferred to their Afro-Scottish offspring, supporting Talcott Parson's view that

culture is a social tradition which is transmitted, learnt and shared. Age, long residency, and marriages to white Scottish women, have enabled this group of African/ Caribbean males to achieve a certain degree of social integration and acceptance within sections of Scottish society. Pendreigh supports this argument noting that former Belizean forestry workers "have integrated into a culture which they feel was not different from that of the distant outpost of Empire where they were born" (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993). Thus it can be argued that "invisibility" is a marker of 'success' in being integrated into and accepted by white Scottish society.

Early African/Caribbeans, particularly, Belizean forestry workers and African sailors, overcame some of the problems of their social and cultural life by their marriages to white Scottish women. Although, not all husbands were accepted by their wives' families, marriage enabled most of them to fit into their wives' class structure which was invariably working class, thus creating an early African/Caribbean working class structure. Their children were born into the social and cultural ethos of this class which they themselves had adopted and embraced. In negotiating their presence into the wider Scottish society some lost their "negritude". Chad Savery epitomises this when he stated that he did not upkeep any Belizean traditions in Scotland. He even dismissed his creole mother tongue (a language developed by African slaves) as a "lazy version of English" (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993). Savery, like many other male African/Caribbeans and their Afro-Scottish offspring, in negotiating their presence in Scotland seems to have achieved social integration at the expense of cultural visibility. This lack of cultural awareness was particularly evident among Afro-Scots with whom I spoke informally. One young Afro-Scot who was adopted by a white family had no idea about his roots but was beginning to get acquainted by reading historical material. He sported a "rasta" hairstyle as his badge of new found cultural identity, visibility and voice. Another Afro-Scot in his seventies refused to contemplate that other African people live in Scotland and was rather confused about his identity even though he was aware that his father was Nigerian. Another in his sixties who had "no interest in this Africa thing" is illustrative of this invisible generation of Afro-Scots who have lived their whole lives in Scotland with little or no contact with their African/Caribbean heritage and with no recognition of their presence by Scottish society. As a result they seem to have built up a wall against their "negritude" possibly because of the unpleasant experiences they have had to endure, being black in a white majority society, and unable to discover what can best be described as an Afrocentric culture (Gilroy 1993). This cut off or "social death" (Patterson 1983) from an Afrocentric heritage is epitomised by a young Afro-Scot respondent who stated "I have never really known any African/

Afro-Caribbeans socially".

From personal knowledge of some members of this group not much of what can be termed an African/Caribbean cultural lifestyle is evident. Many seem more orientated to the sociocultural life of the wider Scottish society. Some though, particularly females, in their adult years have been making efforts to discover their roots. Many Afro-Scots seem to be the children of African/Caribbean males and this gender factor seems to play a great part in their relationship with white Scottish society and in their having little or no interest in things "Afrocentric". Afro-Scots with African/Caribbean mothers and white fathers do seem to have much more in common, socially and culturally, with the African/Caribbean community, thus supporting the view that women are the transmitters of culture.

Some Africans, too, particularly those who have experienced political conflicts at home, have cut themselves off from all things socially and culturally African, making no division between the social, the cultural and the political. Interaction again is mainly with the white society. For example, at one 40th birthday party for an African/ Caribbean in Scotland there were 40 guests, 6 guests were African/Caribbeans, the others were white. This in a way is an indication of the interaction existing between some African/Caribbeans and the majority white society. It also indicates the position of African/Caribbeans in relation to each other for not all socialise with other African/ Caribbeans as factors such as class, snobbery, educational achievements, tribal conflicts and geographical orientation all play their part in the positions they adopt in Scotland. This does show that the position of African/Caribbeans in relation to white Scottish society is a long way from the ostracism observed by Little (1947), Banton (1954), and Patterson (1963), in the early years of African/Caribbean settlement in England and Wales. In addition to the influence of gender, the situation in Scotland reflects other factors such as the high proportion of middle class African/Caribbeans, intermarriages and long residency (chapter 5). Thus invisibility of African/Caribbeans in these context does not necessarily signify ostracisation or being ignored, as was the case in Wales (Little 1947) or in America with African-Americans (Ellison 1947, 1952). The following vignettes illustrate at the individual level, the sociable interaction and to some extent integration of African/Caribbeans in relation to other African/Caribbeans as well as with the wider Scottish community.

Mr A. is a former Belizean Forestry worker who came to Scotland in 1941 and has lived here for over 50 years. He has worked as a cook, a street cleaner and a builder, in

addition to working for over twenty years in the paper mill. He is married to a white Scot and has six children. His family is close knit, with unmarried sons and daughters living nearby by on the same council estate. One daughter is married to a white Scot. The younger daughters live at home with their parents. Mr A. is a sociable type and goes around to visit as many Belizean workers as possible. He mixes freely within the white community and has many white friends. He once played the trumpet in a dance band in Edinburgh and it was through involvement in this activity that he met his Scottish wife. A keen supporter of football, he joined the Hibs supporters football club where he made many friends. Mr A. stated that he is accepted in many pubs, even in the roughest ones in areas that he is known. He said that he does not mind his white friends calling him "blackie" or other names pertaining to his skin pigmentation. "With your friends, it is alright" , but he would be offended if a stranger called him 'blackie' or 'nigger'. Thus in negotiating the way in which his presence in Scotland is recognised, tolerance of "race" is exercised possibly at the expense of perpetuating stereotypes. Mr A. tries his best to keep other Belizean Forestry workers in contact by being a sort of a link. My appeal in the newspaper for older African/Caribbeans in Scotland caught his attention and through this we came into contact. He tried unsuccessfully to get others interested in my research. Mr A, is very keen on his children knowing about their African origin and history. Two of his daughters have been to the Caribbean to visit grandparents and other relatives.

Mr B. stated that he is a "born and bred" Afro-Scot and has lived in Scotland for seventy years. His mother was white and his father was an African student whom he never knew. He was adopted by a white family where his upbringing was white. In fact he was the only 'black' child around. Mr. B said that his parents tried their best to prepare him for the eventual discrimination that he would encounter in Scottish society. It took him years and experience of certain situations to understand that it was because of the colour of his skin that they were trying to protect him. He felt this should have been explained to him. He had an active social life in the cubs and the Boy Scouts. His father taught him to "fight back" and this solved his problems at school. As his father was a soldier who fought in South Africa it was inevitable that he joined the services. Mr B. said that he was discouraged from certain jobs. He wanted to be a lawyer but did all kinds of odd jobs before going to University as a mature student to take a degree and become a teacher. During the second world war he joined the Air Training Corps and became a sergeant. Later he was corporal of the local Home Guard. He played football for Edinburgh City. Mr B. says that he goes every year to the Memorial service and he is the only black there. His social life revolves around

servicemens' clubs and Royal Air Force functions . He does not hear about functions in the African/Caribbean community but would attend if he knew about them. Mr B. is not familiar with African/Caribbeans in Scotland and still feels that he has not come to terms with his 'African' half even though he has done much historical reading on Africa to know about his roots. He feels that there is some sort of a cultural vacuum within him. Mr B. claimed that he was always prevented from associating with black people and never got to know his roots. His friends are mainly white. He is still single as getting married was his biggest problem in Scotland. Anyway he " did not want children" because he did not want them to be "knocked around". He sees himself socially and culturally as a Scot and a "mince and tattie man".

Mrs C. is African and originates from upper class African society, her father being a diplomat to a European country. She grew up in Africa and Europe and is a qualified nurse, having been trained in Scotland and has lived here for over twenty six years. She gave it up to start a hair saloon business which in addition to providing a valuable service also serves as a meeting place for many African/Caribbean women and assists with social networking in Scotland. Mrs C. is familiar with many African/Caribbeans in Scotland as men and women use the service of her saloon. Social life for Mrs C. is both within the African/Caribbean community as well as with members of the majority society for like most African/Caribbean women in Scotland, Mrs C. is married to a white. She attends functions organised by the African/Caribbean community in Scotland and visits her home country occasionally to provide her children with a cultural background. Mrs C. is comfortable in white society and is an important part of the African/Caribbean community.

Mr D. stated in a capsule that his social life revolves around attendance at funerals of older African/Caribbeans, meeting up with white friends (Mr D. once worked in a pub) and maintaining contact with other former Belizean workers. He has lived in Scotland for over fifty years.

All four individuals, like a high proportion of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, interact significantly with the host society. Both Mr A and Mr B are to a very large extent socially integrated into the wider Scottish society. While Mr A maintains limited contact with the African/Caribbean community, Mr B has little or no contact, typifying the position of older Afro-Scots, in particular, with the African/Caribbean community. Mrs C's position is a typical one, her occupation makes her an integral part of the African/Caribbean community and she also mixes with the white society. Mr D. is the

communal man socialising in both African/Caribbean and host society. The above vignette suggest that the positions adopted by African/Caribbeans in Scotland in relation to socio-cultural life differ both in relation to other African/Caribbeans as well as with the wider Scottish society. All four individuals have lived in Scotland for very long periods typifying the long residency of African/Caribbean people in Scotland (Chapter 5) and this together with birth and/or marriage has enabled African/Caribbean people in Scotland, generally, to obtain an entree into Scottish life even though it is restricted by skin colour. None appears to be ostracised from the majority society, yet invisibility attends their overall presence in Scotland.

6.5 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INTERACTION WITHIN AFRICAN/CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

The section develops by first examining areas of social life identified by respondents, this is then followed by a discussion and examination of certain expressive cultural forms such as food, dance, music and hairstyles.

The survey data on the social life of African/Caribbeans in Scotland indicated that respondents participate in many social activities: 44 respondents attended birthday parties, 26 respondents christenings, 28 respondents outings, 39 respondents going out for a drink. Social events attended or celebrated indicate a variety of social activities similar to practises in the wider Scottish society. Holding, and/or participating in, socio-cultural events similar to those practised in western societies have led to beliefs that African people, generally, adopted wholesale, European traditions and way of life. While not denying that African/Caribbeans participate in the social life of the wider Scottish society, celebration of social events such as birthdays, christenings or even going out for a drink exists in African cultural tradition. Thus it was easy for Africans taken to the Caribbean, as slaves, for example, to continue celebrating these events without engendering the wrath of slave masters." The similarities between many European and African cultural elements" Blassingame (1972, 1979) noted "enabled the slave to continue to engage in many traditional activities or to create a synthesis of European and African cultures (p.20). This process continues in Scotland. It is only necessary to attend African/Caribbean christenings and naming ceremonies in Scotland or in the Caribbean to observe recognisable African features mixing with cultural elements drawn from Europe. Going out for a drink might also be thought of as a European cultural tradition adopted by African/Caribbeans in Scotland but African people, too, have a cultural tradition of wine making and partaking of it in a communal manner despite David Hume's (1758) belief that "the

Negroe has no notion of the relish of wine" (p.291). Bryan Edwards (1793, 1819) equally contemptuous of diaspora Africans in Jamaica noted that "their taste was so depraved that I have seen them drink new rum fresh from the still in preference to the wine I offered them" (p. 546). Such beliefs of African inferiority based on trivia and ignorance of other cultures have only served to undermine African people socially and culturally in white societies and perpetuate their invisibility. A surprising source, in view of his reputation, for this long African tradition, is Edward Long (1774) who in discussing the cultural life of Africans in Jamaica noted that " in Guiney [in West Africa] they are taught to regard a dram, as one of the chief pleasures of life, they grow up with this opinion " (p.409) The similarities or commonality of, some sociocultural elements have enabled African people to adapt to European societies, without drastic changes to their own sociocultural way of life. The easy adaptations to European lifestyle together with the old but not forgotten historical beliefs of European cultural superiority (chapter 4) and ethnic absolutism (Gilroy 1987) compounded the fashionable belief that African people, adopted, wholesale, a European way of life. The commonality of some cultural elements of the world means that in Scotland, for example, it is fairly easy for African/Caribbeans to sidestep the boundary (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Smith 1993c) and enjoy and identify with a Scottish folk culture of music, song and dance.

The questionnaire data also indicate that African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland do participate in social events which reflect their home countries, place of origin or ancestral homeland with celebrations of national days by 29 respondents, independence days celebrations by 38 respondents, Africa day by 23 respondents and African naming ceremony by 13 respondents. The intermixture of these events assists in providing a cultural identity derived from Africa and the Caribbean but redefined to suit the Scottish context. Solidarity was shown with countries in Africa which were still not liberated. 20 respondent, possibly the more politically aware, indicated attendance at such parties and cultural functions in aid of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Cultural displays at such functions assisted in reinforcing cultural identity. However, anti-apartheid functions and liberation parties tended generally to be gatherings of both black and white interacting socially and politically. Although influenced by a Scottish/British lifestyle the cultural life of African/Caribbean has a distinctive "ethnos" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993) which is reflected in food, dance and music and hairstyles. These cultural forms are advanced here because of their roles as cultural symbols, their readily recognisable features, prominence, recognisable history and common ancestry. Each is now discussed in the order above.

6.5.1 FOOD

The questionnaire data showed that the exchanging of food at get-togethers or house parties forms a big part of respondents social life in Scotland. 62 respondents indicated they attended such parties. The popularity of these events seems to be promoted by the difficulties of obtaining tropical foodstuffs in Scotland and nostalgia for former homes. In England most inner-city markets now sell gari, palm oil, yams, plantains, cassava, okra or gumbo, gunga peas or distinctively West Indian food such as ackee, salt fish and salted pig's tail known in its creole tongue as "pig tail" The absence of these foodstuffs as well as of African/Caribbean restaurants, in Scotland has resulted in food parties forming a major part of social life. Dishes that are not cooked every day at home, because of unavailability of ingredients, or lack of time to prepare lengthy dishes, are provided. The parties serve as a unifying force within the African/ Caribbean community similar to that observed by Banton (1955) in his study of 'the Coloured quarters' where he noted that "especially at weekends coloured men come there from other parts of London for African style food" (p.94). It is at parties such as these that African/Caribbeans develop friendships with each other, widening their circle of friends and acquaintances and hence develope their community in Scotland. In addition to the social significance of these gatherings in Scotland they are also of cultural and historical significance for they show similarities between the dishes originating in Africa, and those prepared by Afro-Caribbeans indicating that Africans taken to the Caribbean, as slaves, have retained African ways of cooking through the centuries.

Food provides a cultural identity that is particularly evident when Africans and diasporan Africans meet. Food is readily recognised. Thus an African/Caribbean food culture in Scotland is a signifying one for it re-enforces cultural identity, strengthens links and is a form of mutual recognition. Fu- Fu the West African dish, with its East African equivalent, Ugali, is cooked by many Africans in Scotland. In the Caribbean foo-foo, as it is spelt, is also cooked by many Afro-Caribbeans. Thus both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans separated by many centuries and wide seas are familiar with fu fu in Scotland. Even though the name varies in Caribbean islands such as Barbados where it is called Ku-Ku, the preparation is similar. Foo-Foo crossed the Atlantic, survived in the Caribbean and now has been brought by Afro-Caribbeans to Scotland where it meets with its African equivalent. Banton (1955) also noticed the presence of "foo-foo" and "rice and peas" (p.171) among African and Afro-Caribbean in *The Coloured Quarter* and noted how the white wives of these individuals learnt to cook

the dishes. An interesting point which came out in the questionnaire and has been observed several times in Scotland was that "okra" or "gumbo" an African vegetable, is cooked by both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. Edward Long (1774) provides information on "okra" in a African diaspora context signifying its long tradition among Africans and diaspora Africans. Although perpetuating the inferiority of African people Long was very much in praise of the African derived okra stew/soup and its preparation. Remarking upon the delights of the dish he noted that they "are well seasoned with the country peppers; ochra (okra) is a principal ingredient, and they are extremely relishing and nutritive; but they come doubly recommended by their cleanliness of preparation" (p.412). Long who seemed to have been well acquainted with the uses of okra by diasporan Africans, noted that it was used for "diseases of the breast" (p.775) and was a good diuretic. Okra is still regarded as having curative properties today. He further noted that okra was exported, "when dried, is packed in well-stopped bottles or cannisters, and sent to Great Britain to be used in rich soups. This was formerly an article of commerce, and sold in England at ten shillings per pound" (p.775). Today fresh okra flown in from Kenya, Zambia and the Caribbean is being sold at (e.g) Savacentre supermarket in Edinburgh, while in inner-city areas of England it is an everyday item in vegetable markets. It is of interest that okra is also cooked by Africans and Afro-Caribbeans to eat with Fu Fu or Ku Ku, an old African culinary practice, which survived the ravages of the Atlantic slave trade and now lives on in the African/Caribbean community in Scotland.

Calalu (spinach) stew or soup, (or its East African equivalent Mchicha), which is prepared throughout the Caribbean by people of African descent is also prepared by both West Africans and East Africans in Scotland. The Ghanaian "kenke" and the Afro-Guyanese "konke" are similar dishes cooked or steamed in leaves. The Afro-Caribbean 'bakes' and the East African "mandazi" are the same type of fried unleavened bread. The African "mealy" porridge or "pap" as it is called in some parts of the Caribbean is still a favourite in some African/Caribbean households even though it has adapted to the particular environment and is made from a variety of vegetables such as cassava, corn or plantain flour. Other similarities are :"Gari", the West African dish and its northern Caribbean (Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands) and southern African-American equivalent "hominy" or "grits"; the Guyanese "cook-up- rice" and the West African "one pot", a dish in which rice, gunga (pigeon) peas (or Angola pea as Long (1774) refered to it) and meat are cooked together in one pot. The Sierra Leone equivalent "jaloff rice" which is sometimes prepared for social and cultural functions in Scotland within the African/Caribbean community as well as for social

functions within the wider Scottish community is enjoyed by Scots when it appears at social functions.

Despite this enthusiasm for jaloff rice and other dishes, African food, generally, is not thought of in a positive way by the wider Scottish society. It is only necessary to take a cursory survey of bookshops to notice the absence of African or Afro-Caribbean cookery books. This absence is reflected too in supermarkets. Although Afro-Caribbean ingredients such as "Jamaican jerk seasoning", "Busha Browne's spicy jerk sauce", "West Indian pepper sauce" , "Busha Browne's hot pepper sauce", made with "authentic Jamaican Scotch Bonnet peppers" as well as poultry such as "Guinea fowl" are available at major supermarket such as Sainsbury's, ready cooked African/Afro-Caribbean cuisine is not. On the other hand freezers are constantly filled with Asian and, to a lesser extent, Chinese dishes. Individuals in the wider Scottish community do not see African food in the same light as Asian or Chinese foods. Many, in fact, do not associate Africa with culinary pleasure. The frequent images on television of famine and of starving people do not help matters and possibly have served to reinforce the ideas of cultural inferiority and culinary invisibility. Several African/Caribbean individuals who have tried over the years to set up African restaurants in Scotland have complained of the negative attitude of bank managers to proposals for any food or other enterprise of an African nature. None has ever been able to obtain financial assistance to set up any business enterprise as ethnic minorities, generally, if thought of at all in Scotland, are thought to be Asians. Even at community functions it is always a struggle to have African/Caribbean food included as part of the ethnic minority dishes in Scotland as many see multicultural food mainly in terms of "samosas" and "pakoras". The denial and/ or marginalisation of African/Caribbean food result in it being invisible.

The Pan-African Women's Association has had to struggle to have African/Caribbean food included at International Women's day events in Scotland. At one particular social event in Scotland where African food was served it was described as "that concoction" until it was tasted, then it was second helpings. Scots do seem to enjoy African food after the initial fear is overcome and it is tasted. However, the meeting together of Africans and Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland and the sharing of food is significant for it shows that African slaves and their descendants in the Caribbean have retained foods and preserved cooking techniques up to the present day despite centuries of separation and the ravages of slavery. Today these cultural forms provide African/Caribbean people with a cultural identity which is different from the majority society and with

which they are able to resist ideas of cultural inferiority and develop an African/ Caribbean society in Scotland. The lack of African/Caribbean restaurants in Scotland together with the marginalisation and absence of foods at multicultural social functions mean, however, that African/Caribbean food remains invisible in Scottish society in comparison with Asians and Chinese restaurants which are able to make their food visible and thus negotiate their presence in Scotland. Despite its invisibility to the wider Scottish society, African/Caribbean food and its preparation provide the people and the community with cultural forms different from the host society. These are now being passed down to some of their Afro-Scottish descendants.

6.5.2 DANCE

Dances are important in African cultural life with various types to suit different occasions such as ritual dances, dances for circumcision, war dances or purely for enjoyment. Thus even though dances were recreational they were also functional (Braithwaite 1981). Dances are usually communal celebrations and are an important form of social and cultural life. Even during the period of slavery African slaves "with or without their masters permission often organised dances and parties to which all slaves in the neighborhood were invited" (Blassingame 1972; 1979:108). Although social dancing is important in the African/Caribbean community in Scotland not all African/Caribbean respondents indicated a social lifestyle which involve going to dances or night clubs. 35 respondents indicated that they did not know that such clubs existed in Scotland while 40 respondents stated that they had never visited one. About half the respondents were not dance club goers which possibly is an indication of the age as well as the middle class background, of the sample. Although some African/Caribbeans might not attend dances because of religion or old age or parenthood, some seem not to attend because of status. Dance clubs are seen by some upwardly mobile African/Caribbean professionals (Buppies) as not being respectable, possibly reflecting the negative way African/Caribbean clubs were perceived generally in English society particularly in the early days of settlement. On the other hand, dance clubs are patronised by many whites, and frequented by students black and white, local and overseas. Although the clubs cater, musically, for an "Afro" clientele the doors are opened to everyone. Dance clubs operated by African/ Caribbeans in Scotland are the most multicultural and international of clubs with all races, creed and nationalities rubbing shoulders and reggaeing, raggaing, hip hopping or doing the lambada or the salsa together.

The African/Caribbean community in Scotland has not yet fully developed communal

dancing although dance parties are held as discussed above. Thus the transmission of African/Caribbean dance in Scotland has initially to be taught in the home or by learning from get togethers at house parties, later in life dances can be learnt from visits to African/Caribbean dance clubs. Since African dance patterns and music have become part of the popular British and international culture, African/Caribbeans in Scotland have the cultural advantage in this respect, over other black minorities, in that music as well as dance style can be viewed and learnt from national television. Thus these aspects of the African/Caribbean cultural tradition are not difficult to transmit in a white society as they can be seen on television, or on home videos. Visits by African dance troupes such as Svinurai and Black British pan-African troupes, such as Adizio, all assist with the transmission and syncretisation of African and diaspora African dance forms in Scotland. African-American dance, which is rooted in African dance forms, also provides a diaspora aspect to African/Caribbean dance culture in Scotland. Thus even though there may not be communal organisations which transmit an African/ Caribbean dance culture in Scotland, the prominence of African derived dances in mainstream dance culture in Britain as well as the popularity of those from the USA and the Caribbean ensures the perpetuation of African/Caribbean dance forms in Scotland. The irony of this popularity of dance forms in main stream, however, means that their link with the African/Caribbean community in Scotland becomes invisible as they are seen not as African/Caribbean cultural life but as part of "world culture" negating African/Caribbean cultural achievements and developments.

6.5.3 MUSIC

Music plays an important role in the social and cultural life of African/Caribbean people in Scotland as it provides individual enjoyment and communal celebration. For the overseas born it alleviates loneliness and provides reminiscences. Within a Scottish context, it is a symbol of unity and the most outward expression of cultural difference. Most importantly, it signifies cultural identity pointing to a common African root despite its geographical journeys. Music with its distinctive polyrhythm, is one of the symbols by which the community can be recognised. Today, like the African drums of yesteryear, it serves as one of the "invisible" cultural forces unifying the African/ Caribbean community. Unlike England, where Jamaicans predominate, there is no visibly preponderant group in Scotland so there is no dominant musical sound. The result is a fusion of African, Afro-Caribbean, Black British, African-American, Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian music reflecting the syncretisation of African/Caribbean cultural lifestyle in Scotland. This syncretisation is particularly evident in dance clubs, an important part of social life for some African/Caribbeans in Scotland. Dancing

associated with the music is a traditional African pastime. It crossed the Atlantic with African slaves and remained an important social activity among diasporan Africans. In Scotland it is the most visible social activity identified with the African/Caribbean community and is one of the most important form of social and cultural interaction with the host society. Through the infectious nature of music and dance African/Caribbean are able to negotiate their presence in Scotland and resist the invisibility which attends their presence. Dance clubs exist in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Stirling and serve the needs of the African/Caribbean community as well as the wider Scottish public. Clubs with names associated with Africa or persons or things Afro-Caribbean, such as the Mambo, Mali, Marley, Ital and the Mambo Inn in Edinburgh, the Mandela, Verunga and others in Glasgow provide weekly musical entertainment where African high-life, Congolese music, Caribbean reggae, Black British ragga, African-American hip hop and rap music are played together with Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban music.

Music has been an important aspect of African survival in the Caribbean and the Americas as it was a cultural form taught or performed in the home or in the community and in secrecy. In Scotland it has not yet developed a communal base possibly because of the dispersed nature of the African/Caribbean community, time, as well as the easy access to African/Caribbean music on records, audio tapes, television and videos. However music appreciation or enjoyment is still a family or individual pastime. In Scotland some homes that I have visited possess a piano or other musical instruments and children are taught various forms of musical entertainment. Both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans have a cultural tradition of transmitting music and song in the home and in the community. With the dispersed nature of the African/Caribbean community in Scotland there are difficulties sometimes in organising such events at the community level. Hence the home remains the most effective venue for cultural transmission, through video and audio tapes. Programmes such as "Top of the Pops" on which black musical artistes feature prominently also provide African/Caribbeans in Scotland with a knowledge of black British and other diaspora music. Audio cassettes and video tapes in particular, assist greatly with the transmission of African/Caribbean culture in Scotland in which African high life, Congolese music, Caribbean reggae, Brazilian samba and lambada, the Cuban salsa as well as the African-American rap all seem to gel in Scotland. Because of the heterogeneity of both African and Afro-Caribbean people who form the African/Caribbean community in Scotland, musicians and disc jockeys in their attempt to satisfy cater, for a wide cross section of music. The Mambo Club in Edinburgh, owned by an African from the Gambia, particularly epitomises the syncretisation of African/Caribbean culture in Scotland. On Thursday nights its

specialities are: Reggae, funk, soul. On Friday nights it is Marley's Reggae club dedicated to the late Bob Marley. Saturday nights are Mambo nights in which there is a variety of African and diasporan African sounds which include Latin, Salsa, Soca, Lambada, Calypso, Zouk and Reggae. Thus individuals are exposed to a mixture of music which might in future produce as distinctive an Afro-Scottish musical sound as the black English "ragga".

Although African/Caribbeans, as individuals, in Scotland have a social life which involves interaction, and to a certain extent integration, with the wider Scottish society the cultural seems to be something which is precious and personal, something to hold on to. In other parts of the United Kingdom where people of African origin and descent live , and where Afro-Caribbeans are in the majority the culture of Afro- Caribbeans tend to dominate with popular cultural forms such the "reggae and ragga culture" taking some precedence over the "high life culture" of Africa. The heterogeneity of both African and Afro-Caribbean people who form the African/Caribbean community in Scotland means that a plurality of musical expressions exist. Reggae, high-life and calypso were the major styles of musical appreciation among African/Caribbean respondents with 22% of respondents indicating reggae, 21% hi-life, 23% calypso and 19% rhythm. Africans favour high life, Congolese and Swahili music. Afro-Caribbeans on the other hand favour reggae, calypso and the steel pan drums as well as the African drum which remains an important link with Africa in the Afro-Caribbean consciousness. The respondents who indicated calypso revealed an African appreciation for diaspora music signifying possibly the inevitable process towards musical amalgamation in the African/Caribbean community. Since the African polyrhythm form the basis of dances such as the salsa and the rhumba, as well as the Brazilian lambada, the rhythms are easily recognisable and form the international Afrocentric sounds of social and cultural life in Scotland.

From personal knowledge younger Afro-Scots seem to be more inclined to the British developed ragga and dub as well as to the African-American rap, hip-hop, soul and rock. The music of the young in Britain greatly influenced by the African-American musical culture, has been carving for itself a distinctively black British flavour with its evident generational and geographical problems. This was emphatically stated by a young black British DJ who migrated from England and now lives in Scotland who claimed that "reggae is for old people and West Indians and ragga is for young people and Black British" (the sample with its bias towards the older generation seems to support this for while 22 respondents indicated reggae only one respondent mentioned

ragga. (Rap and dub were not mentioned). The DJ also expressed incredulity that a rival black night club in Scotland could still be playing reggae music. This abandonment of reggae by the young seems to be widespread as the *Weekly Journal* of 17 February 1994 reported. The article's view was that young black British are turning their backs on roots reggae and opting for 'ragga' while a mainly white audience is rediscovering reggae. DJ Prezedent in explaining this cultural abandonment noted that "there was a time when a Shaka rave would be one or two white people - now it is one or two black people". He lamented the fact that "The message of artiste such as Burning Spear' s *Do you remember the days of slavery* ... is falling on the wrong ears ...the youngsters see Roots as their parents' music and no one wants to rave to their parents music." (Sadly the young Black Brit's ragga club failed in Scotland).

Identifying the diffusion or penetration of African orientated musical forms to white and other cultures DJ Prezedent stated that "We black people go through a fashion very fast. When we discover a new one we discard the old one. But white people preserve it. So while black people are discarding the blues and the jazz white people are preserving it" (p.11) . He pointed out that "roots music current popularity is due to the increased involvement of whites and Asians" (p.11). This fact was evident at a pan-African cultural show in Edinburgh where the band consisted mainly of white and Asian youths, rapping, jumping and bouncing, wearing clothing with the ubiquitous Malcolm 'X' sign. The shifting, or adopting, of African/Caribbean cultural forms by other ethnic groups creates a situation where the musical association with a particular ethnic group is no longer known as it becomes part of popular culture with an identity even though obvious is not acknowledged.

The ability of African/Caribbean music to cross the boundary into mainstream culture as well as its internationalisation results in the invisibility of African/Caribbean cultural forms as they are now perceived as "world culture" with no acknowledgement to cultural roots. African/Caribbean culture in Scotland also suffers from the overall perception of the culturelessness of African people. Thus, sometimes, not even African/Caribbean dance clubs in Scotland are associated with the African people as a quote taken from the *Sunday Post* and used by Miles and Dunlop (1987) to show how "commonsense discourse" about racism "remains largely unchanged" suggests. It states that "Mixed marriages between Scots and Asians are growing. Every night Indian restaurants throughout Scotland are packed with Scots enjoying a friendly night out. Edinburgh and Glasgow night-spots do a roaring trade with mixed groups of young Scots, Asians, West Indians, and Africans raving it up". (p. 138-139). The statement

conveys the wrong impression as it virtually transposes these mainly African/ Caribbean night spots to the Asian or to the majority society without reference to their origin. Although some Asians do attend, in most cases they are Caribbean Asian students socialising in a culture with which they are familiar. This marginalisation of African/Caribbeans in Scotland is also evident when International African cultural shows come to Scotland. Shows are seen as exotic and not identified with the local African/Caribbean community whereas Asian and Chinese cultural shows are identified with the respective local communities.

In spite of the reluctance to acknowledge an African/Caribbean presence, cultural or otherwise in Scotland, Afro-Caribbeans and Africans living in Scotland are forging a new cultural amalgam to suit their Scottish situation. Afro-Caribbeans provide Africans with over 400 years of a pan-African culture developed in a Caribbean setting, well tried accommodation to European culture, in addition to valuable experiences of living at the sharp end of European racism in a colonial setting. Africans provide Afro-Caribbeans with renewed insights into indigenous African cultural traditions and experiences of European paternalism and Imperialism in an African context. Together they provide the basis for an amalgam of culture. The drums of Africa, for example, never left the souls of Africans in the Caribbean. Adapting to available material they created their own style of musical instruments, the steel pan-drums, by using discarded oil-drums. Probably first introduced to Scotland by the Edinburgh University West Indian Student Association, they provided musical entertainment for both Afro-Caribbean and African students and residents in Scotland and "won a city wide reputation for its music" (Besson 1989:143). However, African musical instruments as well the people do suffer from the ideas of cultural inferiority as noted by an Afro-Scot student who while at school in Scotland was rebuked by her teacher for talking in a music lesson and told in a culturally superior manner that "Europeans were busy constructing orchestras" while her "ancestors were too busy beating drums in the jungle" (LREC Annual report 1993:16). This is just one example but the flippant use of cultural stereotypes such as these is usually a reminder to African/ Caribbeans in the Scotland that the historical belief of their being culturally inferior is still an unconscious part of Scottish/British society. It is this belief in European cultural superiority which continues to downplay and make invisible the cultural achievements of African people particularly in white societies.

In spite of beliefs like these, and those of Park (already quoted, Park 1919:117), the perpetuation and reproduction of African/Caribbean cultural tradition continues. Two

steel pan bands now exist in Glasgow consisting of Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Scot and white players. Africans form the majority of players in the bands. Thus there is a cultural transfer where by Africans learn to play the African diasporan steel drum while Afro-Caribbeans rediscover the African drum symbolising what Gilroy (1987) aptly describes as "the recovery of Africa for black people of the New World and the recovery of the New World diaspora for Africa" (p. 170).

6.5.4 HAIRSTYLES

This cross-over is evident too in hairstyles. Some Afro-Caribbeans have reverted to African cultural hairstyles (Sagay 1983, 1987) with corn row, and "Miriam Makeba" short topped Afro (usually worn by young girls in Africa before puberty), while some young Africans and Afro-Scots adopt the "rasta dread locks" hairstyle and the "green, gold, black" colours of the Ethiopian flag on clothing which is distinctively Afro-Caribbean. Both groups and their Afro-Scot descendants also emulate the African-American relaxing and perms as well as the "Angela Davis" full topped Afro supporting the view that "black Britain defines itself crucially as part of a diaspora" (Gilroy 1987:154). These expressions signify cultural difference from the wider Scottish society and are "maps of meanings" (Clarke et al 1976; Jackson 1987). The penetration of black cultural hairstyles into the wider Scottish society is evident with African corn rows and plaits, in particular, crossing over into mainstream culture. However, its "Africanness" is not always recognised or acknowledged as it is perceived as the "Bo Deryck" hairstyle (Mercer 1994).

The rasta "dreadlocks" which have also become fashionable "street culture" among some white youths as well as the appropriation of "Afros and rasta plaits" in musicals such as "Joseph and the Amazing Technicolour Dreamcoat", and "Hair" as well as in the Television show Maid Marian and her merry men serves to render African/Caribbean cultural symbols invisible as these cultural baggages are seen not as African/Caribbean cultural styles but as part of trendy culture or in the latter cases as theatrical props. Even the "Afro-comb" which in the black power era was such a powerful sign of black cultural pride has been incorporated into European coiffure and is just another comb in Scotland used by white Scots to comb out permed hair. Basically, individuals do not accept that so much of popular culture has African origins because of the intellectual milieu to which Hume and others contributed.

This unconscious negation of African/Caribbean cultural artefacts is present in Scotland

Scotland as it is in England where African/Caribbean people are more prominent and serves to make African/Caribbean cultural achievements invisible. The Chapter now proceeds to examine the conscious efforts undertaken by African/Caribbeans in Scotland to reproduce cultural knowledge in Scotland.

6.6 CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS - TRANSMISSION OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN CULTURE IN SCOTLAND

6.6.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding section showed that through social interaction among themselves, as well as with individuals in the wider Scottish society African/Caribbean people have been creating their own socio-cultural lifestyle to suit their presence in Scotland. This section now looks at the conscious efforts undertaken in the African/Caribbean home by the family to reproduce cultural knowledge and a way of life distinctive to African/ Caribbeans to suit their presence in Scotland.

6.6.2 CULTURE TRANSMISSION

African people living in Britain seemed to have tried to maintain a socio-cultural life style of their own with documentary evidence going back as far as the 18th century and the celebration party for the freedom of the slave Somerset in 1772. Another glimpse of socio-cultural life is seen around 1787 with both black and whites socialising at a black dance called "black hops" (Fryer 1983:81) . No such historical evidence has yet surfaced for similar communal type sociocultural life among African/Caribbeans in Scotland but evidence from the court cases of Christian Sanderson and Robert Nameroa (Duffield 1992) suggests that these two Afro-Scots were an integral part of early 19th century Scottish socio-cultural life. The pervasive invisibility of African people in Scotland, historical and contemporary, means that their social and cultural life is known mainly from unfortunate incidents. One example of this is brought to light through the 1919 court case of Cornelius Johnstone who was charged with keeping a public dance in Glasgow without a licence (Jenkinson 1985 :64). It takes a criminal offence to provide a glimpse of this hidden group enjoying forms of their own social and cultural life with "premises" rented for the purpose of a " coloured man's club". That the place was packed with dancers suggests other African people present.

Notions of racial difference are brought to the fore in the early 20th century Scotland with objections to African and Asian students in dance clubs and restaurants (Dunlop and Miles 1990) preventing them from socialising as well as partaking in the social and cultural life of the wider Scottish society. It comes then as no surprise that with a settled

community of African/Caribbeans in the late 20th century, dance clubs owned by individuals in the African/Caribbean community assist in providing an important aspect of socio-cultural life. Through socialising in the African/Caribbean community, as discussed above, African/Caribbeans are able to transmit some aspects of their cultural background. I begin now to examine aspects of the conscious efforts undertaken in the home by the family to reproduce cultural knowledge and tradition. Inspite of dispersal and a community real or imagined (Anderson 1983, 1991) traditions continue, with the family being the link to this survival. Evidence is based on the questionnaire and knowledge of the community.

The survey data on African/Caribbeans in Scotland indicated that a large proportion of the respondents made conscious efforts to transmit their cultural traditions, values, and background. 62% tell their children of the cultural roots in Africa or the Caribbean. Others provide their children with positive images of black people, 31 respondents indicated that they read history of black people to their young children, 45 respondents told their children of important black people at home while 28 respondents told about important African/Caribbeans in Britain. 40 respondents indicated they maintained cultural traditions which included telling of artistic traditions, songs, respect for elderly, child-rearing practices and folklore. Tales of Anansi and "his gourd of wisdom" as one respondent noted, were popular possibly because of the West African bias in the sample. Some 30 respondents stated that they did not keep up traditions with one stating the reason for this was that she was "married to a white man and her children live here," 6 respondents did not know of any.

However, when asked about the importance of passing on cultural traditions to African/ Caribbean children, 69 respondents felt that it should be passed on. Comment included "If we do not pass on cultural values to our children they will grow up confused in a society which values its own cultural heritage". One respondent stated that "without culture you are a nobody, Scottish culture will never ever be for anyone but whites". Another respondent felt that passing on cultural values or traditions were "part of their heritage which will help them cope with the difficult world (white world) in which they live". Another felt that an African/Caribbean cultural background "improves social awareness and provides social protection". One respondent with a view similar to that made popular by Marcus Garvey stated that "people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots". The responses suggest that some African/Caribbeans in Scotland are conscious of the need to pass on cultural knowledge whether it is authentic African or diaspora African

survivals of Afro-Caribbeans and also of its importance of providing a means to withstand the racism which is inevitable in Scottish society.

However, not all African/Caribbean respondents were in favour of transmitting cultural traditions for as one respondent noted that "the enforcement of cultural transfers often divides and confuses a child whose natural desires are to be like other children, they will find their own when ready " another wavering respondent stated that "if this can benefit them, but as the world is drastically changing , it will be difficult to implement these views". The individual further stated that when they came to "Scotland the most important thing was to teach the children English - the formal way of communication, teaching about things African was not the main concern until now, but it is far too late for some of our children". It was interesting to note that some of the children of individuals who took such views did not eat African/Caribbean food nor did they like the music. Those respondents who were conscious of the need to pass on cultural knowledge indicated that African/Caribbean families utilised a variety of methods in the home to transmit cultural knowledge in Scotland. (Table 6-1). These are as follows:-

Table 6-1

50	read books about Africa and/or the Caribbean.
66	told about life in Africa or the Caribbean.
51	viewed video on black people in Africa, Caribbean, USA.
37	attend African/Caribbean social functions
43	make occasional visits to Africa or Caribbean.
20	visit London where more African/Caribbeans live
28	organise social events in Scotland

The above findings suggest that African/Caribbean people employ various ways in which to consciously reproduce cultural knowledge and way of life in Scotland with the African style oral tradition still being the most important means of transmission. Modern technological developments have further enhanced the transmission of African/Caribbean cultural knowledge and have enabled African/Caribbean in Scotland to interact culturally with Africa, the Caribbean and the United States of America as positive video images can be brought to the home in Scotland to counteract the negatives images on mainstream television. Relatives overseas can be seen and heard on videos hundred of miles away from the cultural heartland. Visits overseas to Africa or the Caribbean is also another important way in which African/Caribbean people in

Scotland maintain cultural links and assist in the dissemination of cultural knowledge. Organising of social events also form another aspects of African/Caribbean sociocultural lifestyle and aid in culture transmission for the generation born in Scotland.

One important African/Caribbean tradition also passed down, and one which needs comment is "respect for elders". African/Caribbean women, in particular, rarely allow their children to call another African/Caribbean adult person by their first name as this is a sign of disrespect. Women are called "aunty" and men "uncle". This cultural tradition common to both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland can be seen as a symbolic mechanism for recreating the extended family as well as for developing a community. Herskovits in his study of Africanisms in secular life (1941:151) also referred to this tradition among African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans as "the retention of Africanism" in the life of diaspora Africans. In my village, for example, on the Guyana coastland it was, and still is considered very disrespectful to call an older person by first name or "full mouth" as it is called. Children would be reprimanded by any adult, anywhere for doing this. Even if you were not familiar with the person you are required to say 'Mr' , 'Miss' or just 'Auntie' or 'Uncle'. In Scotland this tradition still seems to kept up as it possibly was on the African-American or Afro-Caribbean slave cabin. It is an automatic code of behaviour of the many African families that I have come into contact with over the years in Britain, children without fail maintain this tradition. The fact that this code of behaviour exists with both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland and in England supports Herskovits (1941) view that it is part of an African cultural tradition. Other cultural traditions passed down in Scotland include tales of "native customs regarding dress, age groups or of important individuals". African dress fashion is a very important part of African/Caribbean cultural lifestyle with authentic hand designed and crafted African dresses being brought from Africa or dresses made in Scotland from the Manchester manufactured fabric for trade to Africa. African fashion shows have now become a feature of African/Caribbean sociocultural life in Scotland and aids in cultural transmission.

The survey indicates that when African/Caribbean respondents tell of historical or important black people this is done in a pan-African manner which embraces four geographical areas, Africa, the Caribbean, Britain and the United States of America. Children are told about important African rulers in history such as the Asantehene, Jomo Kenyatta or Kwame Nkrumah; Caribbeans individuals such as Marcus Garvey

and Michael Manley; and black British figures such as Linford Christie, Trevor McDonald, Tessa Sanderson, members of Parliament Paul Boateng, Bernie Grant and Diane Abbott. Both African and Afro-Caribbean families tell their children about Nelson Mandela. Martin Luther King was the most important black individual for both Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. Jesse Jackson, Michael Jackson, James Baldwin and Maya Angelou were also African-Americans mentioned. The above suggests that in Scotland, as in England (Gilroy 1987), African/Caribbean people are increasingly defining themselves as part of a diaspora.

The outlook of both African and Afro-Caribbean respondents suggest that although African/Caribbeans in Scotland in the long run will look to Africa for cultural traditions it is Africa-America that African/Caribbeans in Scotland (and the rest of the United Kingdom) will draw upon for cultural sustenance. Television programmes such as "the Fresh Prince of Bel-Air" and "the Cosby show" with their emphasis on black family life provide cultural substance for African/Caribbeans generally in Britain. African/Caribbeans in Scotland, like African/Caribbeans in England, emulate African-American culture. The adoption of African-American popular culture is evident in "street culture" with the wearing of "Nike" trainers with youngsters "responding to high-pressure marketing campaigns" with black role models such as "Spike Lee, Lennox Lewis, Michael Jordan and Shaquille O'Neal" (*Weekly Journal* 18 May 1993). The baseball cap turned backwards (popularised by African-Americans), or with an X (signifying Malcolm X) instead of NY (New York), the "Grace Jones" flat top haircut as well as "the Fresh Prince of Bel-air's" flamboyant shorts and shirts are evident along with the relaxing, perms and extensions typical of African-Americans. The forging together of these cultural elements from Africa, the Caribbean, Britain and the USA indicate the malleability of culture for even the distinctively African/Caribbean elements in Scotland may not be the same as in African or the Caribbean. Thus the new forms of cultural lifestyles created in Scotland are not exclusive to one geographical area, but inclusive of all and appears to bear out the black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993) concept.

The home has taken the place of the former village or community of African/ Caribbeans as the vehicle of cultural transfer in Scotland. However, this cradle of African/Caribbean culture is not recognised generally, so that when children of African origin or descent go to school in the wider Scottish/British societies and are good at singing, dancing, music or drama these talents are seen as "natural" as they were not taught at school. There is the general failure to acknowledge the family life of African/

Caribbeans and no credit is given to cultural reproduction that has been done in the home. Music, morals, dance and singing to name a few are all transmitted in the home. Cooking was also one tradition emphasized by respondents. One individual, for example, stated that "all cooking is done along lines of African cooking". This resoluteness and steadfastness to tradition may help to explain why African food and cooking techniques survived in the Americas and the Caribbean through four centuries. Although African/Caribbean foodstuff is not as readily available in Scotland as it is in England, (only one African/Caribbean foodstore exists in Edinburgh) African/ Caribbeans in Scotland can obtain their supplies from England. "Exotic " food, however, is much easier to obtain today in Britain because of the international taste that Britons have acquired as well as the increased numbers of ethnic minority groups in British society. Thus food culture can be preserved and reproduced in the home. 95% of respondents indicated that African/Caribbean food is cooked at home. The high percentage of respondent who still cook African/Caribbean food is an indication of why African/Caribbean food culture persists when other forms of cultural life may change and assume new forms.

Finally, it may be stated that the distinctive African/Caribbean language evident amongst black Britons in the south has not noticeably reached Scotland. However through the ragga and reggae culture this language might eventually diffuse to Scotland as some songs are sung in Black British and Caribbean creole and more Afro-Scots go south for education, work or visits. The ragga culture provides black Britons with a culture developed by themselves and with a language not fully understood by the majority society. Afro-Scots do speak Scots " heid for head", "hus for house", "oot for out" and "cannae for can not" but their language may change as a form of cultural resistance, protest and identity similar to their counterparts in the south.

This Chapter so far has dealt mainly with the sociocultural experience of African/ Caribbeans in a Scottish context, their relationship with other African/Caribbeans and the ways in which they transmit their culture. The Chapter now provides another aspect to the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland by looking outwith the African/ Caribbean community

6.7 SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN AFRICAN/ CARIBBEANS AND THE MAJORITY SOCIETY.

This section examines some aspects of social interaction between African/Caribbeans and the majority society using the questionnaire data and analysing certain yardstick

such as: visits to homes of, and socialising with, white friends; borrowing of items from white neighbours; attendance at community centres and church going. The section demonstrates that although the social is generally the cultural for African/Caribbeans living in a white society the social is not always the cultural as ideas of "race" and racism in place are important factors in their being exclusive.

Social interaction with the majority society is inevitable as 41% of African/Caribbean respondents are married to whites. Thus intermarriages have enabled some African/ Caribbeans to integrate into a Scottish/British way of life some to the extent of ignoring their origin. In the survey 33 respondents stated that they rarely or never participate in social events with a cultural origin such as Africa day, or Independence days. The majority did not know that such events took place in Scotland. The small size as well as the dispersed nature of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, as noted in Chapter 5, also means that they have to interact more with individuals in the majority society than is the case in England where the large concentrations of African/Caribbeans in English cities can mean that interaction with white individuals outside the work place can be limited. The questionnaire data indicates that there is much social interaction between African/Caribbean and individuals in the majority society. 68 respondents had "many" white friends, 29 respondents had a few. Two respondents, however, questioned the word 'friends' with one stating that he does not have white friends only colleagues. Only one respondent indicated no white friends. 74% of respondents further indicated that friendship with their white friends was maintained by phoning , 76% of respondents visited their white friends' homes and 61% of respondents went out together. Some respondents did indicate that friendship was maintained by all three means while others indicated one or two ways of maintaining friendship.

Patterson (1963) and Pearson (1981) used visits to home as a yardstick of acceptance. Thus to ascertain the level of this friendship between African/Caribbeans and members of the host society, African/Caribbean respondents were asked if they are invited to the homes of their white friends. 86 respondents indicated that they are invited to the homes of their white friends with 50 stating occasionally, 36 frequently. Only 3 respondents indicated that they were never invited to their white friends' homes. 71 respondents further stated that they went sometimes, 24% of respondents would always go, only 2 respondents indicated that they do not go. 23 respondents further indicated that when they visit their white friends home for a social gathering they felt at home, 58 respondents felt welcome and comfortable, 15 respondents felt neutral. Only 1 respondent felt unwelcome and uncomfortable.

The findings suggest that African/Caribbeans respondents interact on a more than casual basis with white friends. The friendship of African/Caribbean respondents with white individuals in addition to visits to their homes contrasts significantly with the situation described by Little (1947) where there wa s avoidance of social proximity of African/ Caribbeans by the wider Welsh society. Although Little did not mention visits to homes the "forms of resistance" such as "refusal to serve and non-admission to dance halls, hotels" (p.105) indicate that little social interaction existed between the groups in the open. The relationship seemed to have been one of avoidance. A decade and a half later relations had changed slightly. In England, Patterson (1963) noted that although the receiving society was fairly willing to open "factory gates, church doors, welfare agency doors, pub doors", members of the society were "unwilling to open to strangers that ultimate door, the door to their homes" (p.246). Pearson (1981) almost two decade later, in Easton argued that " relationships with local whites were bounded by social barriers which prohibited all but superficial contact. Acquaintanceship ended at the factory gates or the pub door and did not cross the threshold of one's home" (p.64) Although only 24% of Pearson's respondents claimed to have exchanged visits this was a significant increase from the avoidance or ostracism noted by Little (1947).

The data suggests that in Scotland there seems to be much more social interaction between African/Caribbeans and individuals in the majority society at present than was experienced in England or Wales in the early years of African/Caribbean settlement. It also suggests that there is more reciprocity existing in social relations between whites and blacks in Scotland than was observed by Patterson (1963) in England. However the class make up of the African/Caribbean sample in Scotland differs from Patterson's sample who were in the main working class. Hence social relations may be reflective of the middle class structure of the African/Caribbean sample, changes over time or place and Scotland's anti-racist tradition.

The trend from Little (1947) to (Pearson 1981) suggests changes in social relations, over time, between African/Caribbeans and the wider society. Although not all are welcomed with open arms, barriers have been broken down and social interaction takes place. The situation existing in Scotland is an indication of how far the relationships between black and white people in Britain have changed over time. The social interaction existing between African/Caribbeans and individuals in Scottish society may be the result of several factors, principally the small size and the dispersed nature

of African/Caribbean residential patterns in Scotland, but also because of intermarriages and long duration of permanent residency. More importantly, it may also be reflective of place, a general opening up of Scottish/British society which seems to have become more receptive over the years to other people and cultures.

Although many African/Caribbean respondents seem to have a fairly good relationship with their white neighbours (35% of respondents close and warm, 63% polite and formal, 9% distant and cold), the initial reception in the neighbourhood was not always a welcoming one. 48% of respondents indicated that when they first moved into the area their reception was friendly with one respondent being "invited to tea and xmas party". 12% of respondents found it unfriendly, 25% of respondents found the reception indifferent and neutral, 15% had no idea what their reception was like as some "did not pay much attention".. One respondent further stated that neighbours would not talk to them, another that the children in the neighbourhood made them very unwelcome, yet another that white neighbours did not even greet them. From personal knowledge, initial welcome for African/Caribbean into their neighbourhoods vary and everyone has a story to tell. One African family who went to introduce themselves to the next door neighbour received a cold reception. The neighbour never spoke to them after that. They vowed never ever again to introduce themselves to new neighbours. In my case, for example, it took a long time before anyone spoke to me. It seems as though neighbours were not sure whether to say hello or not, some preferring to cross the road to avoid saying hello. When some finally took courage, the questions were based on stereotypes. Was my husband a sailor? did I meet him overseas? (in subtle terms was I picked up at a port).

To obtain some indication of present social interaction with white neighbours, respondents were asked if they ran out of a household item, would they borrow from their white neighbours 2 respondents said always, 29% of respondents said occasionally and the majority of respondents (60%) stated never. Reasons varied from "living close to corner shops", "doing without" to "don't want to bother anybody". One individual stated that it would never be done, for neighbours do not greet them, another that neighbours were not approachable, yet another "did not want to be seen as beggars". The 'race' factor was evident in African/Caribbean not wanting to borrow from white neighbours. Comments made included "embarrassed to be in their debt", "fear of perpetuating stereotype of us being poor", "I would never think of going to them", "they don't do the same so it becomes difficult". Things borrowed from whites were more "non food" items such as lawn mowers and gardening tools while

among African/Caribbeans it was spices or sometimes foodstuff or large pots to cook in for a special occasion. However African/Caribbean respondents did seem to have the same reluctance to borrow from African/Caribbean neighbours, 2 respondent stated always, 23 respondents said occasionally, 49 % respondents said never. Comments made included "would be embarrassed to do so", "self-sufficient", "not acquainted enough", "too well organised to run out", "need has never occurred", "dont like to". Prestige, status and pride seem to play a great part in African/Caribbean not wanting to borrow from their neighbours both black and white but the 'race' issue was very much present in African/Caribbean being less willing to borrow from whites. African/Caribbeans that I have spoken to sense the unspoken beliefs of cultural inferiority held by some of their white neighbours and are reluctant to do things which would place them in an unequal relationship.

Although African/Caribbean respondents seemed reluctant to borrow eatables or other items from their white or black neighbours , 22 respondents did turn to ws did turn to whites who live near if they needed support of some kind, these included church members, family and friends. Generally though, African/Caribbeans sought out the social services as do most individuals in the majority society with 39 respondents indicating this. They did not discount assistance from black friends and white relatives, 30 respondents turn to African/Caribbeans far away, 4 turn to white in-law. Only 5 respondents would turn to other non-whites in the neighbourhood and only one indicated that relatives included a sister. From general knowledge few African/ Caribbeans seem to have other relatives living in Scotland. Thus the nuclear rather than the extended family is the norm.

On social occasions, such as the celebration of parties or weddings, guests tend generally to be a mixture of Africans, Afro-Caribbeans and whites. 59 respondents indicated a mixture of guests. White guests mainly come from far away rather than from the neighbourhood. Social interaction for African/Caribbeans in Scotland is geographically diffused as well as selective. Only 11 respondents indicated that their guests are also Asians and Chinese. Interaction between African/Caribbeans and other 'black' ethnic minorities seems to be low, even though many African/Caribbean respondents reside in areas lived in by one or both group(s). This finding supports Richmond's view (1973) that "different ethnic groups were in close contact physically, but socially they interacted mainly at an impersonal and segmental level" (p.190). Being "politically black" seems only a solidarity identity. Only two respondents indicated that their social gatherings consist mainly of one group of either Afro-

Caribbeans or Africans. Social gatherings generally are pan-African in nature along with white friends and relatives. African/Caribbean friends at social functions also come from far away (in UK terms) supporting Banton's (1955) findings "that the residents relationship outside the area may be more important... than those within it" (p.97). Social interaction , on the whole, operates outside the neighbourhood level.

This finding was reinforced by the fact that social life via the neighbourhood community centre seems to be limited. The community centre was taken as one of the nodes of social interaction, as centres normally assist individuals to integrate socially and sometimes culturally into the community. However, 27 respondents indicated that they did not know if a community centre existed in their neighbourhood. 51 respondents stated that a community centre did exist in their area while 10 respondents indicated that a centre did not exist. Although a substantial proportion, 51 respondents, knew of the existence of a community centre, only 26 went there with 22 respondents attending occasionally and 4 respondents attending frequently. A high proportion, 56 respondents do not attend. African/Caribbean children seem to be more involved than their parents at community centres with 28 respondents indicating that their children go there occasionally and 6 frequently. Community centres provide summer schools and play schemes during school breaks. Thus even though interaction between adults whites and African/ Caribbeans seem to be limited at the community centre level their children do take part occasionally. From personal knowledge, not many children from the ethnic minority communities go to community centres. African/Caribbeans seem to be no different. 28 respondents indicated that their children are never involved with community centres. On the occasions that my daughter has attended play schemes she has been the only black child there. My work as a community education worker involved contact with community centres and generally the atmosphere was not very conducive to the "black" minority communities. In fact parents complained that their children were being racially and physically abused by other young people. Many preferred to send their children to the YWCA play schemes and summer schools where workers undertook multicultural and anti-racism awareness training.

This reluctance on the part of African/Caribbeans to be part of community centres could possibly be attributed to the fact that community centres, in Scotland, as some respondents noted are geared to the cultural needs of the majority society and do not reflect the cultural needs of African/Caribbean (or other ethnic minorities) indicating that the social is not always the cultural for the incoming group. Others felt that small numbers possibly account for this. One respondent argued that since African/Caribbeans

are not part of management committees their needs are not taken into consideration. More importantly, low involvement of African/Caribbeans in community centres could also be due to the fact that in Scotland as in England, community centres are perceived as a working class meeting places. To be involved there is to reinforce the perceived image of being working class. One indication of this is that African/Caribbeans continue to attend churches, perceived as middle class in status, even though some find the atmosphere dull and boring and the attitude of some individuals prejudiced. Unfavourable attitudes, subtle racism or even poor attendances in Scottish churches do not seem to have deterred some African/Caribbeans in Scotland from attending churches as the following shows.

6.8 CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Church going is an important social variable and another medium of social interaction between African/Caribbeans and the host society. Church going is also an important social event for Africans and Afro-Caribbeans in their home countries and going to a church or to a mosque is the outward expression of their faith. In Scotland, "black" churches do not exist, as they do in England, thus African/Caribbeans attend churches where the majority society worships. At church, African/Caribbeans interact on a religious basis with a section of Scottish society. Although some respondents have had unpleasant experiences when attending church, church going is still important. Thus this section examines this aspect of social life of African/Caribbeans at some depth to ascertain the interaction with the wider Scottish society at a religious level.

Research undertaken in London on West Indian migrants and the London churches (Hill 1963) found that tay 1993). Banton (1955) in his study of the coloured quarter in East London attribhe newly arrived immigrants were not welcomed in churches and "that England was not the Mecca of Christianity that they believed" (p.6). Many immigrants found their presence in churches unwelcome. As a result of the treatment received many left the church altogether. Others, not to be daunted in their faith founded the many "black churches" which abound in some English inner city areas today (Hill 1980). The congregation in these churches is predominantly black but whites attend too (Evans 1986). As yet no such church exists in Scotland but an African pastor ministers his own church in Kirkaldy and preaches to a congregation both black and white. Similar experiences to that recorded in London were encountered in Liverpool. Richmond (1954 :96) found that West Indians there too, were disillusioned with the church and by the attitude of white churchgoers. The unfriendliness of the congregation, the gulf between Catholic and Protestant put many people off from going

to church. The belief by early immigrants that the church "would provide a natural link" between themselves and the host society and that it would be "the place where integration would first take place" (Hill: 1963) was found not to be the case in England. Many immigrants became despondent by low attendances at church and more importantly by the fact that they were not welcomed by fellow Christians.

This situation is known for England but what is the situation like for African/Caribbean people in Scotland? Is the church a place of social integration for African/Caribbeans in Scotland? To establish this certain aspects such as the reception of African/Caribbeans in Scottish churches, the attitude and atmosphere of the white congregation seen through African/Caribbean eyes were analysed. The questionnaire data indicated that 33 respondents attended a church, 34 respondents did not attend a church in Scotland while 17 attended occasionally. 7 respondents were Muslim and attend a mosque. Those who did not go to church did so for several reasons, 12 respondents left because of the attitude of white church goers. One African Christian stated that the attitude of Scots Christians in the church forced him to worship at a mosque, the place of worship of his forefathers. The atmosphere in the church did also put some African/Caribbean off attending church.

Non-attendance at church by African/Caribbeans in Scotland did not seem to be so definitely linked to the "rejection" reason given for non-attendance in England (although subtle forms of racism is evident), but was linked to a variety of reasons and included individuals being "disillusioned with the church". The religious conflicts too between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland are difficult to comprehend for some one originating from countries where there is no major distinction in Christianity. "Sectarianism is too strong" noted one individual. Indeed one respondent noted that he has had "more problems being a Catholic than being black in Glasgow", another taking a political view stated that "the church's position was ambivalent over South Africa and not supportive for justice", another stated that "the belief I had in Africa vanished once I saw the church attendance here". Other respondents did not attend a church for reasons that even members of the host society would give such as "I hate churches", "don't see the need to","don't believe in God", "agnostic", "no interest".

Such reasons suggest that non-attendance cannot be interpreted entirely in terms of rejection by the host society as argued by Hill (1963). Another reason which could also work against church attendance, but which was not stated, was working hours. Some African/Caribbeans work at weekends and nights (Chapter 5).

The variety of reasons given by African/Caribbean respondents support Pearson's caution that non-attendance at church should not be seen solely in terms of "rejection by the host community" (Pearson 1981:128). The 'rejection' view is even less convincing when examined against the atmosphere and attitude perceived as present in Scottish churches. Many African/Caribbeans living in Scotland still attend churches even though the atmosphere in churches differs from what they were accustomed to. Some respondents described the atmosphere in Scottish churches as "good" and "welcoming", with 29 respondents viewing it as unfavourable and 15 respondents viewing it as favourable. The description of the atmosphere in Scottish churches included "dull and boring", "lacks spirit","unimaginative, dull, formal and predictable", "less of a community spirit","boring and dead irrelevant", "for praise and worship they are far, far behind", "rigid and regimental"," boring and lifeless". As Pearson has argued (1981) factors similar to these would make African/Caribbeans leave irrespective of the reception by white church goers.

The attitude of white churchgoers to black church goers varied, 30 respondents viewed it favourably and 15 unfavourably. Respondents who found the attitude of white church goers favourable used terms such as "friendly, good, polite, tolerant", others indicated that the" attitude was excellent" and they had a"good relationship". Those who found white church goers unfavourable used terms such as "cold", "unwelcoming" and "patronising". Some respondents found the attitudes mixed , one noted that churchgoers were" friendly at church, but ignore you elsewhere" another found it "welcoming and warm". The attitude of white church goers "depended on the individual" for while some were "polite and friendly" others were "indifferent and not as welcoming" some also "pretended to be good, but were prejudiced under". Others were described as "O.K but hypocrites" while some were "warm and friendly though pretentious". A few were "very supportive" and "quite good" others were "curious and patronising". It is difficult to state whether the attitudes of white churchgoers to African/Caribbeans in Scotland are better or worse than that experienced by African/Caribbeans in England in the early years as the numbers of African/Caribbean in Scottish churches are small and dispersed. What is certain is that attitudes of some white church goers in Scotland do not differ from those of white church goers African/Caribbean experienced in their early years in England with unconscious ideas about "race" preventing white individuals from accepting African/ Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities in Scottish churches.

Since many of the African/Caribbean respondents in Scottish churches, are educated

and of middle class status they are more able to withstand the attitude of white church goers than the early African/Caribbean immigrants in England who were in the main working class and were unfamiliar with the mores of the new society in which they found themselves. This fact, too, might explain the underlying cultural racism which exist in some Scottish churches against African/Caribbeans. Although many African/Caribbeans in Scottish churches are well educated, middle class individuals they are not seen as equals. Skin colour makes them "dark strangers" and of a 'perceived' low status and is reflected in the behaviour of some members who as one respondent noted "never speak to me" or another who stated that church members are "friendly at church, but ignore you elsewhere". It is difficult to imagine that such behaviour exist in Christian churches where equality is preached but the racism of Scottish society against dark skin colour, as in England, is reflected to a certain extent in its churches and does affect the way African/ Caribbeans are viewed and received. It was possibly with these experiences in mind that the Lothian Caribbean Association in a submission to the Church of Scotland Group on Multicultural Education (1990) noted that:

> West Indians who have had a long and very close relationship with the Church are fully aware that the Church as an institution does have the power for cohesion or division in Scotland and that in any professed christian society valuescan influence the attitudes of the people. Accordingly, West Indians who share the same Christian values are still waiting for the Church to make a clear and unequivocal declaration that the failure of a society or the community to showthe will to satisfy social and educational needs and to provide a plan with adequate resources to combat racial inequalities and injustice is unchristian, wrong and inexcusable (p. 82).

Notions of cultural inferiority, however, do not deter African/Caribbeans from worshipping epitomised by one individual who stated that she is not particularly bothered by the attitude of some white church goers in Scotland for the purpose of attending church is to serve God. The church still remains a place where African/ Caribbeans can socially and religiously interact with a section of Scottish society but since church gatherings are of social and cultural significance there is reluctance to give full acceptance to incomers. However " it depends on the individual" one respondent noted. To find a church that is comfortable means that African/Caribbeans have to "shop around" as one African/Caribbean explained. The individual said that she tried four different churches before she found one that she felt welcome in and could attend. From a personal point of view, my first experience at church in Scotland was not a welcoming one and I ceased attendance. However after an absence of twelve years I have found one which is fairly welcoming and the pastor gives a genuine welcome to all African/ Caribbean people and other ethnic minorities.

Social interaction in English churches was limited as African/Caribbeans were rejected, shunned or left the church. In Scotland more tolerance seems to exist and social interaction does take place between some white individuals and African/Caribbeans. However, as in England social interaction at church reflect the racial biases of the society where individuals would acknowledge you at church,and ignore you elsewhere because of the assumptions of the society that African people are inferior and of low status. Churchgoers, like others in the society, do not want to be seen acknowledging an African/ Caribbean in public. Racism persists in Scottish churches as it does in the society. The spirit of tolerance, which nevertheless exist, could be due to the fact that Scots still have a high missionary presence overseas and Africans do come to Scotland for religious training, changes in beliefs over time or genuine Christian feelings. It could also be due to the smaller African/Caribbean population in Scotland than in England, hence numbers in churches are small. Small numbers in Scottish churches make them invisible, but the racism of the society compounds it. The longstanding relationship between African/ Caribbean students, Scottish churches and education means that African/Caribbeans in churches are seen only as students or visitors without acknowledging that some are residing permanently in Scotland and are part and parcel of Scottish society.

6.9 CONCLUSION

The Chapter shows that African/Caribbean people in Scotland do have a socio-cultural life even though their presence is shrouded in invisibility. Their socio-cultural life enables them to maintain cultural independence of the wider Scottish society but at the same time through its music and dance provides interaction. As black minorities living within a white majority society their social and cultural life provide an identity with which they are able to resist assumptions of inferiority. The Chapter indicates that elements of African/Caribbean cultural elements such as music and dance are vehicles for interaction with the wider Scottish society and for developing the African/ Caribbean community in Scotland which is distinctive and not like the African/ Caribbeans in England.

Music and dance are important cultural vehicles for African/Caribbeans which aid social and cultural interaction among themselves as well as with individuals in the majority society. Together with food and hairstyles they provide African/Caribbeans in Scotland with their own cultural way of life and identity. African/Caribbean music, in particular, because of its trend setting nature and its ability to cross boundaries nationally and internationally breaks down barriers and aids social interaction. How-

ever, African/Caribbean food, music, dance, hairstyles are not just cultural symbols they are also "expressions of cultural difference" (Jackson 1992:131) which African/ Caribbean are able to utilise to resist ideas of cultural superiority and develop a sense of worth. African/Caribbean food, dance, music, hairstyles and social relations indicate that there is an African/Caribbean cultural lifestyle and identity which is independent of mainstream Scottish culture but one that is part and parcel of the black Atlantic (Gilroy 1992) experience. Despite the vissitudes of history sufficient elements remain recognisable to African/Caribbeans in Scotland to signify their common African cultural heritage and also to provide them with a cultural diasporan framework in which to operate and negotiate their presence in Scotland. The geography of Afrocentric music, dance and food, are topics still to be tapped the world over.

The sociocultural life of African/Caribbean respondents suggests that with the passage of time, immigrants minorities, when they do not arrive as conquerors, do make some changes in their sociocultural lifestyle to accommodate certain aspects of their new home while holding on to some of their former traditions, thus creating a cultural way of life distinctive to that particular situation and place. The eclectic nature of the African/Caribbean culture in Scotland suggest that culture is a function of people, circumstances and place. The chapter suggests that although African/Caribbeans in Scotland are not visible in Scottish society, this is not a result of being ostracised or ignored. While interaction may not be perceived as occurring at group level, perhaps because of some influences from the well established English experience, it certainly occurs at the individual level. Invisibility, as chapter 5 shows, may also occur from a variety of factors such as size, dispersal, professional and white collar status within the African/Caribbean community. Ideas of "race" tied to historical notions of racial and cultural inferiority and difference (chapter 4) certainly contribute to cultural invisibility of African/Caribbeans despite the high visibility of their cultural attributes in Scottish/ British society. Finally, both the racism in Scottish society and the need for African/ Caribbeans to maintain a socio-cultural life of their own result in cultural distinctiveness in Scotland but one that is part and parcel of the African diaspora in the "black Atlantic world" (Gilroy 1992).

CHAPTER 7 - RACISM IN LATE 20TH CENTURY SCOTLAND.

7.1 INTRODUCTION and AIMS

> It is increasingly difficult in future to sustain the ideology that racism does not exist in Scotland.
>
> (Miles and Muirhead 1986).

The history and character of racism in Britain has been documented by Richmond (1954), Bagley (1970), Daniel (1969) and Smith (1977). Almost invariably research has concentrated on the English (and to a lesser extent the Welsh experience), omitting the Scottish dimension. This omission both derives from and contributes to the common-sense view " that Scotland has 'good race relations because there is no racism here" (Miles and Muirhead 1986:1). However, the existence of racism in Scotland was established by Miles (1982) and since then its presence has been studied, observed and commented upon by several other writers such as Sherwood (1985); Miles and Muirhead (1986); Miles and Dunlop (1987); Dunwoodie (1989); Orr (1990); Dunlop and Miles (1990); Bell (1992); Younge (1993); Patel (1994). Despite these acknowledgements that racism exists in Scotland, writers are of the opinion that within Scotland there is still a "commonsense " (Lawrence 1982b) belief that racism does not exist here. *A People Without Prejudice* (Armstrong 1989) was written to confront "the popular myth that there is no racism north of the Border" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989).

It may be argued that Scots are aware that racism exists in Scotland because of the efforts undertaken in Scotland over the last ten years by organisations such as the Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland, Racial Equality Councils and Regional Councils, in particularly Strathclyde, to challenge racism. Nevertheless some individuals, both from within and outwith the ethnic minority community in Scotland have expressed concern at the reluctance to acknowledge that racism exists. Comments include:

> "for far too long we in Scotland have gone along saying racism doesn't exist and now we discover just how wrong we were"
> Dr Stan Moonsawmy (*The Scotsman* 27 June 1989)

> "The authorities have for far too long failed to recognise the fact that racism not only exists at all levels but in interlinked forms; nor have they paid enough attention to the deep concerns of black people."
> Joan Weir (*The Scotsman* 27 June 1989

Even though it can be argued that until a survey is udertaken it is difficult to to say with certainty what the views of Scots are as regards the existence or non-existence of racism in Scotland, the "common sense" view is that there is no racism in Scotland. While this might be the view of a minority, the absence of racism in the general political debate

in Scotland (unlike England) reinforces the "common-sense" belief that there is no racism . Though the anti-racist tradition and tolerance associated with Scots and Scotland would suggest that there are Scots who acknowledge that there is racism in Scotland, this anti-racism is rather muted. In fact, Sivanandan (1993) described the debate on racism in Scotland as "troglodite, backward and ice-age" to the extent that "Scotland must be another country" (p.49). Although racism in Scotland is not as overt and visible as racism in England "there are openly racist groups in Scotland which harassed black people and their property... operating in an environment that allows them to grow" *(The Scotsman* January 1989). It is the unquestioned tolerance attributed to Scots and Scotland and the ability too, to see racism as an English problem or thought to be commited by a few individuals, which allows it to be an important aspect of living in Scotland for African/Caribbeans and other visible minorities.The anti-racism and tolerance of Scots is taken for granted while the racism in Scotland is played down.

Although efforts have been taken over the years by community organisations, ethnic minority groups as well as individuals to highlight the presence of racism in Scotland. Dunlop and Miles (1990) are still forced to argue that "despite evidence to the contrary it remains commonplace observation that racism is really an English problem because "we don't have many coloureds up here"(p. 163). This lack of recognition of presence is the main issue facing visible minorities in Scotland (Younge 1993). Since it is thought they do not exist then there can be no problem. More recently Patel (1994) has emphasized that "Racism is very much in Scotland, despite the myth that 'there is no problem here' and has asked 'Why do we constantly get fed this line" (p.9). Patel further expressed her frustration at the reluctance on the part of Scots to recognise racism . "Many people" she stated "have the language and immediate moral conviction to respond to a jumped queue, an incident of theft or physical attack. But how many times do racist incidents both publicly occur and go publicly unchallenged, not just by individuals, but by major institutions such as the police?"(p.9).

However, since Scotland is an integral part of the U.K. it is hard to believe that similarities with the south do not exist. In fact McCrone argues that Scotland has far more similarities with England than differences (1992:86). So, even where the existence of racism is acknowledged, it may be thought that there is little to say about Scotland which cannot be extrapolated from the English experience. Certainly historical manifestations of racism in Scotland were connected to the part Scots and Scotland played in the British Empire just as racism in England flowed from the role the English had in this same enterprise.

Although Scotland is part and parcel of the entities called the United Kingdom and Britain, it is a country with its own legal, educational and religious systems. It also possesses cultural and social characteristics which differ from the rest of the United Kingdom. The duality means that Scots sometimes choose to be Scottish and sometimes choose to be British (McCrone 1992). Thus it is in terms of the similarities with, and differences from, England that this chapter seeks to examine certain aspects of racism experienced by African/Caribbean people in Scotland. The chapter is concerned with British racism as experienced in Scotland and Scottish racism. This chapter will explore the characteristics of racism against African/Caribbeans in Scotland today showing the flexibility of racism and illustrating how the forms it takes vary over time and in space depending on the context in which it arises. The empirical work drawn on in this chapter refers to overt manifestations of racism, such as verbal and physical abuse as well as institutional racism in employment and housing. Attention is given, too, to some 'covert' or invisible forms of racism which have been neglected in British racial discourse, but which are experienced by African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

The chapter confirms by using the experiences of African/Caribbean people, that racism exists in contemporary Scotland. It also shows how the form that racism takes is one which renders the presence of African/Caribbeans invisible in Scotland and so often contrasts with the form that racism takes in England. First a general overview of racism experienced by African/Caribbeans in Scotland during the 20th century is given to show the reality of present day experiences. The second section reviews efforts by academics which challenge the "common-sense" belief that racism does not exist in Scotland but exclude African/Caribbeans. The final section examines the extent of discrimination against African/Caribbeans in contemporary Scotland making some comparisons with the situation in England.

Ideas in this Chapter are designed to expand the debate on racism in Scotland. Miles and Dunlop (1987), for example, argued that the non-racialisation of Scottish domestic politics in the post 1945 period resulted in a "much lower potential for sections of the indigenous population to signify the Asian presence was a political issue, and subsequently to racialise that presence" (p.137). The small size of the black population as well as 'tolerance' of the Scots are still fashionable explanations banded about in community circles for the perceived absence of racism in Scotland. While some authors attribute the neglects of Scottish racism to small numbers and a tolerant society I argue

that the understanding of racism experienced by dark-skin people in Scotland is related to the African/Scottish historical relationship in Africa, the Caribbean and North America as well as the African presence in Scotland during the slave era (see Chapter 3 and 4). I further argue that the scant attention to, and omission of African/Caribbean people from Scottish racial discourse is making the study of racism in Scotland inadequate both practically, as a basis for action, and theoretically, as a basis for understanding as well as continuing to contribute to the group's invisibility in Scottish society. The Chapter now proceeds to demonstrate that racism against African/ Caribbean people in Scotland occurred early in the 20th century well before 1945.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF RACISM EXPERIENCED BY AFRICAN/ CARIBBEANS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The earliest recorded incidents of racism experienced by African/Caribbeans in Scotland in 20th century were institutional and concerned seamen who were discriminated against openly in employment during 1919. As Fryer (1984) noted, the forerunners of the National Union of Seamen "were implacably opposed to the employment of black seamen when white crew were available" (p.299). Even though it can also be argued that the hardship experienced by the seamen was due to economic decline, their situation was made worse by the institutional racism practised openly in Scotland. Black British seamen were discriminated against in favour of non-British, Norwegians and other Scandinavians (Jenkinson 1986). Newspaper reports of the 1919 'race riots' in Glasgow showed that this institutional racism was accompanied by personal racist abuse. African seamen were described as "Sambo" (*Evening Times* 18 June 1919) and "nigger" (*Glasgow Herald* 24 January 1919) - just two examples of the uncritical use of racist terminology handed down from the 18th century. The children of these early 20th century Africans still live in Scotland and form one of the earliest groups of Scottish born people of African or Afro-Caribbean descent.

The inter-war period in Britain was tainted with racist ideologies, and anti-miscegenation campaigns were waged, even to the extent of outlawing mixed marriages in Cardiff (Fryer 1983; Scobie 1977; Rich 1986). Abusive names such as "mongrel" and "half caste" were and half caste were used to describe the off-spring of white and black. Scotland seemed to have kept a low profile on the debate about mixed race children in British ports and the difficulties these families were facing. This silence gave the impression that African/Caribbean people did not exist. However in Scotland racism did affect the life-chances of Afro-Scots. This was particularly evident in Scotland of

the 1930's in the career of Manuel Abrew, an Afro-Scot born of both Afro-Caribbean parents in Leith who became "the best heavyweight boxer in Edinburgh and Scotland" (*Evening News* 11 May 1991) but Abrew "being black could not fight for the title" of Scottish champion *(Boxing News* 5 August 1988) as he "(Manuel Abrew) and his brother Charlie were coloured at a time when racial prejudice was much more widespread than it is today, even in a cosmopolitan seaport such as Leith" (*Evening News* 11 May 1991). The colour bar which operated at this time also prevented both Abrew brothers from fighting for a British title. The racism Manuel Abrew experienced in Scotland and in England pursuing his career possibly forced him to follow in his father's foot step and he went to sea. After the second world war he "gave up as a ship's cook and settled in London as a chef on the railways" (*Boxing News* 15 September 1989).

The second world war brought many more black people to Scotland from the British colonies and the USA. Sherwood noted that "almost a million US army troops, of whom 10% were Blacks, had disembarked at the Clyde docks" (Sherwood 1984: 101). US troops, with their own racist tradition, were resident in large numbers. The presence of American troops as noted by Rich (1986:151) "marked the development for the first time of a significant race relations issue in Britain as a whole" (p.151). Some white American troops could not come to terms with the fairly equal relationship existing between white and blacks in Britain and wanted to maintain and extend the 'Jim Crow' of the American South to Britain. Racial prejudice and racism was meted out to black troops in Britain whether black Americans or West Indians. While black American soldiers avoided conflicts and kept out of the way of fellow American white soldiers, West Indian soldiers, who were British citizens, refused to be dictated to on British soil and "stood up to the contemptuous attitude expressed by some American white troops" (Richmond 1954:87). Running battles were fought in English cities. Scotland did not escape these incidents and fights occurred in Leith where troops were based. Former Belizean Forestry workers who witnessed these events spoke of the battles between white Americans and other black troops in Leith where they were based.

As well as discriminating against American blacks in Britain, American white soldiers used ideas about racial difference to limit the social activities of blacks, in general, by causing them to be banned from dance halls frequented by US whites. Incidents of this kind are well known for England but they also occurred in Scotland as a letter to the welfare officer from a West Indian soldier reveals. The soldier stated that "even in

Glasgow he was told personally" that if "we let you in they will try to make fight for they fight with their own American negroes" (Richmond 1954:88). Banning of Americans from places of entertainment was considered but the income they generated was large thus banning was ruled out (Richmond 1954). Many dance halls forsook the development of good social and race relations for cash and adopted restricted racist policies. The banning of black soldiers from dance halls showed British complicity with the racism of white Americans. Many people of African origin and descent, soldiers as well as residents of Britain, felt that the attitudes of white American soldiers clouded relations between them and the majority white society and set into trend the prejudice and discrimination that they were to experience later.

Although white American soldiers might have injected a certain amount of racial hostility in British affairs, and brought to the forefront the dormant racial antipathy or xenophobia of British society, the whole debate on black troops or black people in Britain was steeped in a more deep seated racism. Concern was expressed about every facet of the black presence. For instance, the developing relationships between blacks and British white women in England as well as in Scotland were a subject of much discontent. The Duke of Buccluech voiced publicly his opposition to liaisons between Belizean forestry workers and Scottish women. Writing to Harold Macmillan he stated that "personally, I dislike this mixture of colour and regret that it should be allowed with no discouragement" (Ford 1984: 85). His racist sentiments were in tune with the miscegenation campaign waged around this time and he felt in a paternalistic manner "that unsophisticated country girls should be discouraged from marrying these Black men from Equatorial America" (Ford 1984:85). The Duke further described the Belizean workers as "lazy" in tones echoing Carlisle's "lazy African" and similar to the late Nicholas Fairbairn's "lazy West Indian". Macmillan who, however, had been to the camp and had taken an interest in the forestry workers welfare, in reply to the Duke stated that the men are "not lazy but intolerably cold" (p.85).

African/Caribbean students also experienced personal racism, though they could have limited it by keeping within the confines of University life. The extent of physical as well as verbal racism is clear in many sources. Ramchand in *'Disappointed guest'* (Tajfel and Dawson 1961) for example, mentions that "a Jamaican student returning home late at night from a visit to some domino-playing friends was assaulted by a gang of youths" (p.31). Similar tales of racism appear in ex-student memoirs and in the understandings recanted back home (as a youth in the Caribbean I heard many of these incidents of racism from individuals who studied in Scotland and other parts of the

United Kingdom). The late Lord Pitt, a Grenadian born peer, who studied medicine at Edinburgh University in recollection of his time in Scotland talked about the racism he experienced as a student and noted that he came into conflict when he wrote an article in a University magazine about the racism in Scotland (*Weekly Journal*, October 1993).

As in England and in Europe the upsurge of racism in Scotland seems to be triggered by several factors such as political developments within Europe, prominence of black skinned people, bad economic situation as well as ignorance. The formation of new organisations, such as SCORE, SCARF, Lothian Campaign against Racism and Fascism, Lothian Black Forum and Fife Racial Equality Council over the past six years, is an indication of the rise of racism (and anti-racism) in Scottish society. Racist incidents have increased in Scotland as they have done in England and Europe. Figures from the Runnymede Trust show "that between 1988 and 1990 racial incidents reported to the police increased by 100 per cent in the Lothian and Borders region, which includes Edinburgh, and by 283 per cent in the Strathclyde region" (*The Guardian* Wednesday, 6 January 1993).

Thus African/Caribbean people in Scotland have been at the receiving end of personal and institutional racism in Scotland since the 18th century (chapter 4), and as recently as the above. However these past experiences, together with the present day experiences, discussed later (7.5.) have been ignored or downplayed. The chapter now examines various reasons which might account for this invisibility.

7.3 DENIAL OF RACISM IN SCOTLAND.

In this section, two proposals are made to explain the denial of racism in Scotland. Then a variety of reasons are given why racism against African/Caribbean (and other black minorities) is being ignored or underestimated are considered.

The first reason why the extent of racism today is under-estimated stems from the fact that Scots thought of themselves as "anti-racist" centuries before the word became fashionable with Beatty's rebuke of Hume in the 18th century (as discussed in chapter 4) and in the 19th century, Carlyle was rebuked by John Stuart Mill with his famous and still applicable words "that of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of the social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversity of conduct and character to inherent natural differences" (Curtin 1964:26). This long tradition of anti-racism tends to blind modern

commentators to the continuation of the racist imageries, beliefs and actions which first stimulated the antiracist movement.

The second reason for the denial of racism in Scotland may be the dominance of the English in the Union. It is argued that the English have been so successful at marginalising the Scots that even on the question of racism the Scots have not been given their full due. This has resulted in a complacent attitude in Scottish society that racism is something peculiar to England and does not exist in Scotland. Conversely the reason perhaps hinges on the idea that Scotland is itself marginal and marginalised to the extent that the idea that it could be oppressive seems unthinkable. However, for a dark skinned person, and speaking from personal experience, the effects of racism in Scotland differ little from the effects of racism in England. Yet, although black people experience many forms of racism in late 20th century Scotland, the question of 'racism' is still not a major issue on the Scottish agenda. The factors which may account for this include the size of the ethnic minority population, the form of nationalism, the prominence of sectarianism and the denial of racism among African/Caribbeans themselves.

The size of the black ethnic minority population in Scotland (Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Scot, Bangladeshis, Chinese, Indians , Pakistanis and other Asians, Vietnamese) is less than 100,000 in a majority white population of just under 5 million (Census 1991). This means that their visible impact is relatively low. Hence the fear of being 'swamped' by dark skinned people in Scotland is not as serious as it is down South particularly in English inner-city areas where residential clustering formed a viable basis for launching a moral panic. The fear, in Scotland, is more one of being dominated by the English as evident by the 'anti-English' treatment meted out to English newcomers in some Scottish villages (BBC TV:*Reporting Scotland*, 13 October 1993). English settlers on T.V complained of open hostility with graffiti being daubed on doors. One such settler interviewed stated that he now feels what it is to be black in a white society. The smaller size of the African/Caribbean population in Scotland, 0.2%, (1991 census) means that even though they are conspicuous because of skin colour their overall visibility is low. The small size also means that African/ Caribbean can go unremarked with their presence seen as transient (as it normally is) by the wider Scottish community. Chinese and Asians are conspicuous because of self-employment in the restaurant and food store businesses. African/Caribbeans, on the other hand, with employment patterns not dissimilar from the host population (Chapter 5) are not readily noticed and then almost always considered to be transients.

Ethnic minorities, particularly African/Caribbeans, in Scotland tend not to cluster as they do in England. Their dispersal means that they are not a political force to be wooed during elections by competing political parties as are African-Americans in the USA and to some extent black people in the inner-city areas of English cities. The lack of spatial concentration of African/Caribbeans has its disadvantages, too, for the racism they face in Scottish society is given little or no attention in racial discourse unlike the attention given to their counterpart in England. Dispersal and lack of contact could also mean that racial disadvantages and problems are perceived as unfortunate individual experiences (as is sometimes the 'commonsense' perception among some African/Caribbeans) without the realisation that similar situations are experienced by others elsewhere.

At the political level racism is also ignored, as the burning issue is a form of nationalism based on opposition to the English, not on a distinction from the colonial other (Miles 1982; McCrone 1992). Preoccupation with this form of nationalism relegates racism, based on skin colour, to a more marginal position in the public eye. Scottish nationalism differs from English nationalism. Scottish nationalism is aimed at throwing off the yoke of the English oppressor. English nationalism, on the other hand, has a shortage of oppressors thus the conspicuous darkskinned members of society become targets unlike their counterparts in Scotland who are ignored. Although Scottish politics, might not be as overtly racist as English politics where politicians have played the racist card (eg Smethwick 1964 or Enoch Powell's speeches) racism of all forms exists in Scotland. Scottish politicians or political figures do, also, sometimes indulge in racist politicking as was shown when the English born Tory candidate of Afro-Caribbean descent, John Taylor was attacked by a Scottish Tory when selected for the safe Tory seat of Cheltenham. Taylor was described by a Mr Galbraith, who is quoted by a journalist as saying, as a "bloody nigger" and a "coconut kicker standing for parliament". "I do not think having a nigger as a candidate is good for our town" (*Edinburgh Evening News* 4 December 1990). Again when Scottish Tory candidate the late Nicholas Fairbairn appeared to be on the brink of defeat in the 1992 general election he attacked Labour by playing the 'race' card, and this it was felt enabled him to win his seat.

Scottish politics seem to have escaped explicit racialisation because the political debate is about Nationalism at one level and Sectarianism at another (Miles and Dunlop 1987). The 'colour' problem in Scotland is perceived mainly in religious terms of 'orange and green' and not 'black and white'. This preoccupation with the "national enemy" the

English and to a lesser extent the "local enemy" the Catholic or Irish has enabled the issue of racism to be submerged reenforcing invisibility. Scottish racism has been masked for a very long time. Overshadowed by Nationalism and Sectarianism it has been allowed to flourish unseen and not widely acknowledged. The arrival of African/ Caribbean footballers, Mark Walters and Paul Elliot, in Scottish teams revealed the latent racism, bringing to the forefront the sub-conscious racist images of African people held by many Scots. The footballers were thrown bananas and racially abused. The racist attack on the two footballers was offensive enough to force the issue of racism in football onto the Scottish political agenda. Commenting on the racism experienced by the footballers, Jim Devine stated "I was never so ashamed as a Celtic fan as when Mark Walters was greeted with racist chants and banana throwing in the way I never dreamed would happen in this country" (*Scotsman* 24 April 1990). Credit should be given for the anti-racist stance taken but it is the disbelief by many in Scotland (possibly influenced by Scotland's anti-racist tradition) that racist incidents of this kind could happen here which allows racism to take hold. As MP Brian Wilson noted, "Too often in Scotland we congratulate ourselves on our superior attitudes without much regard for the reality" (*The Scotsman* 20 January 1988). This "late appearance of race on Scotland's political agenda (and therefore its social, cultural and economic agendas)" as Smith and Mercer (1987) noted was not simply due to the lesser numbers, less discrimination or less ignorance of the 'problem' in political circles" (p.26).

Racism, in the early twentieth century as well as experiences of present day (7.5) has had serious consequences for African/Caribbeans (and other black minorities) but the "common-sense" view that racism does not exist in Scotland and that it is something which happens south of the border often still seems to be the acceptable. This is evidenced too by the low profiles of the Racial Equality Councils in Scotland, the fairly recent employment of Racial Equality Officers in local government and the reluctance of some employers to adopt equal opportunities policies.

7.4 CHALLENGES TO THE IDEA THAT RACISM DOES NOT EXIST IN SCOTLAND

Miles (1982) was the earliest and one of the most consistent writers to challenge the idea that racism does not exist in Scotland. Miles' work has been influential but seems to have set the stage for the omission of the African racial experience by seeing 'black people' living in Scotland mainly in terms of "migrants who came from India and Pakistan in the late 1950s and 1960s and their British-born children" (1982:279). Like later writers who use Miles'work as a reference point, fails to acknowledge the

significance of African/Caribbeans seamen, soldiers, students and forestry workers who lived in Scotland before, during and after the first world war (Chapter 7.2). He seems to have taken the view applicable to England where the "present regional distribution was established during the period of sustained immigration during the late 1950s and 1960s" (Smith 1987:6). This view holds well for England but when applied to Scotland it ignores groups who were not economic migrants. Since Miles took a foreshortened view of black migration into Scotland, his examples of racism were restricted to the late 1950s, neglecting racism experienced by African and Afro-Caribbeans, both transient and resident in the early periods of the 20th century, described in 7.2.

Miles and Dunlop (1987) also omit the African dimension and extend the challenge that racism is absent in Scotland from a viewpoint entirely connected to the Asian experience. Although concluding (1987:122) "that Scottish colonial experiences have had important consequences for the contemporary reproductions and expressions of racism in Scotland" (p.122) and that "racism is a legacy of Scotland's colonial involvement" which they showed to be very African orientated, they did not elaborate this African dimension. Considering further why this "racism has been less explicitly articulated as a sustained and organised campaign against the arrival of migrants from India and Pakistan in the post-war period" (p.122), they argued that the Asian migration "in the post-1945 period occurred in a distinct political context in which there was a much lower potential for sections of the indigenous population to signify that the Asian presence was a political issue, and subsequently to racialise that presence".

I, on the other hand, argue that one of the reasons why Scottish racism was not articulated against Asian migrants was the fact that the racist images passed down from the 18th century in Scotland and present in contemporary society are African orientated. Had the migrants of the 1950s and 1960s been Africans or Afro-Caribbeans it is worth speculating what the reception might have been, regardless of the contemporary Scottish politics. In European racial discourse the African was the central figure of racist abuse. Miles (1989) has shown too that the European 'other' was the African who was confined to "inferiority in perpetuity" (p.83). These old racist images of African people still exist today in Europe and more specifically in Scotland and in England. The European 'other' has been the black man - the African - at the opposite end of the skin colour continuum. This was demonstrated when just two footballers of African descent arrived to play football for Scottish clubs. The traditional racist abuse for African people was unleashed on them with players being called "ape" and

"monkey" and bananas were thrown at them. The repressed racist images had surfaced. Thus the presence of Asians and Chinese in Scotland meant that the age old racist symbols and imageries of Scottish political consciousness had had to be reworked. Scots have had to come to terms with an Asian and a Chinese perspective with "nigger" becoming "paki" or "chink". Asians and Chinese, too, have been forced to rework their identities to fit the new stereotype and now refer to themselves as "politically black".

The transposition of the American Ku Klux Klan (KKK) racist ideas to a Scottish situation in the early 1990s where the majority 'black' population is Asian is another example of invisibility. Again the Ku Klux Klan racist antagonism is essentially against African people and imageries and ideologies have been African orientated. African people in Scotland had more to fear from the racist stickers and tracts distributed within Scotland for even though the KKK's intended target seem to have been the larger and relatively conspicuous Asian presence, the language and images used were their African orientated ones. The the distortion of racial discourse to fit the "majority minority" is itself a shortcoming which seems to be making it difficult for writers to examine Scottish racism effectively. It also results in the marginalisation of African/Caribbean people in discourse on racism similar to the marginalisation of the Scottish dimension in British racial discourse. Academic research challenging racism in Scotland towards dark skinned people continues to examine racism mainly from an Asian perspective, possibly because of the larger numbers, denying the racist experiences of African people in Scotland. In so doing writers, as the two following examples show, continue to perpetuate the 'myth' that African people do not live in Scotland so providing this popular belief with academic credibility and reinforcing the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence.

Armstrong (ed) *Understanding racism: Scotland and Migration* (Runnymede Trust, 1989, is also guilty of contributing to the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence both historical and contemporary as well as to the racism experienced . The study spoke of "Italian migrants to Scotland dating back to the 16th century" (p.20) failing to acknowledge this same fact for the African presence in Scotland (chapter 3). Again mention is made of several other migrations of people into Scotland, Jewish immigrants, people from the Indian subcontinent, people from Hong Kong, Asian people from East Africa , even people from Vietnam, most of whom have left Scotland (*The Scotsman* 8 May 1993) but nothing about African people from Africa, the Caribbean or United States of America. This omission of African migration may reflect the extent to which academics are influenced by the numbers argument. Since the

numbers are small they cannot be experiencing problems. It may also reflect an unconscious prejudice against acknowledging an African presence which would bring, inevitably, the question of Scotland's past economic development and its close connection with Africa, Africans and the slave trade. Scottish connection with Empire and African slavery, as well as the fact that there were African slaves in Scotland (Chapter 3), is something that is invisible in Scottish historiography and ignored in academia and this allows African slavery in Britain to be seen mainly in terms of an English experience

Bell's (1992) *Aspects of Racism in Scotland*, also suffers from this denial and seems to perpetuate the invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence and the racism experience in Scotland. Analyses of racism in Scotland allude to the African/Scottish relationship. "Racism and the Scottish working class" was seen as closely connected to the British Empire, missionary work and views of 18th century Scottish writers, yet African people, who were so much the subject of this historiography than were Chinese and Asians, were dismissed in the conclusion. It is argued here that writers on racism in Scotland cannot challenge this racism adequately when they pay scant attention to the African dimension or continue to deny the legacy of African slavery in Scotland (which denial is itself racist), as well the racist dogmas of scottish philosophers concerning African people generally (see Chapter 4). The European historical negative images of the African are still present in British, or to be specific, Scottish consciousness. Present day racism experienced by Asians and Chinese in Scotland is related to this historical Scottish racist connection with Africans and the equating of them with inferiority. Yet writers talk about Scottish historical racism with no particular reference to African people but later try to transpose their arguments to fit a contemporary Asian presence.

Only two historical studies, so far, have brought to visibility aspects of the early 20th century experience of racism in Scotland directed at African and Afro-Caribbeans. Jenkinson's (1986) doctoral thesis *1919 Race Riots in Britain* showed that Africans and Afro-Caribbeans, transients as well as permanent residents, experienced racism at the end of the first world war in Glasgow. However, this experience remains invisible in issues of racism in Scotland.The racial antagonism exerienced by people of African origin and descent in and around British ports, was not confined to Cardiff, Liverpool and London as some writers have led us to believe. There was also a Scottish dimension. Sherwood (1985) *It is not a case of numbers, it's institutional racism* also brings to the forefront the early experiences of institutional racism experienced by

black/minority ethnic people in Scotland. Again the people experiencing racism at the hands of employers are an African people, Belizean forestry workers, from the Caribbean. Sherwood and Jenkinson together with Fryer (1983), are the only writers so far who have acknowledged the early racism experienced by African/Caribbean people in Scotland.

These beginnings suggest that if racism is to be challenged adequately then the racist experiences of African /Caribbean people should be an integral and visible part of the discourse for racism in Scotland, as in England, is historically specific and the present is influenced by the past. The restriction of racism discourse to the majority minority enables the racism experienced by other "black" minorities in Scotland to be foreshortened and rendered invisible with no acknowledgement given to the racism once experienced by African people who were enslaved or to those who lived in Scotland in the post emancipation period. More importantly it omits the early 20th century institutional and personal racism African people experienced in Scotland and which derive from the historical belief of African inferiority/European superiority. Using original research the chapter now goes on to expand our understanding of racism in Scotland today.

7.5 AFRICAN/CARIBBEANS AND RACISM IN LATE 20TH CENTURY SCOTLAND

This section of the chapter examines the present day African/Caribbean experiences of racism in Scotland bringing to the forefront the frequently unacknowledged experiences of racism among this "invisible" group in Scottish society. First, the notion that racism does not exist in Scotland is refuted with recourse to new data on the experience of the African/Caribbean population. Second, forms of racism reported by respondents to exist in Scotland are examined. These include verbal and physical abuse, and institutional racism in employment and housing. Evidence is provided from the questionnaire, discussion with individuals and personal experiences. This section illustrate where racism in Scotland differs from racism in England, and also where there are similarities between the two. Finally an examination is made of covert forms of racism experienced by African/Caribbeans in Scotland.

7.5.1 RACISM IN SCOTLAND

Miles and Dunlop (1987:37) argue that "racism constitutes a component part of the political consciousness in Scotland" (p.37) but the refusal to recognise that racism

exists in Scotland as noted by an African "makes it so much more dangerous".

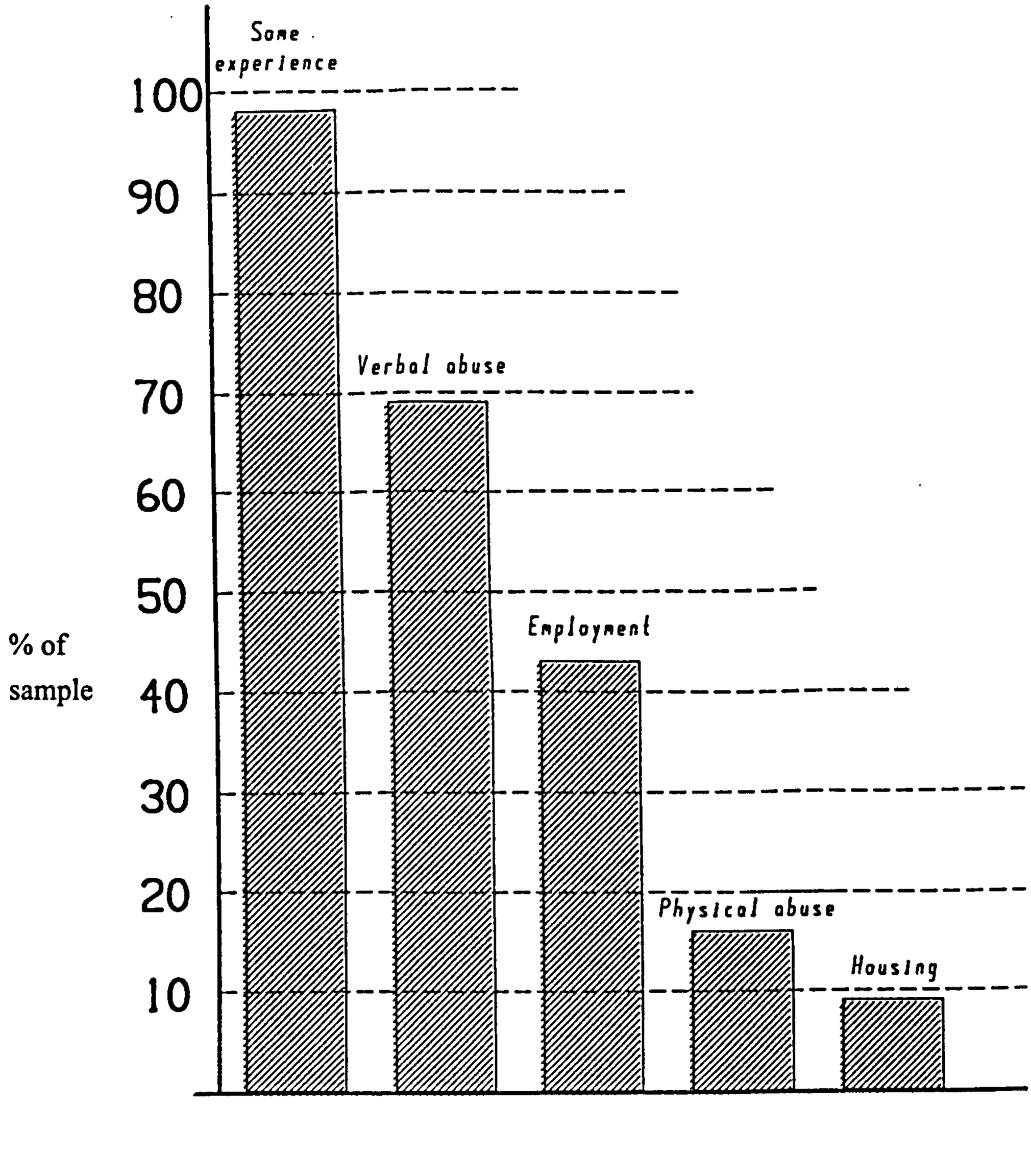


Figure 7.1 Levels and types of racism reported by respondents

The individual further stated:

> I believe Scotland to be the worst place for Afro-Caribbeans in the whole of the U.K. The extraordinary myth that there is no racism

> towards Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland has had the effect of making Scots unable to recognise their racism and this is why it is a danger. I've lived in England and I feel that although racism there can be as bad as in Scotland the fact that it is recognised and acknowledged south of the border may make improvements easier in the long run.

Like this individual, African/Caribbean respondents were unanimous that racism occurs in Scotland and refuted the ever present myth of its non-existence. 97% of respondents felt that white people in Scotland discriminate against people with dark skin. Only one respondent, an elderly person, stated no, while another just stated "can't really say". Likewise 98% of respondents felt that racism existed in Scotland. Respondents further indicated that racism was shown in people's attitudes, behaviour, private feelings and was overt as well as subtle, "like being ignored in stores by sales clerk". The major areas of racism indicated by respondents in Scotland are shown in Figure 7.1 The data indicates that verbal abuse and discrimination in the job market are the major manifestation of racism among African/Caribbeans respondents. The forms of racism identified and the nature of African/Caribbean experiences in Scotland show similarities with racism experienced by African/Caribbean people in England. The study now uses the survey data to illustrate the character and effects of the different forms of racism identified.

7.5.2 VERBAL ABUSE

Racist verbal abuse was the major form of racism African/Caribbean respondents experienced in Scotland with 69% experiencing some form of abuse. The high incidentsce of verbal abuse experienced by African Caribbeans in this research is in agreement with the other findings. In England and other parts of the United Kingdom verbal abuse seems to be the most prevalent form of racism experienced. The Home Office report *The Response To Racial Attacks and Harassment* (1989) supports the findings. In Leeds, for example, 305 incidents of racial harassment were reported in an 18 month period in 1985/1986 (Home Office 1989) of which 24 were physical attacks. Closer to home, the Scottish Ethnic Minority Research Unit in a survey of 100 people of ethnic minority origin found that 80% of Pakistanis and of Indians had experienced racial abuse (Home Office 1989; SEMRU 1987). In Glasgow, Bowes et al (1990) found a 88% incidents of verbal abuse among ethnic minorities. Racist verbal abuse in Scotland is difficult to avoid for while many individuals can sometimes avoid physical abuse or attacks by taking precautions such as choosing where to go, where to walk, which pubs to go to or areas not to live in, it is difficult to avoid verbal abuse as this, from personal experience, can be shouted from a moving vehicle, spoken by an individual passing close to you or said over your fence.

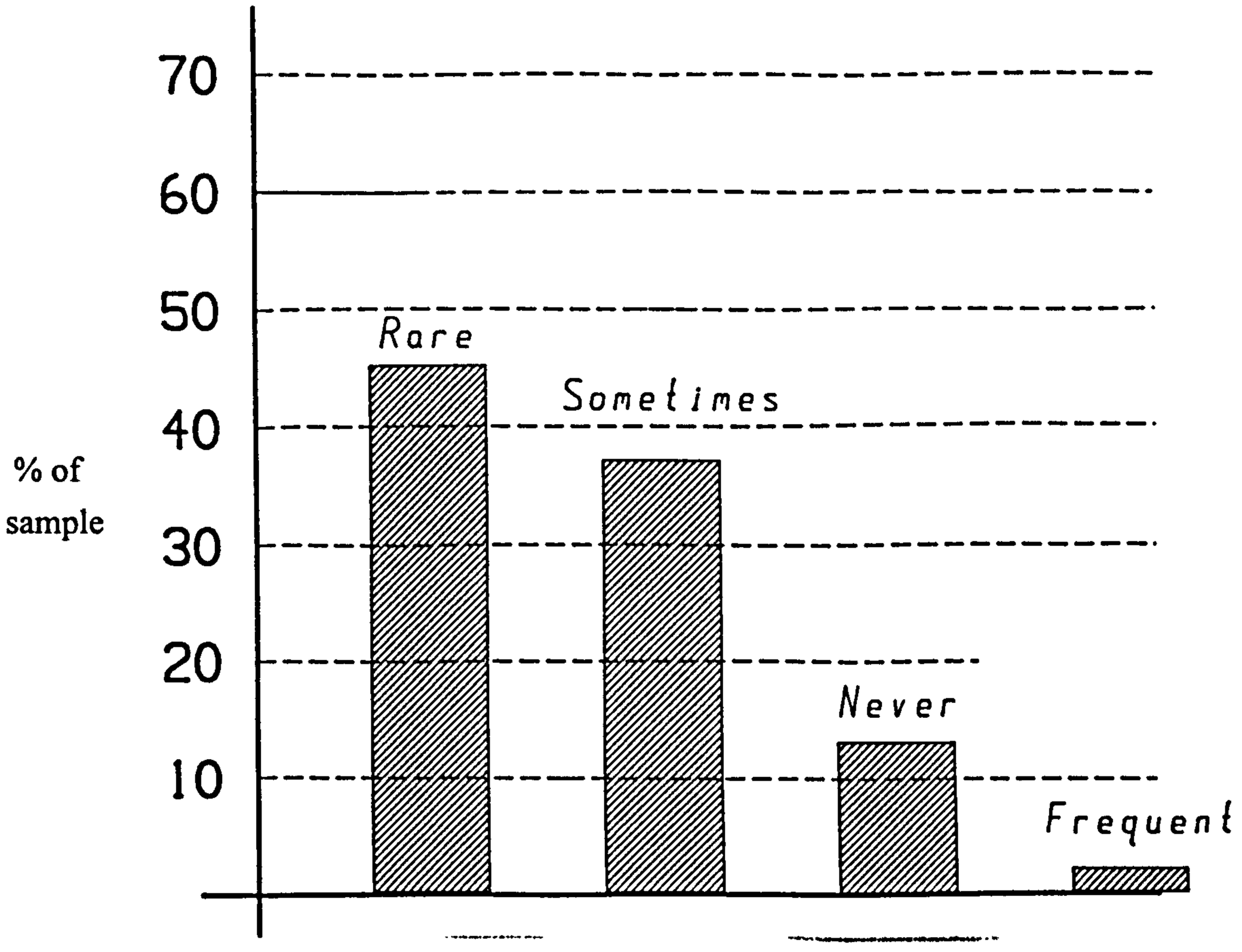


Fig 7.2 Frequency of verbal racist abuse

However, on paper, it seems that verbal abuse is not a constant experience. 37% of respondents indicated that they were called racist names sometimes, 45% of respondents said that it was done on rare occasions. Only 2% of respondents claimed that it was a frequent occurance (see Fig. 7.2). How much this result is due to reluctance to admit that these experiences occur or simply to restrictive measures taken to avoid unpleasant circumstances, is difficult to say. While some African/Caribbean respondents seem to have become resigned to the fact that verbal racist abuse is part and parcel of living in Scotland, others pretend that it does not exist, dismissing incidents as trivial or preferring that nothing should be said about racism. Lothian and Borders Police figures for incidents of racial abuse suggest that it is increasing (see Figure 7.3). However, none of the respondents made any comment suggesting that this was the case. It may well be that the police are taking racial harassment more seriously and hence logging more complaints than they did previously. In Glasgow, though, the situation seems to be worse with

100% of Indians and 88% of Pakistanis being subjected to this form of abuse (SEMRU 1986; Bell 1991).

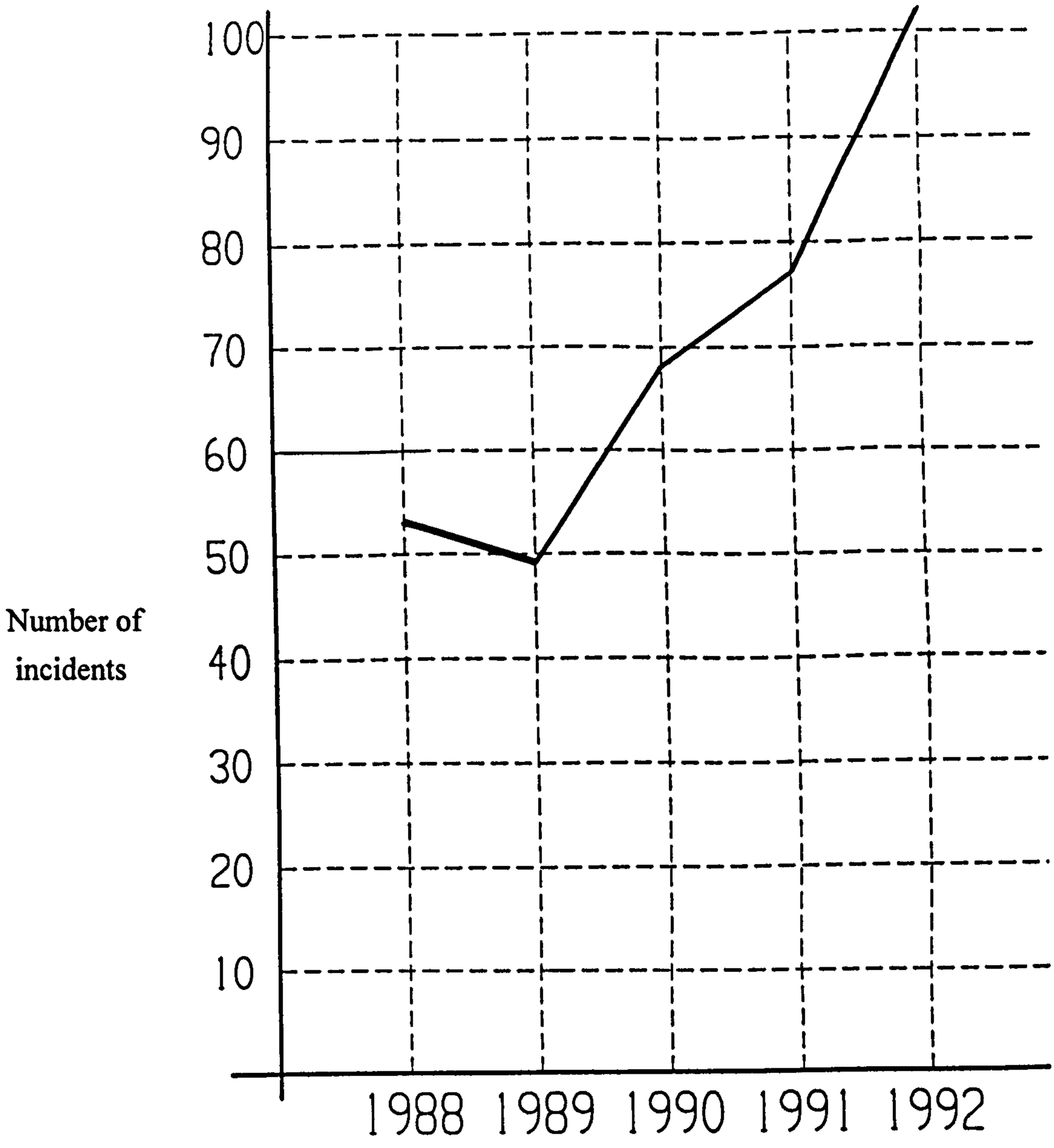


Fig 7-3 Number of incidents of verbal racist abuse and threats reported to Lothian and Borders police 1988-1992

Racist verbal abuse is not limited to adults as young children are also subjected to it. It

occurs in schools, in parks or areas where children meet.

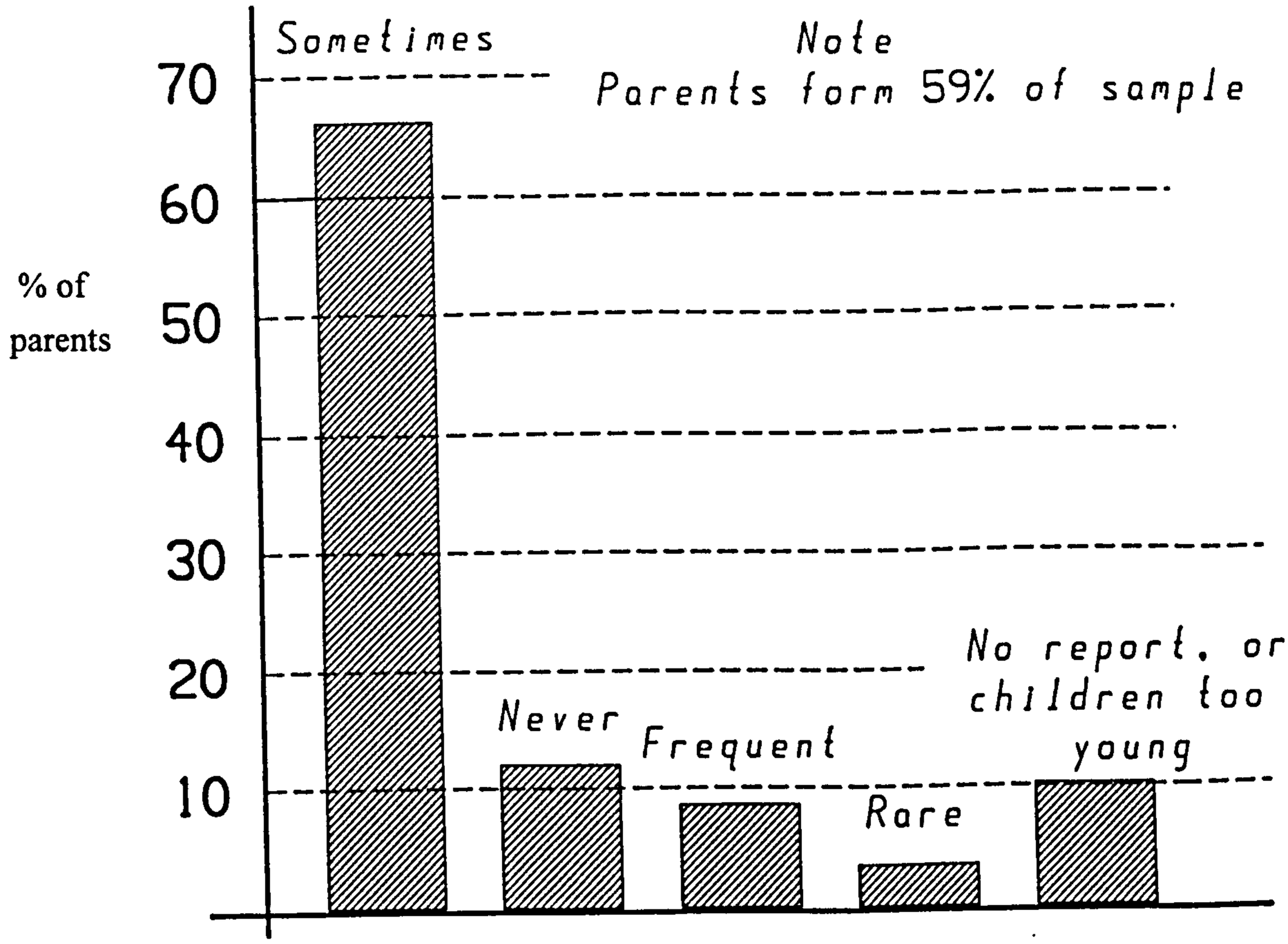


Fig 7.4 Frequency of verbal racist abuse of children reported by parents

In Glasgow for example, 100% of Asian school children experienced assault (SEMRU 1986). This survey among African/Caribbeans found that racist name calling occurred at schools in Scotland as it does in England. 83% of African/Caribbean parents indicated that their children were called racist names at school or in the park (see Figure 7.4) with 8% indicating that such abuse was frequent. Some parents were unaware if their children are or were called racist names, while others seeming to perceive that racist name calling of their children is inevitable answered "not yet". Racist name calling experienced by respondents indicate that it is part and parcel of everyday life in Scotland. A descriptive analysis of the types of racist names individuals were called show a link between historical ideas of race, racist beliefs of cultural inferiority (Chapter 4) as well as the negative connotation of the word 'black' discussed in Chapter 2. The contemporary situation shows old racist names coexisting with new ones. Eighteenth and nineteenth century forms of racist verbal abuse such as "Sambo" and "nigger" (see Chapter 4 and

5) along with others such as "nig nog, coon and darkie" still exist. Then there are terms associated with Africa which shows how 18th racist perceptions continue to be reproduced to suit specific times with names such as "Kunta, Kunta Kinte, Kaffir and jungleman" evolving into racist abuse.

Inappropriate geographical and cultural terms were also very much in evidence with names such as "Paki, Paki bastard, Pakistani Pig, Tarzan and native" being used. Straight forward Scottish/British terms of abuse with a prefix such as "black bastard" for male and "black bitch" or "black mama" for female were evident. Children are invariably called "Paki". Other variants are "chocolate man" or the whistling of tunes associated with black people such as "Camptown races" when a black person is around. The early 16th and 18th century association of African people with simians (Chapters 1 and 4) is still evident in contemporary Scotland with names such as "ape" and "monkey" being used as racist abuse. This animal association is sometimes taken further with the monkey war dance. This is a favourite among children. When a black person is seen the children (or even one child) jump(s) around, striking the head and attempting to ululate. "Snowball" is an ironic term used.

On the whole racist name calling in Scotland is similar to the English experience but the calling of some African people 'Paki' in Scotland seems to be distinctively Scottish. It is unlikely that an individual of African origin or descent in England would be called a 'Paki' as the English differentiate between ethnic groups. Although Scots distinguish between whites in Scotland (for example the English, Scottish and Irish) they seem not to make the same differentiation between dark skinned people preferring to utilise any name or term similar to the calling of any African or Caribbean person in the early days of settlement in England 'Jamaican' irrespective of country of birth. Since Pakistanis are the most numerous and prominent group in Scotland (possibly because of self-employment in corner shops) all dark skinned people seem automatically to become a 'Paki' in Scottish racial abuse. However Scottish racist verbal abuse, like it English counterpart, has not lost its form for the favourite historical term of abuse - "nigger"!.

This section has shown that racist verbal abuse is also part of the African/Caribbean experience in Scotland but racism from this perspective remain invisible as African/ Caribbean experience of racism is not acknowledged in discoures of racism in Scotland. Together with the experiences of other dark-skinned minorities it confirms the presence of this form of abuse in Scotland even though there is the "common-sense" belief that racism does not exist here (Miles and Muirhead 1986; Miles and Dunlop

1987: Armstrong 1989: Dunlop and Miles 1990). It also shows that the type of verbal abuse experienced is related to ideas of race handed down from 18th century. Today these old racist terminologies such as "nigger" and "sambo" co-exist with contemporary ones such as "Kunta", "Paki "and even "Roots" to suit people and place.

7. 5. 3 PHYSICAL ABUSE

Racist physical abuse also occurs to African Caribbeans and other ethnic minority people living in Scotland.(Fig 7.6) In Strathclyde 217 racial incidents were reported in 1987 (Home Office 1989). In South Glasgow 58% of Indians and 40% of Pakistanis suffered racial attack (SEMRU 1988). Lothian and Borders police figures show a rising trend (see Fig.7.5) but this is subject to the same comments made earlier on about verbal abuse.

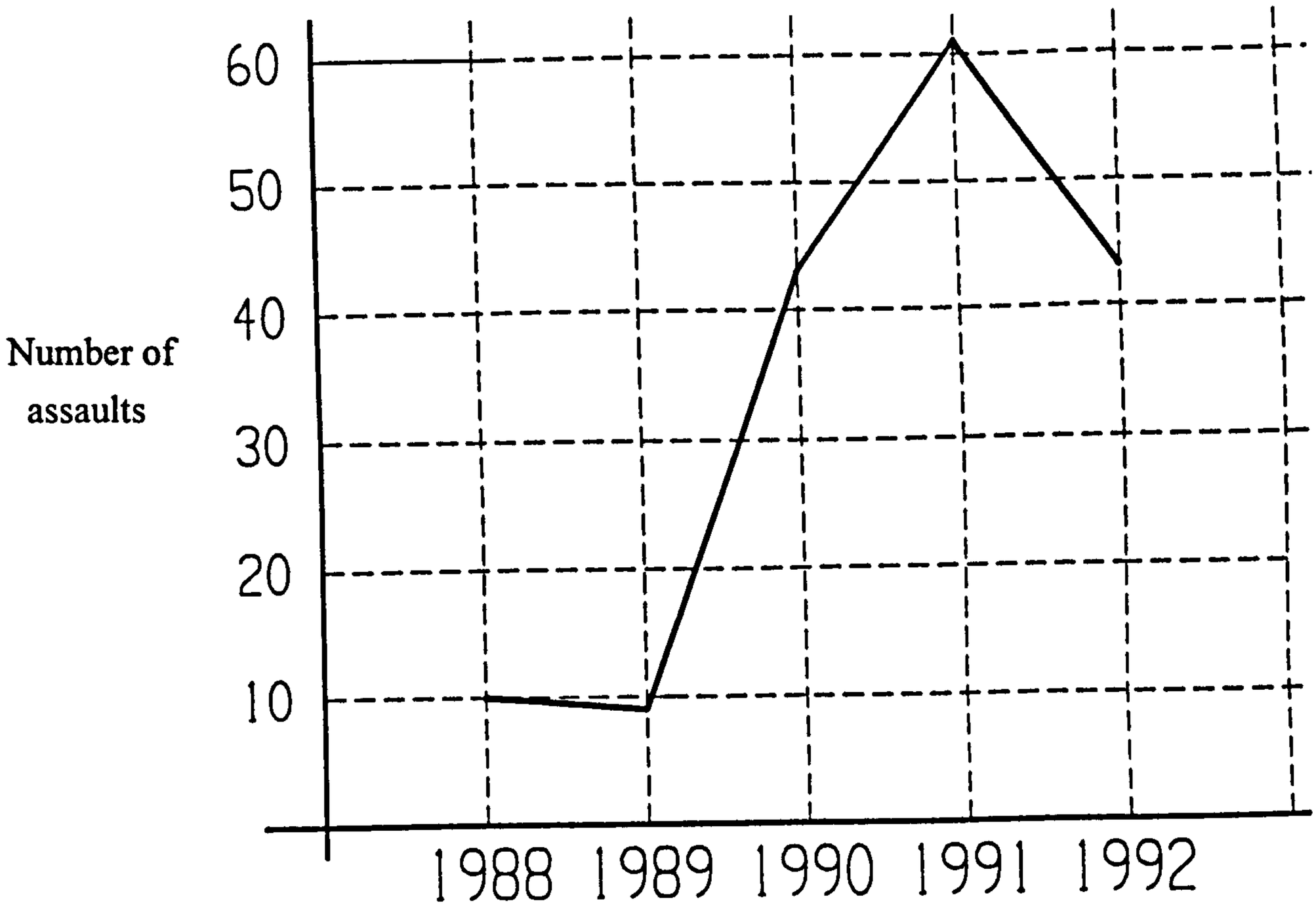


Fig 7.5 Number of racial assaults reported to Lothian and Borders Police 1988-1992

Bowes et al. (1990:75) noted a 52% incident of attacks on person in Glasgow. Bell (1992: 51) shows a catalogue of twenty two racist incidents dealt with by Lothian Racial Equality Council. Despite these incidents of attack, not much attention, generally, seemed to be paid to the seriousness of the situation. The racist murder of the African student, Ahmed Sheik, in Edinburgh in 1989 pushed racist physical attacks onto the Scottish political

agenda. Since not all physical abuse is fatal, many incidents go unreported through fear, language difficulties, acceptance of the situation or self-denial: reluctance to admit to being the victim of racism, or to the belief that the authorities would pay scant attention to the matter.

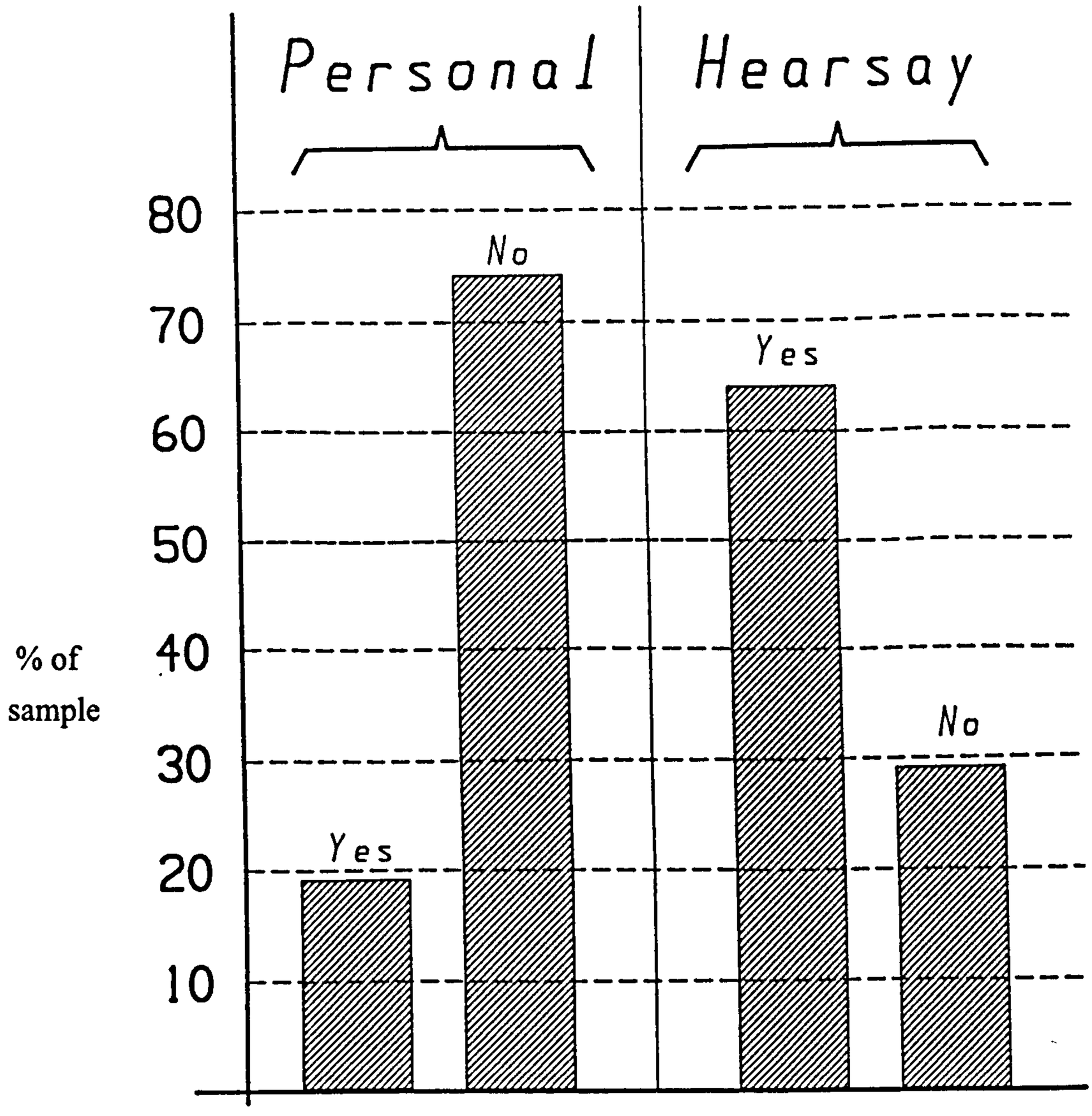


Fig 7.6 Respondents awareness of physical racial abuse

However, on paper physical racist abuse among African/Caribbean respondents seems not to be as wide spread as racist verbal abuse nor does it seem to be as frequent and as openly vicious as attacks in England where African/Caribbeans can be attacked walking the streets or stabbed to death just waiting at the bus stop as was the teenager David Lawrence in 1993 (*The Voice* 2 May 1995). In the questionnaire survey 17% of respondents indicated that they had experienced physical violence in Scotland (see Figs.7.1 and 7.6).

African/Caribbean males in Scotland, as in England, seem to be predominantly on the receiving end of physical attacks and are more prone to attacks than African/Caribbean women. Attacks generally seem to be unprovoked, as one respondent noted "he was attacked for no reason at all". Respondents received various forms of physical abuse. One respondent received a fractured jaw, another had a broken bottle stuck into his leg and another had stones thrown at him. Women who indicated they experienced racist physical abuse cited incidents such as being spat upon, slapped in the face by strangers, attacked while walking at night. One female respondent claimed that she was struck with a chain when she complained about the frequent racist attacks she and her family were experiencing on the council estate where they live. Another female stated that she was physically abused in her own neighbourhood. The racism she experienced forced her to leave the area.

The types of racist physical abuse experienced by African/Caribbeans in Scotland are not very different from those experienced by African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities in England as the study undertaken for the Home Office on *Multiple Victimisation: Racial attacks on an East London Estate* have shown (Sampson and Phillips 1992 :7-8). Although most people of African/Caribbean origin and descent living in Scotland try to avoid racist physically abuse, they are aware of the racist incidents occurring in Scotland. 64% of respondents indicated that they are aware of racist physical abuse to other African/ Caribbean people in Scotland and provided examples ranging from the murder of Ahmed Sheik in the Cowgate of Edinburgh in January 1989 to individuals being attacked in pubs, stabbings in Leith and Wester Hailes, attack in Rosyth, objects being thrown into homes, cars damaged with racist writings scrawled upon them. One respondent stated that he was "beaten up and told to go to England" another was "beaten and told not to go into a certain area again". Some pubs in Scotland, like some in England, seem to be social places where African/ Caribbean people can expect to be made unwelcome or to be attacked by individuals objecting to their presence. Even though signs are not put up in Scotland saying "no blacks", there seems to be an unwritten law similar to that which once existed in England in the 1950s and 1960s when migrants from the Caribbean came to Britain. In fact it was at a pub in the Cowgate, Edinburgh from which the African student, Ahmed Sheik, was chased and fatally stabbed.

The kinds of physical abuse African/Caribbean respondents noted are similar to that experienced by other black minorities in Scotland and indicate that the small population size of African/Caribbeans in Scotland is no deterrent for racist physical abuse.

However denial, underreporting as noted by SEMRU (1987), Home Office (1989), Bowes et al (1990) and *Edinburgh Evening News* (6 December 1990) together with evasive measures taken by African/Caribbeans (and other ethnic minorities) to avoid unpleasant incidents may account for the problem not being taken seriously or widely publicised. The type of physical racist abuse African/Caribbeans experience seem to bring out the antipathy or hatred of the "other" with which historical Scottish individuals such as Robert Knox (1850) and Thomas Carlyle (1849, 1853) played about with in their writings and in contemporary times is expressed in the feelings of the title *I just hate 'em, that's all* (Carey 1985). Most importantly the experiences of African/Caribbean respondents provide evidence that racist physical abuse occurs in Scotland and lends support to the developing debate that racism far from being a marginal concern, is widely pervasive in Scotland. The chapter now goes on to examine institutional racism in employment and housing.

7.6 RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN INSTITUTIONS AND MARKETS

7.6.1 EMPLOYMENT

Discrimination in employment in Britain, meaning England, has been well documented (Smith 1977; Brown 1984; Daniels 1968; Rose 1968). Smith (1977) concentrated on England and Wales as as "only negligible numbers" (p.4) of ethnic minorities lived in Scotland. Although Brown's most influential study is titled *Black and White Britain*, Scotland has been left out. As a result problem of racism in employment in Scotland was never officially researched in the documents that have most influenced the policy agenda. Even today the question of racism in employment is not a high priority in the developing Scottish discourse on racism. Nevertheless racism in employment is an important issue in the African/Caribbean and other ethnic minority communities in Scotland. Racism in employment becomes overshadowed and remains invisible by the immediate issues of racist physical harassment and verbal abuse (and possibly also because of evasive action by official bodies to take a sensitive issue on board). Under "Job worry" the employment situation of Scotland's ethnic minority population was highlighted by *The Scotsman.* The report announced that "highly qualified Blacks and Asians in Scotland are almost twice as likely to be unemployed, according to figures released by the GMB union" (*The Scotsman* 7 September 1993). The 1991 census also validates the high unemployment rates among ethnic minorities in Scotland with men and women more likely than white people to be unemployed or in part-time employment (Scottish Homes 1993:15). The 1991 census figures show a 6.23 % unemployment rate for the whole of Scotland with an African/Caribbean

unemployment rate of 9.14 percent and Asian of 8.05 percent. This contrast in unemployment is even greater for the Strathclyde Region where a disproportionate number of ethnic minorities live. The total unemployment for Strathclyde is 7.79 % while for Asians it is 10.44 percent and African/Caribbeans it is 10.47. The figures on the whole should give cause for concern in an ethnic minority population of 63,000 (1991 census). While these high rates of unemployment are not necessarily wholly attributed to racism there is the possibility that racism is one of the causes for the disproportionately high unemployment among African/Caribbeans. This has certainly been true in England (Hill 1965; Daniels 1968; Smith 1977; Brown 1984).

In the questionnaire survey 43% of respondents indicated that they experienced discrimination when applying for jobs. This is in agreement with the PEP research undertaken of 1966-7 in which 40% of Asian and West Indian claimed their refusal of a a job was purely because of their race (Smith 1977:101). While African/Caribbean respondents in this research were clear about verbal and physical abuse, they were less certain on discrimination in obtaining employment. This is something which is also evident when employment issues are discussed in groups, or at consultation meetings, there is the frustration of not being able to prove that racism occurred. It is difficult to accuse anyone of being racist even though it is obvious that it is racism which sometimes prevents individuals from getting a job. Since racial discrimination in recruitment has been found to be prevalent in England (Daniel 1968; Smith 1977; Brown 1984), there is every reason to believe that racism does occur in job recruitment in Scotland with a similar tradition of racist thoughts as England and ideas of race based on the notion of racial and cultural superiority.

Rejection of employment on racial grounds is difficult to prove especially when there is high unemployment as it is in Scotland with an unemployment rate of 6.23% (1991 Census). Acts of racial discrimination can always be sheltered under the umbrella of national unemployment. However, the high unemployment rate (9.14% of African/ Caribbeans in the 1991 census) gives some credence to African/Caribbean grievances about discrimination in employment In addition, some respondents were adamant that they knew that they were being discriminated against and gave examples of "discourteous behaviour by interviewers". Respondents noted "that the interviewers appeared excessively friendly in a shallow way" or " being asked irrelevant questions" or told that "the job has been filled and it then reappears in the paper". One respondent was told at an interview that "many from this country are unemployed". Another respondent

claimed if he applies in his traditional African name he gets no interviews but when he applies in his father's English name he is called and interviewers are surprised to see that he is black. Informal discussions suggests racial discrimination at interviews and some interviewees have been known to walk out of interviews because of the patronising and racist manner of interviewers. African/Caribbeans in Scotland, unlike many of their counterparts in England, did not come as a replacement work force, many came to study and later got jobs or stayed because of marriage, (Chapter 5). They have had to compete directly with white workers for most jobs. However, at the lower end of the employment scale in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs such as auxiliary nursing, care assistants and cleaners, African/Caribbeans do not compete but take jobs with unsociable hours or jobs that the white working class are not really interested in. At the working class level African/Caribbeans employment pattern in Scotland differs little from the English experience and confirms Peach's argument that African/Caribbeans fill jobs that would not necessarily attract white labour.

Being qualified is no guarantee that an African/Caribbean individual will get a job or one suited to experience and qualification. Discriminatory practices are evident with colour and qualification as Daniels (1968) and Smith (1977) found for the English situation. One respondent with a degree in Brewing and Microbiology stated that when he applied for a job with a brewery he was offered a labourers job. The individual now works in a recreational facility as an attendant. Another respondent who is a well qualified and experienced banker stated that she was turned down by Scottish banks because "African experiences do not count". She has had to retrain to become an accountant (overseas experience works against many African/Caribbean job hunters in Scotland and even for British Overseas development jobs which require such experience). Banks, in particular ,have been noted for their reluctance to employ ethnic minorities. Another respondent was the only one to state emphatically that he was not promoted because he was "black". Racial superiority/inferiority which has a historical development in Scotland with figures David Hume, George Combe, Thomas Carlyle and Robert Knox (Chapter 4) continues to play an important part in the relationship between African/Caribbeans and the majority society and access to scarce resources. Thus even though individuals might have the experience and qualification for the job, skin colour is usually a great disadvantage.

Of all the occupations medical doctors, university lecturers and research scientists seem to experience little or no racism. This, however, could be a denial of the presence of racism by some African/Caribbean professionals. Some middle class African/Caribbeans

in Scotland try to deny, and delude themselves of, the presence of racism even though they know that it exists. For example one black professional (Buppie) indirectly implied that his status and flashy car placed him above racism "No it does not happen to me, but I know of other people it has happened to!", shifting the responsibility elsewhere. Thus the denial of racism in Scotland can be a two way process with both white as well as black denying its existence. Clark (1965) also found this denial among African-Americans. He stated that "a common fantasy is to deny one's own identification with the racial dilemmas: I have no racial problem" (p.226). The responses of African/Caribbean respondents in Scotland seem to concur with the results of other studies of a black minority in a white majority society (Pettigrew 1964) where some black people did not want to feel that their problems all stem from racism. Others felt their problems in white society had nothing to do with being black, thus dismissing all considerations of racism but in so doing contributing to the issue of racism remaining iinvisible in Scotland. Fear, as well as acceptance of the situation over time seemed to have also been contributing factors in some people not accepting the presence of racism.. Others, as stated above, maybe sometime through arrogance, felt that as black professionals racism was beyond them. This belief was attacked by a black University lecturer in reply to a black journalist who wrote that black people complained too much about racism. Nwketo Simmonds argued that "black successes cannot be solely based on the phrase we commonly hear from the upward looking, I have never experienced racism." He stated that "many of these people allow their middle classness to blind them from the realities of racism" (*The Guardian* 27 August 1992). This attitude was also present among some African/ Caribbeans in Scotland.

Those respondents who were uncertain about discrimination in obtaining employment were more sure about racism hindering their path up the job ladder. The following quotes are illustrative: "Promotion takes a long time to come by even if the black person is more qualified"; "applied for promotion but a white with same qualification, less experience was taken". Complained to my boss who said African experience was not very relevant and yet they ask for my advice many times"; "harassment and job discrimination"; "not offerred a job that had been offered to a white colleague"; "said I was too old"; " in the work place less pay/ no rise above a certain level" ; "less qualified doing the same job and no promotion offered". African/Caribbean males seem to experience difficulties with promotion with highly qualified and experienced individuals being passed over time and again. A chemist stated that he has been passed over repeatedly for promotion. A pharmacist was emphatic that he was not being promoted because he was black. Another respondent simply stated that it was "obvious" that racism prevented

him from obtaining promotion. Nurses in Scotland, as in England, seem to experience serious racism when it comes to promotion. Many nurses in the sample possess the SRN qualification obtained in Scotland but some have left their jobs to seek other occupations. Respondents complained of younger qualified nurses with less experience being promoted in front of them. Male nurses seem to be worse off and one has had to leave the profession to retrain for another occupation.

The 39% of respondents who felt that racism prevented them from obtaining promotion cited examples of younger, less qualified and less experienced individuals being promoted before them. Jealousy, fear of outsiders and foreigners were also given as reasons. The experience of African/Caribbean respondents is similar to that reported in studies undertaken in England (Hill 1965; Daniels 1968) and suggest that racism exists in job promotion in Scotland even taking into account Scotland's high unemployment situation . Although little or no research has been undertaken on racism in employment in Scotland, the limited evidence available such as the individual experiences cited (*The Scotsman* January 1989; Bell 1992) and the reported hearings from industrial tribunals in Scotland (*Race and Housing News* June 1994; *Race and Housing News* August 1994) together with the experiences of African/Caribbean respondents in this research suggest that racism does occur in employment in Scotland. However, racism in employment is overshadowed by issues of racial harassment (Miles and Muirhead 1986; Dunwoodie 1989; Bell 1992) and racism in housing (CRE 1990; Bowes, McCluskey and Sims 1990). Racism against African/Caribbeans not being able to achieve promotion is difficult to prove because of high unemployment in Scotland as well as the lack of promotion for many in the majority society. These reasons will always make it difficult to make a case against racism hindering promotion. However, racism is a factor which should be considered in African/Caribbeans not being able to obtain promotion. Even though more evidence from a large scale and more representative survey such as the controlled experiments undertaken by Smith (1977) is needed to determine whether or not racism occurs in employment in Scotland, the experiences of African/Caribbean respondents in employment in Scotland are indicative of a problem and are in agreement with findings undertaken in England (Bagley 1970), Hill (1965), Daniels (1968). The experiences of African/Caribbean respondents also confirm "that the better educated and more acculturated the coloured person, the more likely he is to experience discrimination" (Richmond 1973:4). Speaking from personal knowledge of the community, many African/Caribbean individuals have had to retrain, while others work in jobs below their qualifications. Some have become self-employed. 18 respondents in the sample were self-employed.

Others have had to take unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Thus even with comparable educational qualifications to whites, many African/Caribbeans in Scotland do not have the same occupational opportunities. However African/Caribbeans in Scotland, do seem to have and enjoy a better overall standard of living than do African/Caribbeans in England.

African/Caribbeans in Scotland are rarely promoted to managerial jobs. Only one respondent was a manager. Respondents cited examples such as "indirect blockage", "petty rules to prevent African/Caribbeans from participating in management", "lack of information on courses on management". One African/Caribbean individual was also told that even though he was the best qualified and experienced candidate for the job he could not get it because it involves supervising whites and not many would take kindly to being supervised by a black. Racism based on historical ideas about " race" seems to be the underlying reasons for preventing African/Caribbean from obtaining senior or managerial jobs with Scots unconsciously drawing upon notions from past racist ideologies of African inferiority/European superiority (Chapter 4). However no male respondent indicated a wish or desire to challenge these racist practices. This might be because they are the breadwinners and do not want to jeopardise their employment (in an already highly competitive market) and being blocked from jobs elsewhere, since their reason for leaving would be given by the former employer. One respondent stated that for this reason she decided against a tribunal even though racism was obvious.The reluctance of African/Caribbeans to report, and take, action against racism in employment also assists in perpetuating its invisibility. With little or no experiences reported, it gives the impression that racism in employment in Scotland is not a cause for serious concern. Females though seemed more ready to challenge racism at an industrial tribunal or at the Race Equality Board. The racist experiences of African/Caribbeans in employment in Scotland, together with individual examples of other visible minorities in obtaining promotion (Bell 1992); (Race and Housing News June 1994); (Race and Housing August 1994) suggest that racism based on skin colour is part and parcel of their life in Scotland. The situation shows much more similarities than differences with the English situation even though Scotland is perceived as a different country with a professed egalitarian myth (McCrone 1992:88).

Some differences do exist in employment. In England African/Caribbeans are able to obtain local government and other mainstream jobs and some individuals are promoted to managerial positions. In Scotland African/Caribbeans and other 'ethnic minorities' are increasingly being forced to compete against each other for limited jobs in the

'race'industry' as employment opportunities elsewhere, mainstream, are being denied them. This argument is supported by the then Chairman of Lothian Racial Equality Council, Moussa Jogee who noted that "Edinburgh is a major financial centre but banks, building societies, and other financial institutions are 'no go' areas as far as black employment is concerned" (*The Scotsman* 15 November 1989). Another major employer in Scotland, Scottish Homes, admitted its weaknesses in having only "three staff from ethnic minority groupings out of a total staff of about 1300" (HEAU 1993) . The difficulties experienced by ethnic minorities in obtaining employment in Scotland have forced many to be self employed even though for some self employment is a choice. Many Asians and Chinese as well as some African/Caribbeans are self-employed as discussed earlier and evident in the 1991 census.

Jobs with titles such as development worker (ethnic minorities), community education worker (ethnic minorities), Race Relations Officer, Racial Equality Officer, have become the only jobs for which African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities can aspire. Many are dead-end jobs with no promotional prospects or much transferable experience or skill. Openings for them occur only when the holder quits because of the physical or mental exhaustion of these emotionally charged jobs. These peripheral jobs are created to deal with the racial disadvantage that African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minority groups face in society. As a result there is a gradual 'ghettoisation' of jobs for black people.

It is difficult for ethnic minorities, in general, and African-Caribbeans, in particular, to obtain main-stream employment even with major employers who claim to be an "equal opportunities employer" or "striving to be an equal opportunity employer" and "do not discriminate according to race, creed, age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic origin". In England, Equal Opportunities policies work to a certain extent but in Scotland lip service is paid to these policies. Some employers have had these policies in operation for many years yet fail to employ or expand, on their numbers, or sometimes even to admit African/Caribbeans or other ethnic minorities to their work force. In fact the prevailing view is that "ethnic monitoring" on job application forms is being used by firms to weed out black applicants. Racism in employment seems to be the most effective Scottish way whether deliberate or otherwise of keeping the numbers of ethnic minorities small in Scotland even for those who were born here. With limited job opportunities or promotional prospects African/Caribbeans are forced to move to England or to migrate overseas. Thus even though racism in employment is not a big issue in Scotland the experience of African/Caribbean respondents described above

together with the fact that ethnic minorities in general are more likely than whites to be unemployed (Census 1991) suggest that racism occurs.

Thus it can be concluded that even though no comprehensive survey exists for racism in employment in Scotland various observational indicators attest to its presence. These include high number of disadvantaged African/Caribbean and other ethnic minority job seekers in Scotland, the inability to obtain promotion, high levels of self-employment and the high dependence on catering, corner shops which take a battering from hypermarkets and the recession; music and art businesses. Particular pointers are the high numbers of African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities competing for limited jobs in the race industry as well as the fact that some main stream equal opportunities employers have little or no workers from the ethnic minority communities. These all point to racism in employment. Employment, or rather the unemployment, of ethnic minorities is a recurring theme on the agenda of the Ethnic Minority Consultative Forum of Edinburgh District Council. Evidence, above, from this research also suggests that racism occurs in employment. However, to validate the fact that racism occurs in employment in Scotland future research with a more representative sample of ethnic minorities is urgently needed. Research on racism in employment among Scotland's visible minorities should throw more light on this unexplored aspect of racism in Scotland. The chapter now continues by examining racism in housing.

7.6.2 HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

Racist verbal and physical abuse are obvious but institutional racisthe border is still pervasive. This is evidence in the housing, as in employment, cannot be easily detected. In Scotland racism has been identified in local authority housing (Bell 1992:32) as well as in the private rental sector (CRE 1990). Research undertaken in England over the years have identified three processes operating to produce racial inequalities in housing. Ginsburg (1992) identifies these as:

> 1. Overt racial prejudice and discrimination by key individuals. These 'person to person' forms are described as subject racism.
> 2. Policy and administrative processes in local housing agencies, local authority housing departments, building societies and estate agents which have resulted in adverse treatment of black people compared to white people. These are described as institutional racism.
> 3. Immigration and housing policies, the structure and workings of the labour market, race and class and gender (Ginsburg 1992: 109).

Research on housing in Scotland (Dalton and Daghlian 1989; Bowes et al.,1990; Scottish Office 1991; Scottish Homes 1993) suggest that racial inequalities exist. In light of this knowledge the African/Caribbean experience in housing was analysed using the above forms of racism as a reference point. Responses from the questionnaire indicate that some aspects are more pronounced than others. Many respondents (66%) are owner occupiers (Chapter 5) and only 9 respondents claimed to have experienced racism in the housing market. 10 respondents indicated that racism prevented them from obtaining suitable rental housing accommodation while 14% could not tell if racism occurred, validating the view that racism in the housing market is not easy to detect. It should be noted when analysing the response that many African/Caribbean women are married to white men. One respondent noted that this made it easier for her to obtain her own house and avoid racism.

Tests for racism in the private sector carried out by the CRE (1990) showed that some landlords discriminated against ethnic minorities. In *Sorry It's Gone* (CRE 1990) a discrimination rate of 20% was found in the private rented sector in Edinburgh. Of the 15 respondents indicating residence in private rented accommodation only 3 respondents (20%) complained about discrimination in line with the CRE figures, allowing for the smallness of the sample. The discrimination they experienced seemed no different from that experienced by African/Caribbeans in England. One respondent complained of being turned down several times even though the house remained in the newspaper. Another respondent making enquiries on the phone was accepted when his accent was believed to be French. When the error was corrected and he stated that he was African the vacancy disappeared. To avoid these unpleasant situations some African/Caribbeans try to rent from long established African/Caribbean residents whose children have grown up and in most cases have migrated to England to seek employment. This may be a reason why racism in the private sector as indicated in the sample is low. One respondent noted that "we are all black" in the house. From personal knowledge I am aware that some African/Caribbean individuals rent from absentee African/Caribbean landlords, some of whom bought their homes when they were students in Scotland in the 1960s and have rented them out to overseas students ever since. The process occurring among African/Caribbeans in Scotland supports Smith's (1977) view that "people who enter into relations with each other as landlords and tenants tend very strongly to belong to the same ethnic group" (p.134). However, even though this option available to African/Caribbean (and other ethnic minorities) may be devoid of racism it creates a split market which reduces the rental options of ethnic minorities and pushes their rent up relative to white renters.

Racism in housing takes other forms. Two incidents have been known where the sellers have been forced to reduce their house prices way below the selling price but in the present slump in house sales this may not be considered significant. How wide spread this experience is, nevetheless, would be difficult to determine as 30% of respondents indicated that have never sold their homes, some living in the same house for many years. Only 4 respondents indicated that they experienced racism when selling a house. 32 respondents indicated they they did not experience racism while 4 stated that it was difficult to tell. Those who experienced racism claimed that "viewers were put off when a black person is in the house", another that "viewers came and walked out without seeing the house", another respondent just stated in general terms a "racial attitude when people came to view". One respondent stated that "his property attracted viewers but their attitude changed once they became aware of the owner". It is difficult to say with certainty the reasons behind this reaction by whites to purchasing a house once lived in by African/Caribbeans but historical beliefs of racial inferiority as well as the longstanding notion of associating the colour black with dirtiness may be underlying reasons. The idea of uncleanliness and of African people having to be washed as "white as snow" perpetuated by missionaries (Lorimer 1978: 77) might also be an unconscious reason as historical ideas of African uncleanliness still persists up to the present day.

The small size of African/Caribbean community (as well as other minorities) in Scotland means that houses for sale invariably have to be resold to a white buyer unlike the situation in England where the buyer would often be black or from another ethnic minority group. Although the numbers complaining of racism were small on the questionnaire, the informal 'African/Caribbean grape vine' indicated that subjective racism in housing does occur in Scotland. The experiences described above by the four respondents when trying to sell a house may play a part in some staying put. Once established in an area some African/Caribbeans may be reluctant to move to start all over again. Moving from house to house with improvement of socio-economic status is, moreover, not the customary practice of Africans or Afro-Caribbeans. Many (in their country of birth) preferred take modern additions to their old homes or to build grand houses on the same plot of land. However, this reluctance to move is possibly an indication that racism does exist in the Scottish private housing market and staying put is the African/Caribbean way of avoiding it. Since some of the older respondents have owned their homes for many years (eleven being outright owners) and have become established in society, not many were prepared to return to the periods when they actually

bought their homes. Some respondents did indicate racism in earlier years.

The Scottish house purchasing system which is based on "blind" bidding and is binding once an offer is accepted can work against racism as an acceptance cannot be withdrawn unlike the English system where a house purchase can be refused up to the exchange of contracts. For example, when buying our house in Scotland my husband did all the transactions. It was only when the bid had gone through was I presented to the solicitor. His dismay was not hidden. Other African/Caribbean women married to white men have also acknowledged that their experiences of racism when buying a house were less because their husbands were white. Despite the "blind" bidding of the Scottish housing system there is a feeling that African/Caribbeans are still at a disadvantage typified by one respondent who noted that "racism might not prevent you from getting the house, you will get it, but at a higher price". The research is unable to validate this statement.

Studies (Philips 1987; CRE 1984) on public sector housing in England have shown that racism occurs. In Scotland racism seems to occur in council house allocation even though it may be less pronounced than that which occurred in Liverpool (CRE 1984a) and in Hackney (CRE 1984b). Since only 11 of the respondents live on Scottish council estates it is difficult to assess the real situation. However available research (Bowes et al., 1989); together with informal discussions with African/Caribbean individuals as well as the spoken words from ethnic minority consultative forums, suggest that the points allocation system is vulnerable to bias as points are allocated on the basis of "a local connection" (Bell 1992:32) which can rule out ethnic minorities.

Female Council tenants, from the survey, seem to experience problems in housing allocation, in particular single women separated or divorced from their husbands. Some complained of not being given a choice, one respondent stated that after a span of ten years she was not given her choice while white families with a shorter residency are moved into better accommodation. One Afro-Scot protested about being put on a council estate where there is known to be serious racism. She was told to take the house or none at all. Her life and her family's life have since been a misery with verbal as well as physical racist attacks. Another female respondent stated that housing was only provided in apartment areas for African/Caribbeans and again it was a take it or leave it situation. These few examples indicate that it is possible that racism exist in housing allocation in Scotland. However, at a housing allocation meeting of the Edinburgh District council Ethnic Minority Consultative Forum, which I attended, one of the housing officers

assured the different minority ethnic groups present that housing officers do not discriminate against black council tenants. The problems that African/Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities experienced in housing allocation were placed firmly on the shortage of council housing created by the Government's "right to buy policy". This has meant that the only housing available to black minorities are the less salubrious council estates on the periphery of the city where racism is known to exist. These estates are the only ones from which keys are handed back. Inner city council houses with gardens are difficult to get onto as tenants rarely vacate and these are the houses that are bought in the 'right to buy' scheme. However it can be argued that with the bias built into the allocation system there is no need to discriminate. The point is why African/Caribbeans who have been in Scotland as long as many of the white tenants do not get these houses in the first place.

When racism experienced where you live was examined, 45% of African/Caribbean council tenants claimed that they experienced racism in comparison with 33% of housing association tenants and 27% of owner occupiers. Council tenants seem to experience most racism where they live. Research commissioned by Scottish Homes indicated that the "strongest reports of such incidents (racial harassment and abuse) came from those living on council estates" (Scottish Homes 1993:18). Several cases involving residents, students and refugees were brought to my attention when I worked as a community education worker. Unsuspecting African/Caribbean foreign students who obtained cheap accommodation on council estates on their arrival, have had to flee within a short space of time because of racism. For example, an Ethiopian post-graduate student of the University of Edinburgh, and his family, living on a council estate had his car wind screen smashed and tyres slashed repeatedly. Most nights he spent awake to protect his family.

African refugees who are provided with accommodation on council estates also experience racism. One refugee had a dog set upon him while he walked down the street. Another had a gun pointed at him and his family was subjected to racism. A female refugee apologised for not filling in my questionnaire because at the time it came she was almost going off her head because of the racism she and her family were experiencing. The family has since been rehoused. Some African refugees, like the Vietnamese "boat people", (Pendreigh 1993 *The Scotsman*) rapidly move to England where racism is more open and where jobs opportunities are perceived to be better for black minorities. Other African/Caribbeans residents living on high rise council estates have had eggs or milk bottles throw on them from upper floors and experience racist

verbal abuse. Since many African/Caribbean families do not live within close proximity of each other on council estates as they do in England the support network is absent on Scottish council estates. These experience of African/Caribbeans on Scottish council estates seem no diff erent from the experiences of their counterpart in England on some council estates.

It seems that most of the racism which occurs where people live takes place on council estates which are working class in status. This is not to say that racism does not occur in middle class housing areas. Here it is covert and subtle and might be reflected in neighbours not acknowledging the presence of African/Caribbeans. However most African/Caribbean respondents seem to have a fairly good relationship, even though it might be superficial, with their white neighbours. Those who experience racism where they live described incidents such as: "banana skin being thrown from cars"; "being excluded from street parties" ; "derogatory remarks"; "windows broken"; "things thrown into garden"; "little notes sent and comments made"; " cold stares"; "snubbing"; "children being verbally abused"; "spat upon"; " sales representatives always asking to speak to the owner of the house". Again these experiences are not very different from the widely known English experience. Thus the experience of respondents contributes evidence in support of the already established view that racism in housing occurs in Scotland from the perspective of another ethnic minority group. Together with other research undertaken they show that racism occurs in several spheres of housing in Scotland.

7.7 ATTITUDES

Despite serious racism in employment, some racial disadvantage in housing and the experiences of verbal and physical abuse African/Caribbean respondents did not find the attitude of the majority of white people in Scotland towards them to be racist (see Fig.7.7). Only 4 respondents found white people's attitude to be openly racist. 50% found the attitude to be variable so presumably those who were polite one day might be either racist, indifferent or paid scant attention the next. Alternatively attitudes could also vary from person to person indicative of the diversity of reactions within Scottish society.

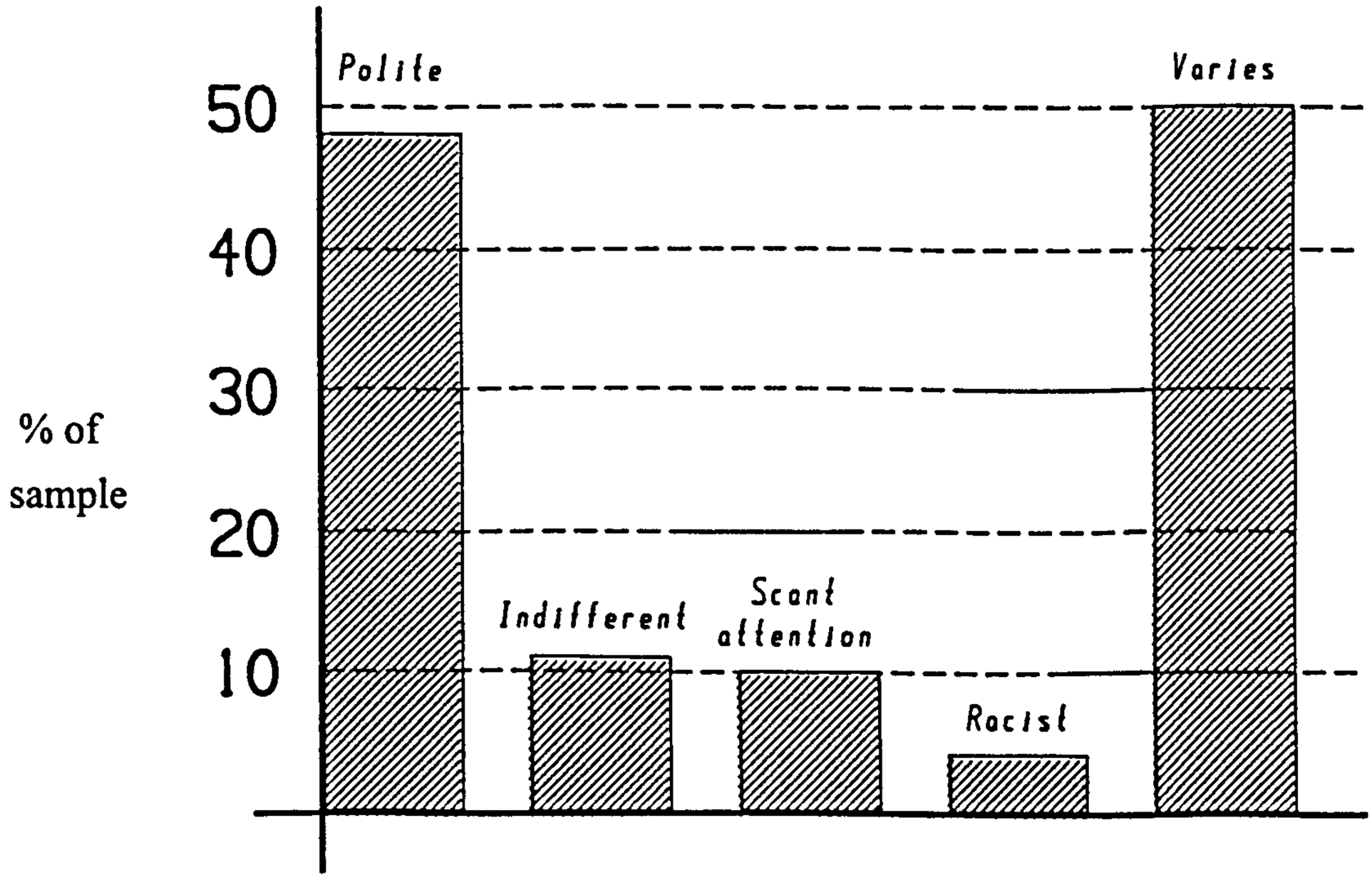


Fig 7.7 Perceived attitudes of majority population

However social interaction on a day to day basis at the work place or in public does sometimes result in subtle or covert forms of racism. It is the form of racism which is not spoken, it is silent and needs only action or body language sometimes to convey its meaning or its racist intent. If it is challenged as it sometimes is, the individual is invariably told "you are sensitive or you have a chip on your shoulder". Patterson (1963 :72-73) in her study of Afro-Caribbeans in Brixton examined this " chip-on-the shoulder attitude" but saw it as a product of the West Indian (Afro-Caribbean) home experience rather than a direct experience of Britain and the British. Both African and Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland acknowledged that covert and subtle forms of racism exist. In order to quantify this behaviour and prove or disprove "the chip on the shoulder hypothesis" respondents were asked about several aspects of subtle racism, namely:

(a) Slights in the work place
(b) When you are in white company they talk to each other as though you don't exist
(c) Being glared at menacingly when you enter a pub.
(d) The vacant seat next to you on the bus or train is last to be taken

(e) Your cheque card is subjected to very long scrutiny in banks or supermarkets

(f) Whites talk to you in private but ignore you in public

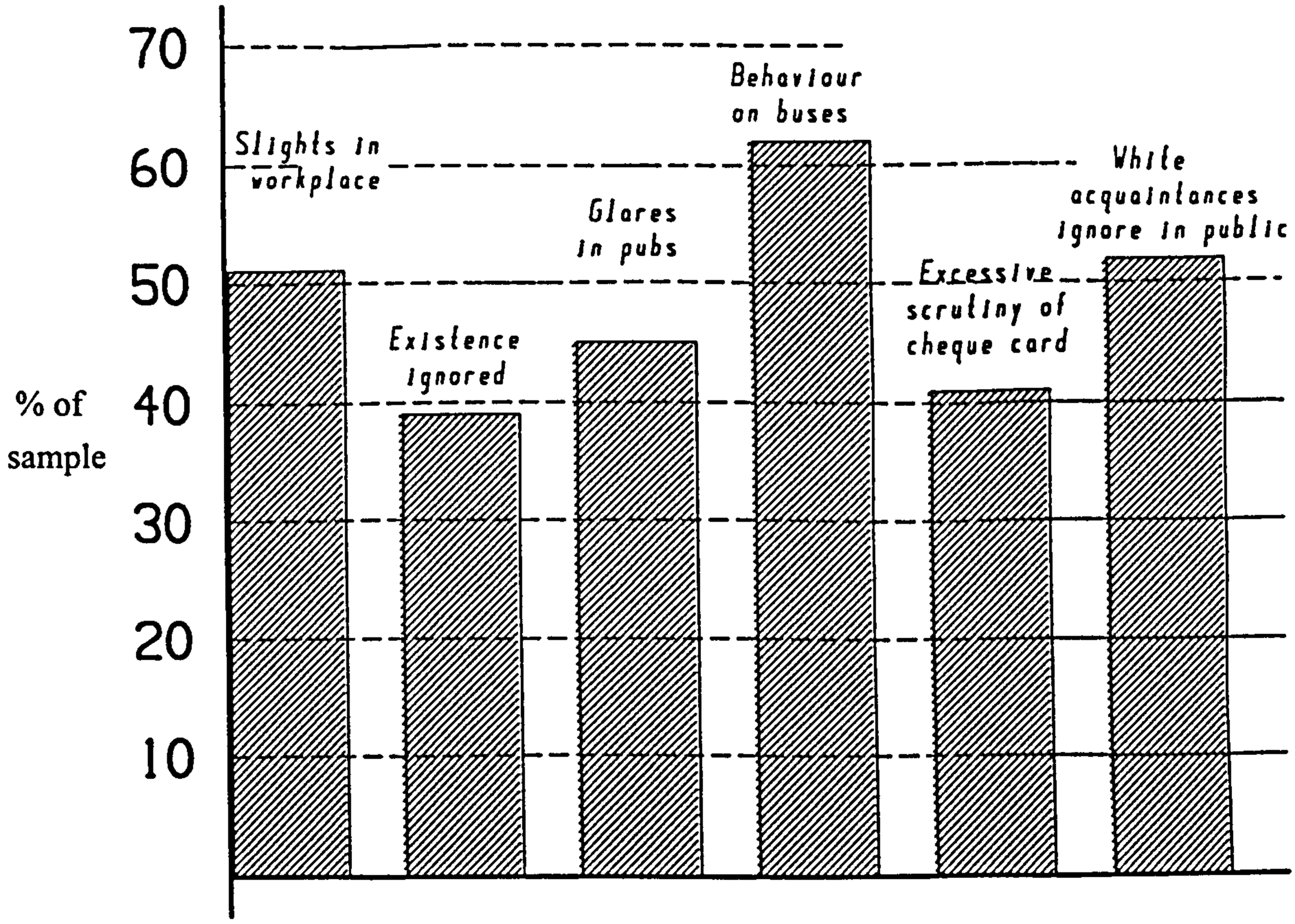


Fig 7.8 Perceived manifestations of covert racism - 1

Respondents were asked of their experiences of the above. The responses shown in Fig. 7.8 indicate very high perception of these aspects of covert racism, especially when it is remembered that not all respondents visit pubs or carry cheque cards. Commenting on the cheque card item, it was stated that this goes much further especially in departmental stores where they are humiliated by store guards walking behind them because they assume that the African/Caribbean individual is more likely to steal. The fact that so many people experience these situations may indicate that they do occur and should not be dismissed as a figment of African/Caribbeans' imagination or simply as a "chip on the shoulder" attitude of African people in general.

As a further test Figure 7.9 was re-plotted with the extremes removed i.e those respondents who said that these incidents happened "all the time" and those who said such incidents happened "once".

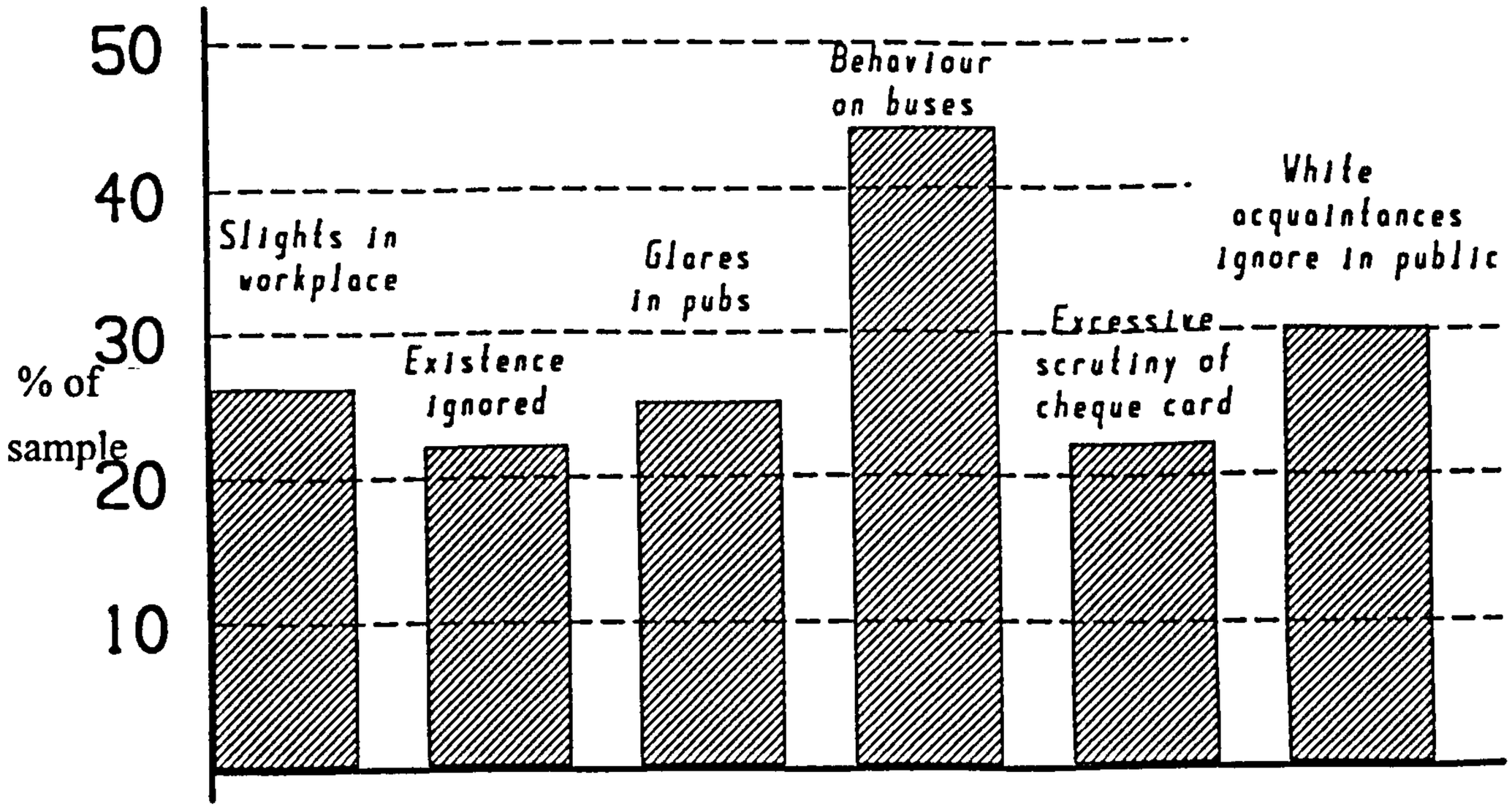


Fig 7.9 Perceived manifestations of covert racism - 2

The idea of this was to remove those who might be described as having "a chip on the shoulder" and those who might have "misunderstood". Reported levels still remained relatively high in the 20-40 % band and this suggests strongly that covert racism does exist and is not the result of "West Indian attitudes" (Africans reported these manifestations in similar proportion to Caribbeans).

7.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter on the study of contemporary racism in Scotland confirms that racism exists in several facets of life for African/Caribbeans with skin colour together with notions of social and cultural inferiority being the principal determinant of discrimination. Even though it is difficult to prove that racial discrimination and prejudice have occurred, racism is clearly part and parcel of African/Caribbean people's experiences of life in Scotland. Research findings in this chapter show that racism experienced by African/ Caribbeans in Scotland has been both personal and institutional, private and active, with verbal and physical abuse and discrimination in employment stretching back to the early part of the 20th century (Jenkinson 1987; Sherwood 1985). These experiences, like the people remain invisible as discourse on racism in Scotland is concerned with the 'majority' minority (Miles 1982a; Miles and Muirhead 1986; Miles and Dunlop 1987;

Bowes et al 1990).

The small population size together with the belief that African/Caribbeans are transients in Scotland has meant that their experiences of racism are not taken into consideration as the numbers game together with the British surnames of some African/ Caribbeans precludes them from most research projects (Glasgow District Council 1989; Scottish Office 1991; Glasgow City Council 1993). These all contribute to invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland. Although notions of biological inferiority which informed European racism from the 18th to the early 20th centuries have largely faded, notions of cultural inferiority are now the driving force behind racial discrimination. Discrimination based on phenotypical characteristics and cultural inferiority forms part of the consciousness in white Scottish society and results in African/Caribbean people being racially harassed indiscriminately. Verbal and physical abuse against African/Caribbean people demonstrates the antipathy of some individuals in white Scottish society. Discrimination occurs in other spheres of life for African/Caribbeans in Scotland. In employment it is particularly noticeable for the professional and white collar workers as they are thwarted from obtaining jobs suited to their level of qualification and from promotion particularly to managerial posts. Beliefs of racial and cultural inferiority developed and perpetuated in the18th and 19th centuries by influential Scots still operate in contemporary Scotland.

Although it is difficult to prove that African/Caribbeans are discriminated against in the housing market, when trying to purchase a house, it seems that some racism can be experienced when trying to sell a house. Thirty two respondents, as indicated earlier, stated that they have not experienced racism which suggests that in the specific instance of selling houses there is less racism in operation to disadvantage African/Caribbeans. It may well indicate that the experiences in selling houses vary from individual to individual within the society with the result that some can be more fortunate than others. Though only 4 respondents claimed to have experienced racism this should not be discounted. My personal experience of the real life situation suggests that there is some tendency to deny or underestimate the effects of racism here. While it is acceptable for many individuals to admit to known forms of racism such as verbal abuse, it is demeaning to have to admit to the fact that even though highly educated with middle class professional occupation 'skin colour' is an important limiting factor in their life. Hence some may be denying racism here because of the humiliation attached to it. Notions of cultural inferiority together with the historical association of black with dirt , uncleanliness or even evil seem to be some of the

the underlying reasons for the unwillingness by some white people to purchase a house once lived in by African/Caribbeans. The age old association of black with dirt and its transposition to African people (McCrone 1937; Hill 1965; Patterson 1965: Lawrence 1974) seems still to be very strong in white majority and white dominated societies. Scotland is probably no exception. In Scotland of the 1990's the need to avoid or not to sit next to a dark skin person on public transport, as discussed in chapter 5.8 and demonstrated in section 7.7 of this Chapter, is so obvious it is embarassing and humiliating. With this attitude of avoidance displayed so openly in public in Scotland it is difficult to believe that some white Scots would be willing to purchase a house once lived in by African/Caribbeans. The account given by the four respondents of the racism experienced while trying to sell a house may well therefore be indicative of a problem which some people can encounter. These private but active types of racism which humiliate the individual are not easy to admit to and at the same time not susceptible of proof thus their presence remains invisible. Again , though not stated, notions of cultural inferiority seem to be one underlying reason why African/ Caribbeans are not able to obtain promotion to managerial posts as some employers do not think it is appropriate for a black person to supervise white employees as reported by Daniels (1968) of the English experience.

Negative images of African people arising from ideas of racial and cultural inferiority underpin the racism meted out to African/Caribbeans in Scotland as in England, other European societies and the United States of America. Since African people are a visible minority who cannot help being seen in an all white society, the only alternative is to ignore and marginalise their presence. In the USA with a huge population of African-Americans this certainly was, and still is, expressed through Ellison's (1952) *Invisible Man* "I am invisible because no one wants to see me" and more recently by the personal experiences of racism by the African-American intellectual Cornel West (1993) *Race Matters*. However, although racism plays the major part in explaining why the African/ Caribbean presence is not acknowledged in Scottish society, it is not the only reason, as it is in the African-American context. In Scotland other factors operating within the community such as size, tenure, residential dispersal, scattered employment in predominantly professional and white collar jobs rather than concentration in low status and peripheral jobs, all play their part in making African/Caribbeans conform more to the patterns of the majority society than to patterns existing in English cities or to the African-American experience. However, being a "visible" minority who cannot help being seen, their presence is simply ignored, because of the underlying prejudices against African people existing

in white Scottish society. Writers on racism in Scotland further perpetuate this invisibility of African/Caribbeans by not acknowledging the racism experienced by them historically or contemporarily, preferring to see racism only in terms of numbers i.e in terms of an Asian, and to a lesser extent a Chinese, context, even though African people were the basis for the development of Scottish racist thoughts and beliefs.

Racism in Scotland is invisible, denied but present. It is a dangerous racism for its ability to be challenged is undermined by the common-sense belief that it does not exist in Scotland. This study in bringing to the fore the racism experienced by African/ Caribbeans in Scotland confirms the idea of a geography of racism (Jackson 1987) as well as a geography of racism of African/Caribbean people in Britain.

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CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSION - FUTURE OF AFROSCOTS

8.0 INTRODUCTION

This concluding Chapter has four sections. The first draws together the research findings and a second discusses the theoretical implications. The third section makes recommendations for policy and the last presents suggestions for future research.

8.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS

This thesis on the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland is the first of its kind to be undertaken. Its primary purpose has been to challenge the popular beliefs that African/ Caribbean people do not live in Scotland, and as a corollary, that racism does not exist in Scotland. The methods used included the collation of evidence from documentary sources, a questionnaire survey, case studies, informal discussions and relation of personal experiences. The data, interpreted in the light of the concept of invisibility, show that racism is an important element in rendering African/Caribbeans invisible in Scotland. The study shows however, that other factors such as the small population size, residential dispersal, high educational attainment and an employment profile (Chapter 5) similar to the wider Scottish society also contribute to the African/ Caribbean presence being invisible. The study led to the following findings.

The research found that a significant community of African/Caribbeans and their descendants live in contemporary Scotland. Length of residency in Scotland suggests a relatively settled population with a continuous history stretching back to at least the early part of the twentieth century with the arrival of sailors and students, the descendants of whom form the oldest Afro- Scottish born residents in Scotland today. Although when the thesis was begun, the African/Caribbean population in Scotland was thought to be very small, it became evident, during the early stages of the research, that there were more African/Caribbeans than was generally thought, many more than previous estimates. This was confirmed by the 1991 census results.

The research demonstrated that African/Caribbeans have had a long historical relationship with Scotland and the Scots, both in Scotland and outwith Scotland. This relationship was particularly evident during the period of the African slave trade. The thesis confirms with original evidence of African slaves being bought, sold and baptised in Scotland, that African slavery existed in Scotland (Chapter 3) just as it did in England and in other parts of Europe. Scots mercantile and landed elite and shipping

interests were integrated into the system of slavery and the slave trade in the Americas (Devine 1984), in the Caribbean (Sheridan 1971) and at home in Scotland. It was this participation of Scots in slavery which resulted in African people being brought to Scotland particularly during the 18th century. The omission of this from Scottish historiography and its inadequate treatment in the general histories of the African presence in Britain has led to the marginalisation of the historical African presence in Scotland. The thesis brings this largely forgotten past of African peoples in Scotland to light and discusses the implication of this collective amnesia.

The evidence presented in the thesis demonstrates that racism also exists in Scotland today (Chapter 7) and even though African/Caribbeans are small in number they are subjected to racism of various types - institutional and personal, as well as to other overt and covert forms similar to those experienced by the proportionally larger African/ Caribbean population in England. The research also showed that racism in Scotland is not a phenomenon which started with the arrival of immigrants in the 1950s. Racist thoughts and beliefs, about African people in particular, have Scottish roots with intellectual backing stretching back to at least the 18th century (chapter 4). The experiences of African/Caribbean people in Scotland suggest that the notion of a relationship between skin colour and racial and cultural inferiority, historically posited and perpetuated by influential Scots, as well as by other Europeans, is a major influence in the racial disadvantages they face in Scottish society. Racism based on skin colour is an important cause of discrimination for African/ Caribbeans in Scotland and supports the conclusion that "the more a person is different in physical characteristics, in his features, in the texture of his hair and in the colour of his skin, the more discrimination he will face" (Daniels 1968:209). African/Caribbeans living in contemporary Scotland are judged using the same stereotypes based on phenotypical characteristics that occur in the wider British society and in European racist discourse and societies.

The study shows that racism in Scotland results in the African/Caribbean community being invisible and ignored, whereas in England racism is about visibility, segregation and marginalisation. Invisibility of African/Caribbeans in Scotland seems to be tied to the notions of racial inferiority/superiority which underlie it and are part and parcel of Scottish consciousness. The study showed that racism against African people does indeed have its Scottish as well as more general roots, although it is denied and wished out of existence in Scotland. It is also evident that African people come off the worst in the unfavourable characteristics attributed to them when compared to other ethnic

minorities as their physical, racial and cultural attributes make them the ultimate "other" with the colonial practice of playing off Africans and Asians very much in evidence.

African people in Britain, generally, are perceived to be of low status because of skin colour related to notions of racial inferiority/superiority (Daniels 1968). In England research has shown African/Caribbean people to be mainly employed in working class occupations with few in professional and white collar employment (Hepple 1968; Smith 1977; Pearson 1981). They are also seen to be residing mainly in inner-city areas concentrated in council housing and/or old owner-occupied terraces and flats. The findings of this thesis provide a different picture of the African/Caribbean situation in Scotland suggesting that African/Caribbeans in Scotland differ from African/ Caribbeans in England in terms of social status, education, employment, housing type and residential patterns (Chapter 5). However this difference in social status is not acknowledged by the host society as a dark skin colour is still tied to imputed low status and inferiority irrespective of educational attainment or professional employment. The educational achievements and employment status of African/Caribbean respondents show that the African/Caribbean community in Scotland has a high proportion of individuals of middle class status. The proportion of respondents possessing degrees, obtained mainly from British universities, suggest that in employment they are more likely to be in white collar work and not "at the bottom of the ladder as unskilled workers "(Patterson 1963: 331). (This is not to say that there are no African/Caribbeans in Scotland in blue collar or unskilled jobs).

The research shows that a high proportion of African/Caribbeans respondents are owner occupiers, a similar situation to that found in England, but one which contrasts with the overall Scottish situation where the public sector housing is large. Few African/Caribbeans are found in housing association properties, although with the possible development of black led housing associations this may change in future. Tenure in council tenancy appears to be rising especially among young Afro-Scots thwarted by the educational system and employment situation. Both owner occupancy and council tenure are accompanied by dispersal. The study indicates that the housing situation of African/Caribbeans in Scotland differs from African/Caribbeans in England where residential concentration in both owner occupancy and council tenancy is the norm. The research shows that a high proportion of African/Caribbeans in Scotland live in flats/tenements like the majority society.

The research found that African/Caribbeans maintain a social life which links their background with that of the majority society. Through socialising in the African/ Caribbean community cultural background and traditions are transmitted. The findings indicate that home parties in which ethnic food is shared form an important aspect of social and cultural life and show that diasporan Africans have retained a certain amount of African cultural tradition. The research further shows that African/Caribbean cultural life in Scotland is more African than Caribbean oriented as in England because of the larger proportion of Africans living here. However, no dominant musical "Afrocentric" sound exists in Scotland. Music is a mixture of African and diasporan African styles.

The reported interaction between African/Caribbean respondents and the wider Scottish society suggests that they are not ostracised spatially or socially from the wider Scottish society as was the case in England (Little 1947; Banton 1954; Richmond 1954; Patterson 1963), and still is to a certain extent, with African/Caribbeans in Wales for example. Interaction takes place not only at the utilitarian levels but socially as well as culturally. The high proportion of African/Caribbean respondents married to white Scots facilitates social interaction with individuals in the majority society. Interaction also occurs at the religious level but this is limited to a certain section of the community. The cultural life of African/Caribbeans suggests that they, like other immigrant people, as demonstrated in (Gans 1962), hold on to aspects of their culture with music, dance and food being the vehicles for cultural transfer as well as for maintenance of cultural identity. Although social interaction takes place their cultural life is something to hold on to , something to cherish. However, the popularity of African/ Caribbean cultural forms, music and dance in particular, in mainstream culture results in their culture being seen as world culture and no association is made with the group. Thus, although invisibility attends the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland, they live in Scotland and have been in contact with Scotland and the Scottish people for at least four centuries (Chapter 3) even though this fact is dismissed and for the most part remains unacknowledged. I now go on to discuss the implications of the findings for wider theory/ understanding of "race" , racism and the significance of place.

8.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The research has various implications for the understanding of "race", racism and the significance of place in social and cultural geography as well as the understanding of

ethnic minorities in Britain generally and in Scotland specifically. Thus it begins by looking at the concept of invisibility used in the thesis. With reference to the latter, the thesis has shown that though other factors are also responsible for the invisibility of African/Caribbeans in Scottish society (Chapter 5), ideas about "race" and racial difference still play an important underlying role. Although skin colour makes an African/Caribbean physically visible in Scottish society, it is the historical and unfavourable perceptions underlying the idea of "race" which create the social invisibility of the African/Caribbean presence, with white society ignoring or refusing to acknowledge that African people and their descendants live in Scotland. Thus African/Caribbean "invisibility" in Scotland is a social construction, not a natural feature.

Invisibility is a valuable concept for understanding the situation of people of African origin or descent in Scotland. Although derived from the African-American experience it is applicable to the Scottish context of African/Caribbeans even though African/Caribbeans in Scotland are not as numerous as African-Americans in America. Invisibility is evident both with respect to the historical and contemporary presence, for although people of African origin or descent have been associated with Scotland and the Scots for over four hundred years, as shown in the thesis, this fact remains invisible to the contemporary society. Likewise the contemporary presence is shrouded by invisibility by perceiving Africa/Caribbean people only as transients, who will go back whence they came. In Britain, the socio-economic position of people of African origin or descent is seen generally as being of low status. In Scotland, however, African/Caribbean people are more likely to be of relatively high socio-economic status. Levels of consciousness operating in Scottish society enable African/Caribbeans to be visualised in the stereotypical way as they are perceived in European racist thoughts as being inferior to whites and thus of low status (and hence marginalised and/or ignored). Scotland is no exception to this view of African people even though not all individuals in the society would subscribe to it. The use of the concept of invisibility enables the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland to be understood. Although they are a visible minority who cannot help being seen as individuals, their collective presence is either ignored or marginalised. Th ough the African/Caribbean presence as students in Scotland is acknowledged the majority society seems unable to come to terms with a permanent presence of African people in Scotland. This presence is made invisible by ignoring it.

The thesis adopts the view that "races" are social constructions and that ideas about

racial difference are useful for analysing the experiences of 'black' ethnic minorities living in white societies as well as for explaining issues of racism in social and cultural geography. Although "race" as biologically given has been dicredited by science this has "not dislodged the myth of race from daily life" (Smith 1989:2). Even though belief in the biological inferiority of African people is not now much actively voiced it still informs the present day assumptions about the cultural inferiority of the African/Caribbean presence in Scottish/British society. The thesis suggests that notions of racial inferiority/superiority still largely determine the way African people generally are viewed in Scottish/British society. For example, in Scotland, African/ Caribbeans are perceived as working class as historical ideas of "race", not any plausible index of socio-economic status, determines their perceived status. African/ Caribbeans are automatically assumed to be lower class (when in fact a high proportion are middle class) because of ingrained ideas about the socio-economic gradient associated with racial difference. This supports the view that "race" is important in class formation (Gilroy 1987). Although Scotland appears to be less conscious of class than England, class still informs the African/Caribbean presence and this is determined at the popular level by ideas of "race".

The research has several implications for the wider understanding of racism. The key finding is that racism in Scotland is manifested through invisibility, unlike the situation in England where racism is based on visibility. The research also shows that racism occurs in Scotland independently of the small numbers of African/Caribbeans supporting the view that "the geography of racism is discernible at a variety of scales" (Jackson 1987:14) as small numbers do not lessen or prevent racism. The evidence from African/Caribbeans in Scotland confirms that for them racism is also a cross-class experience, not purely a working class one, as is often assumed. Racism is no respecter of class where African/Caribbeans (and other dark-skinned minorities) are involved. The research shows that racism in Scotland (as is known of the English experience) is also "historically specific" (Hall 1978:26). Even though Scotland was not the major contributor to the British Empire it played an important role in the theoretical development of racism which ideologically underpinned Empire, and some of the ideas which are still current today in Scottish society. Contemporary racism in Scotland, as in England, continues to be fuelled by the now unspoken beliefs of "race" and its related notions of black inferiority/white superiority. The situation in Scotland, as in England, shows that physical violence, verbal abuse and harassment are part and parcel of contemporary racist practice but it is only recently that these issues have been taken on board the Scottish agenda. Most important, however, is the fact

that a dark skin colour is still a sign of inferiority and this still affects the life-experiences of African/Caribbeans (and other dark skinned minorities) in Scotland, in particular as in Britain, generally.

8.2.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE

The research has shown that place, Scotland, is significant in the study of African/ Caribbean community in Britain and of importance in social and cultural geography because their experience in Scotland is place-specific and differs from the African/ Caribbean experience in England. The study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland shows that their historical presence in Scotland dates back at least as far as the 16th century. The general belief that African people do not have a history in Scotland, as the acknowledged past of African people in England (Scobie 1977; Shyllon 1977a; Fryer 1983; Edwards and Walvin 1983;) is indeed a fallacy as the research has shown (Chapter 3) and others have acknowledged (Edwards 1990; Duffield 1992). African people have been enslaved in Scotland (Chapter 3) as they have been in England (Shyllon 1974). Scotland was a participant in the African slave trade even though not at the same level as England and African people were bought and sold here. Thus the study of African/Caribbean people in Scotland from a Scottish perspective enables this fact which still goes largely unnoticed in the late 20th century to be brought to the fore thus providing the African/Caribbean presence in Scotland with a history as well as a geography. The variation in place, as illustrated by the different legal systems operating in England and Scotland demonstrates the importance of the concept of place. The 1772 ruling in the English court preventing slaves from being brought into the England had no effect in Scotland. So even though African slaves were prohibited by law (though not in practice) from being brought to England, they were openly brought to, and sold in, Scotland (Chapter 3). African slavery ceased officially in Scotland with the 1778 Scottish court ruling. It is the study of place (both historical and geographical) which brings out this important difference between freedom and enslavement for African people in 18th century Britain. The study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland shows that even though their contemporary presence is ignored their historical presence in Scotland dates back at least as far as the sixteenth century but this has almost disappeared from the consciousness of Scots unlike England where its part in African slavery is acknowledged (albeit at a moral superior level).

African/Caribbean experiences in Scotland, however, differ from the experiences of African/Caribbeans in England. Unlike England, their contemporary presence is denied. Smaller numbers and the dispersal of African/Caribbeans in Scotland mean that

their presence can be downplayed or ignored compared to England where their relatively and absolutely larger numbers, residential concentration in certain areas and employment in certain highly visible jobs such as transport, nursing and catering make it difficult to overlook their presence. Nevertheless, small numbers and dispersal do not amount to a 'natural' explanation of why the African/Caribbeans of Scotland remain invisible. Jews, for example, are a very small minority in Edinburgh, historically of migrant origin but their presence is much more widely recognised and acknowledged in the city. The community has also produced such widely known public figures as M.P. and Minister of the Crown, Malcolm Rifkind; the advocate Lionel Daiches; the literary scholar David Daiches; the novelist Muriel Spark. Indeed, the late Edinburgh Rabbi, Dr Salis Daiches (father of Lionel and David Daiches), was popularly refered to in the Scottish press as 'Chief Rabbi of Scotland', despite all disclaimers on his part to an office which did not exist. Edinburgh's Scottish Italians- admittedly a more numerous group than either African/Caribbeans or Jews but still a relatively small one - are likewise highly visible and universally recognised by the wider population of the city. These two groups bring the socially constructed invisibility of African/Caribbeans into larger focus, for both are widely dispersed and neither is instantly recognisable from physical appearance.

The thesis also shows that Scotland's role as a place for education- including its history- as a place for religious training and source for missionaries to Africa and the Caribbean, has affected the high proportion of African/Caribbeans attracted here for education. This offers an explanation of the high proportion of white collar African/Caribbean workers in Scotland as compared to England. Thus Scotland as place is significant in African/ Caribbean employment. With qualifications obtained from Scottish tertiary education institutions, many African/Caribbeans are able to acquire professional jobs mainly, though at the lower rungs of the promotional ladder indicating the invisible and largely ignored racism which exists in Scotland.

Scotland and Scots had a very important role to play in the development of racism (Chapter 4). However the popular belief that racism does not exist in Scotland has resulted in complacency with little or no serious attention being paid to the issues of racism and inequalities that African/Caribbean and other ethnic minorities experience in Scotland. The result is that people of African origin and descent (and other 'black' minorities) in Scotland continue to be discriminated against in their every day life (Chapter 7) sometimes with little or no redress from the authorities. While racism is acknowledged in England and actions taken to alleviate its effects on African/

Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities, Scotland lags behind because of the view that racism does not exist here. African/Caribbeans' experiences of racism in Scotland suggest that racism takes different forms in different places.

Place plays an important role in the development of African/Caribbean culture in Scotland. With the intermingling of African/Caribbean people in geographical place new cultural practices are being developed as elements from old ways of life are fused together to suit the particular situation. Even though African/Caribbeans living in Scotland are not part and parcel of the wider Scottish culture they do not exist in a cultural vacuum but operate in a diaspora cultural lifestyle (Chapter 6) with elements drawn from Africa, the Caribbean, England and the United States of America fused together by their day-to-day Scottish experiences. In addition, the study of African/ Caribbeans in Scotland shows that although they operate in an identifiable diasporan cultural framework their cultural experiences are distinctive to Scotland where for example the culture is more African orientated than Caribbean orientated as is experienced in England.

Last but by no means least, the study of African/Caribbeans in Scotland shows how important place is in geographical studies. The experiences of African/Caribbeans in England (Smith 1977; Brown 1984) have time and again been used as a yardstick to measure African/Caribbean individuals in Scotland when in fact African/Caribbeans in Scotland tend to differ markedly in terms of social status, residential pattern and employment. However, the invidious presence of "race" and the notion of biological inferiority means that they are perceived in the same light as the known English experience of African/Caribbeans. The situation in Scotland suggests that African/ Caribbean people in Britain, qualified or unqualified, will experience racial disadvantages particularly in employment. It also suggest that racism and not cultural factors are responsible for the inequalities African/Caribbeans experience in employment and other spheres of life as evidenced by the Scottish perspective.

8.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

As a member of Scotland's marginalised African/Caribbean community it is not a straight forward task for one to make policy recommendations. After living in Scotland for 14 years and observing and experiencing the short shrift that ethnic minorities in general, and African/Caribbeans in particular experience, particularly from local government, making recommendations seems a futile exercise as many recommendations seem only to have a symbolic purpose without the intention of being

implemented (Malpass and Murie 1982, 1994). The reluctance of local government to improve the well-being of ethnic minorities despite undertakings leaves much to be desired. This perception is not new and has been voiced time and again at consultation and other meetings by many in the ethnic minority communities. For example, the 1987-88 Annual report of the Scottish Asian Action Committee noted that "When findings of research are published, there is a great fanfare of publicity, which is followed by inaction with dust collecting on the report". (quoted in Bowes et al., 1989: 147; who also expressed apprehension about the likelihood of realising the recommendations on housing they were concluding).

It seems that any kind of recommendation to improve the standing of "black" people generally in British society has to be considered with caution for fear of a "white backlash" or fear of losing votes in a society divided by "race" (Smith 1989). Sarre et al., (1989) noted "that any policy recommendations which upset the status quo by challenging the stranglehold of the indigenous whites over both resources and power will run into difficulties" (p.328). The question of "race" is such a sensitive political issue in British society that it seems to influence policy recommendations concerned with the welfare of black minorities (Smith 1989). Few recommendations are followed by action for fear of upsetting the white majority. In particular, failure to implement recommendations aimed at improving the housing condition of ethnic minorities in Scotland has produced angry reactions from the ethnic minority communities here. Comments such as "people are sick of being researched", "death by a thousand researchers" and "you cannot research the problem out of existence - things have actually to be done" (*Race and Housing* News, April 1994) all provide insights into the displeasure felt by ethnic minorities. The result is that organisations " are reluctant to become involved in yet more research particularly as it was felt that the work was done before" (*Race and Housing News* April 1994:11).

Thus the following recommendations are based on my personal knowledge of the community under study, and an appreciation of the politics of decision-making as well as on the research findings. Within the current political context the recommendations are probably little more than ideals but the need to identify and challenge is important. Given that racism is the major obstacle to the well-being of African/Caribbean people in Scotland (Chapter 7), it is appropriate that the first recommendation addresses the question of racism which the thesis shows exists in Scotland and is experienced at the personal and institutional levels, overt as well as covert. Thus it is important if African/ Caribbeans are to be "black and Scottish" and to continue carving for themselves a

future that is acknowledged, the issue of racism in Scotland needs to be addressed and "countered through explicitly 'race-aware' strategies" (Smith 1989:190). The following measures in terms of social actions are recommended, the intention being to influence rather than to advocate.

8.3.1 RECOMMENDATION A

An educational programme to promote understanding, racial harmony and removal of racial disadvantages.

If racism is to be tackled effectively in Scotland, an overall Scottish educational programme aimed at understanding different people and reducing racism is important. Several factors are important to the success of such a programme. One aspect which this thesis considers very important to the future well-being of African/Caribbeans (and other ethnic minorities) is the active promotion of multiculturalism through a multicultural education programme. Multiculturalism seen here as a concept aimed at addressing the multiracial nature of British society by taking into account the different cultures and enabling them:

> to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly-accepted values, practises and procedures, whilst allowing, and where necessary,assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework (Cohen and Cohen 1986: 3-4).

Multiculturalism has generated much debate, positive as well as negative in the British educational system, particular in England, since the Swan Report (1985). Likewise, in countries such as Canada, Australia and the United States of America where it has been adopted it has had lots of critics and has generated an enormous literature (Berry et al., 1977; Stone 1981,1985; Zubrzycki 1986; Jackson 1993; Gates 1994 Wallace 1994; Caws 1994). In Scotland its profile has been rather low-keyed even though education departments of various Regional councils such as Lothian, Strathclyde, Central and Grampian (Bell 1992) have adopted multicultural educational policies during the latter part of the mid-1980s. Official policy in the 1990's is that all Scottish 5-14 year olds at school be provided with multicultural and anti-racist programmes (McClelland 1991).

The introduction of new policies has always generated controversy, and multiculturalism is no exception as reflected in its stormy presence in England in the late 1980's , its shortcomings and problems in Canada (Richmond 1984; Jackson 1993) tension which the concept has generated in Australia (Zubrzycki 1986) or its beliefs in America that "it threatens to fragment the American culture into a warren of ethnic enclaves,

each separate and inviolate" (Gates 1994:204). Scotland has been no exception to this controversy with, for example, the Borders Regional Council pointing out that "it is important that Multicultural Education is not regarded as an imposition to be added to an already busy curriculum" (in Church of Scotland Committee on Education 1990:72) while other responses to the adoption of multiculturalism in Lothian Region have varied "from acceptance, through indifference to rejection" (p.72) . My purpose at this point is, however, not to take issue with these views but to put forward views, mainly from a historical and geographical perspective, of why multiculturalism should have a better chance of success in Scotland than in England. Thus it is argued that even though multiculturalism has found disfavour in English education this does not mean that it cannot work in Scotland with a different educational system and a historical multi-ethnic background comprising, as the Church of Scotland Group on Multicultural Education (1990) noted "Northern Scots, lowland Scots, aristocratic Anglo-Scots, Celts, Orcadians" ... "recognisable groups with cultural, linguistic and even religious identities" (p.60). Arguing for a multicultural Scotland the group further noted that the "Jewish culture, language and religion have been indigenous to Scotland for more than a century, and exist in more or less harmonious tension with the rest" (p.60) while today there are many who live in Scotland "who describe themselves as Jewish Scots, Asian Scots, Afro-Scots, Italian Scots or Chinese Scots, born in this country which is home. This society is a nexus of cultures.. " (p.60).

The above, together with the large populations of Scots overseas (Donaldson 1966; Cage 1985; Richards 1985; Brooking 1985; Fernandez 1985; McMillan 1985) and the important place of the Scottish diaspora in Scottish folklore (Midwinter et al., 1991), suggest that Scotland possesses a better base for the teaching of multiculturalism than England. Scotland's position in the union where its "cultural independence" is marginalised and dominated by what McCrone (1992) terms a "culturally suffocating and homogeneous Anglo-British one" (p.193) again provides for a better understanding of the need for multiculturalism in a Scottish as well as British context. By examining multiculturalism from a Scottish perspective, based on the marginalisation of Scottish (Welsh and Irish) culture in the Union, together with the continuing migration of Scots overseas to live and work among other people, an educational programme could be developed aimed at understanding other cultures present, and people living, in Scotland today. Since migration overseas is an important aspect of Scottish life, this fact should make for a better understanding of why African/ Caribbeans and other minority groups have migrated here. Finally, another important point which should not be missed and which this thesis brought out is the fact that Scots

and Scotland have been in the forefront in the development of racism (Chapter 4). The development of multiculturalism in Scotland would provide Scotland with the chance to remedy this ignoble, unacknowledged past and provide it with a future in racial discourse which could be acknowledged and followed but most importantly a chance to remedy its own cultural subordination to England (McCrone 1992) while acknowledging other minority cultures.

An educational programme aimed at the promotion of racial harmony could be executed at various levels. At the primary school level a form of multiculturalism could be developed in schools to provide pupils with knowledge of people and places. This multiculturalism, which is already being practised at some schools (for example at my daughter's school which has twenty nationalities attending) could incorporate the cultures and background of minority people living within the community, ethnic minority children in the school (thus taking advantage of pupils cultural backgrounds) or ethnic minorities in the community. A world view of people and places already necessary in social subjects for 5-14 year olds in Scotland (McClelland 1991) should broaden pupils' minds about the world in which they live.

Of crucial importance to a multicultural educational programme is the need for recognition of the role of Scotland and Scots in Empire building (Dewar Gibbs 1937; Donaldson 1966; Bell 1992) and the ideas of inequalities which resulted. Scotland needs to wake up from the national amnesia towards Empire. Knowledge of Scotland's and Scots' contribution to Empire building and the role played in the development of racism should go a long way towards eradicating some negative images as well as providing valuable information about people and places. For example, white Scots whom I have spoken to over the years about the involvement of Scots in the Caribbean are surprised to learn of the Scottish connection there. Those who have visited the Caribbean are dumbfounded by the numerous Scottish place-names which exist there and more so by the many Scottish names of Afro-Caribbeans (as exemplified by British Member of Parliament Bernie Grant, singer Eddie Grant, supermodel Naomi Campbell and television personalities Trevor McDonald and Moira Stewart) and the Scottish plaids which have become an important aspect (in some islands national dress) of Caribbean life.

This aspect of the educational programme could be developed at the secondary level with the disciplines of geography, history and 'modern studies' (politics and sociology) reflecting Scotland and Africa, in particular the part Africa (and Asia)

played in the development of the Scottish economy. Although the present curriculum addresses such matters as ethnic communities, racism in Scotland, racism in North America, 'First World' domination and exploitation of the 'Third World', the problem still seem to be one of coming to terms with racism of Scottish society. Thus the historical contribution of African people in the Americas and the Caribbean to Scottish economic development (Sheridan 1971, 1974; Daiches 1977; Devine 1984) should be explored openly and discussed more directly for as noted in Bell (1992) that:

> Profits accumulated by Scots on the plantations of the West Indies led to the rise of Scottish heavy industries in steel and shipbuilding, and ships built in Scotland were the arteries of the British Empire (p.25).

The history and geography of the migration of the Scots could be an important aspects of the Scottish school curriculum. An understanding of why Scots have migrated and settled in different lands (Donaldson 1966; Bieganska 1969; Fraser 1973; Davis 1984a: Cage 1985) would provide knowledge of why people in general migrate. Scots have been migrating for centuries to Africa and the Caribbean not only as colonisers of the British Empire but as settlers who integrated with the local population. In many of the Caribbean islands, for example Cariacou, inhabitants are descended both from a Scottish and an African ancestor. Place names in the Caribbean reflect a Scottish past with the Scotland district of Barbados, Strathspey, Lothian and Campbellville in Guyana, and Castle Bruce in Dominica. It is not only to white Commonwealth countries such as Canada (McMillan 1985), Australia (Richards 1985) and New Zealand (Brooking 1985) that Scots have migrated. Scots have been an integral part of many societies in the Caribbean and in Africa, particularly South Africa.

Another area of importance is for the promotion of multiculturalism is the media. The media could also play a role in education to promote knowledge and racial harmony. More television and radio programmmes to reflect the cultures of ethnic minorities in Scotland are needed. Programmes at the moment do not reflect the cultural and social experience of the ethnic minority communities in Scotland tending to concentrate mainly on their misfortunes rather than their achievements in Scotland. Documentaries on the cultural lifestyle, geographical, social and cultural origins would enrich and provide knowledge to balance the negative stereotypes which Sarre et al., (1989) argue "underpin discriminatory policies and practices" (p.343). These are necessary in a cosmopolitan society such as Scotland.

In addition to television programmes there is a need also for more newspaper articles such as Pendreigh's study of Afro-Caribbeans, Ukranians and Vietnamese in Scotland *(The Scotsman,* 8 May 1993), to provide information and knowledge on the different

ethnic groups living in Scotland. Newspaper articles covering such issues are usually few and far in between. While these recommendations might sound idealistic given Scotland's unequal share in the British media (Midwinter et al., 1991) to do absolutely nothing would further perpetuate the invisibility of African/Caribbeans and other ethnic groups in Scotland. However, implementation may be the problem. For example, independent Scottish television programme company have to sell their products to channels, who are in a position to dictate what they want. Likewise journalist writing background articles have to persuade editors who are in turn answerable to the whims and prejudices of proprietors. Radio-stations, television chanels and newspapers are not obliged to run anything their decision makers do not want except perhaps by extensive public pressure. Thus even though the problem with this recommendation is its practicality I feel that it should be part of a policy recommendation concerned with African/Caribbeans (and other ethnic minorities) in Scotland even if it is just to point out the inequalities of the media and make them aware of their obligations (Benjamin 1995).

The spiritual perspective is also important for the fostering of racial harmony and understanding. Although churches today do not play such an important role in Scottish life as they once did (Bell 1992) they could also play their part in eradicating some of the negative images of African people. In fact, many negative images affecting African people in Scotland are still consciously perpetuated in churches. Symbols used in Sunday schools still unconsciously portray negative images of "black" people with a sinful heart which is "black" needing to be washed "white". Symbols could be more realistic and avoid the black/bad, white/good scenario. The degrading meaning of black in religious parlance discriminates against dark skinned people for black is regarded as evil, sinful and unclean. At face value and as Christians the word black should not be a bone of contention but since in white societies "black" has the tendency to be associated with black people these negative meanings are unconsciously transferred to them. Thus churches could play a more conscious role in its teachings in the promotion of equality and the removal of language stereotypes.

8.3.2 RECOMMENDATION B

Action to promote the social welfare of African/Caribbeans.

In matters of welfare (Turner 1986) and the well-being of African/Caribbeans in Scotland, local government needs to play a more convincing role instead of the lip service that ethnic minorities currently receive. The numerous projects undertaken for

ethnic minorities should be followed through and not left to gather dust, remaining just another exercise. Local government in Scotland needs to examine its responses to Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act which requires local Authorities "to make appropriate arrangements with a view to seeing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need (a) to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and (b) to promote equality of opportunities and good relations between persons of different racial groups". (Young and Connelly, PSI 1981). Although action has been taken in both Edinburgh and Glasgow against racism and racial harassment, positive action needs to be taken concerning employment and in enhancing the general standing of ethnic minorities in Scottish society. From the point of view of ethnic minorities, local authorities which conduct ethnic monitoring do not seem to be achieving much. Members of ethnic minorities obtain work in local government, mostly at the lower end of the employment ladder, or in jobs such as library assistants, catering and leisure attendants, work often well below their educational level and experience. Employment at a higher level is mainly in created jobs as racial equality officers, race relations officer or race advisers. Mainstream local government jobs are very difficult for ethnic minorities to obtain in Scotland. Thus monitoring of employment should be made available to interested parties and assessment made of the progress of ethnic minorities into mainstream employment.

The African/Caribbean population in Scotland is small but, given the age profile, numbers are set to increase. Two age groups are of particular interest, the youths and the elderly. The former in terms of educational opportunities and employment, the latter in terms of housing in particular, sheltered accommodation (Dalton and Daghlian 1989). Although many African/Caribbeans in the sample are private owners and seem not to have experienced problems in buying, evidence in the community points to a rising dependency on council housing and housing association stock. The difficulties experienced by ethnic minorities in Scotland in obtaining council or housing association homes (HEAU 1994) point to the need for the establishment of black-led housing associations where their needs can be catered for sympathetically. However, the issue of black-led housing associations in Scotland is a bone of contention between Scottish Homes (the major housing provider in Scotland), the ethnic minority communities, the Housing Equality Action Unit, Scotland, and the Commission for Racial Equality (*Race and Housing* 1994, 1995). The Commission for Racial Equality argues for the development of black-led Housing Associations and a ring-fenced budget noting that "Scottish Homes should accept as a matter of policy that ethnic minority led housing Associations have a role to play in meeting housing needs" (*Race and Housing News*

1994:1). Scottish Homes has, however, effectively ruled out black-led housing associations as it feels among other reasons that the small and dispersed ethnic minority communities in Scotland would not be able to meet the requirement of "80% ethnic minority representation on the Management Committee ... for even at neighbourhood levels, representation of ethnic minorities rarely rises above 25%" (Scottish Homes 1993:22). A ring-fenced budget it claims "runs counter to our corporate commitment to increase local empowerment" (Scottish Homes 1993:24). Thus its strategy basically is that ethnic minorities should fit into existing housing associations or be co-opted as representatives onto Management Committees (Scottish Homes 1993:25). It is inevitable with such a strategy that ethnic minorities would have no voice in existing housing associations.

The experience of ethnic minorities in the social sector housing in Scotland is not a pleasant one as research has shown (Bowes et al., 1989; Dalton and Daghlian 1989) although as tenants they are under-represented in all sectors (Census 1991). The experiences of questionnaire respondents in social sector housing in this research differ little. The establishment of black-led housing Association seems a matter of priority as the younger generation including those born here, single parents and the elderly seem more likely to be social sector tenants. The problems experienced by African/ Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities in obtaining council as well as private accommodation points to the need for black-led housing associations as another source of social sector housing. In addition to providing "culturally sensitive accommodation where previously mainstream providers have lamentably failed" (*Race and Housing* March 1995) black-led housing associations will provide African/Caribbeans and other minorities in Scotland with experience of housing management, with employment and will redress the imbalance in housing provision. The needs of the African/ Caribbean elderly, such as Belizean forestry workers, would be taken more seriously than it is at present. Old African/Caribbean males that I have come across during this research live in a dispersed manner with sometimes little or no contact with other African/Caribbeans. A former Belizean forestry worker who stopped me for a chat while walking along the road, stated that he had no contact with other African/ Caribbean elderly. The pain he experienced from arthritis in his hand meant that he could not even communicate by letters. His life seemed very much to be a lonely one. Another elderly Afro-Scot whom I visited lives in one room rented accommodation. These two examples, one an old seaman and the other a former forestry worker are examples of the position of African/Caribbean elderly in Scotland. Thus the thesis joins those in the ethnic minority communities in Scotland, the Housing Equality Action Unit

and the Commission for Racial Equality in favouring the setting up of black-led housing Associations in Scotland.

Given that racism will continue in the predictable future in Scotland and African/ Caribbeans and other black ethnic minorities will continue to experience discrimination in employment, Racial Equality Councils in tandem with the Commission for Racial Equality will need to step up their work with the communities. The monitoring of organisations which display equal opportunity policies is important for there are "employers putting together an equal opportunities policy because it is vogue to do so, but not ensuring they are working correctly" (*Edinburgh Evening News* 23 February 1995). Thus the CRE needs to play a more important role in the affairs of ethnic minorities in Scotland in terms of employment and underemployment. At the moment African/Caribbeans are under-represented in both organisations thus there is need for them to put their own houses in order. In order that organisations such as Racial Equality Councils and the Commission for Racial Equality to function competently, it is recommended that they should be adequately funded and mandated to audit equal opportunities policies and publicise findings.

8.3.3 RECOMMENDATION C

Concerted action by the African/Caribbean community to enjoy full basic rights in Scotland.

African/Caribbean people in Scotland, like African/Caribbean people in England, have over the years fought collectively as well as individuals for basic rights despite the invisibility which surrounds their presence. However there are areas in which improvements could be made. The first suggestion is for all sections of the community to work together not only in the support of things cultural and social but in terms of employment, education and provisions of sheltered accommodation for the elderly which as Smith (1989) points out "has been systematically (if ostensibly unintentionally) denied to the black community" (p.177) . Even though "the struggle for basic educational rights has been a political focal point for the 'black community' since 1960" (Mirza 1992: 174) this has mainly been confined to England where larger numbers of African/Caribbeans reside. Currently, the children of African/Caribbeans in Scotland just fit into a system which takes no account of their cultural heritage or background. No communal alternative educational system, for example, supplementary schools (Jones 1986; Mirza 1992), such as those existing in England has been developed to cater for their cultural as well as social development. Thus there is need for African/

Caribbean parents to make concerted and collective efforts to assist in their offspring's future social and educational development. Even though life for many African/ Caribbeans is a continuous struggle, time has to be found to look into their children's future welfare in Scotland for as residents they are required to contribute to the Welfare State (Smith 1989). One disturbing fact which seems to be emerging is that the children of well qualified African/Caribbeans who normally would have done well academically had they been educated in Africa or the Caribbean seem to be thwarted academically in Scotland. In fact, one of my respondent took her daughter back to Africa to be educated after comparing the educational achievements of African/ Caribbean children of professional parents who stayed in Scotland to those who after completion of their studies returned home.

Another important area needing attention is social cohesion among the younger generation. Although much emphasis is rightly placed on education in the home it is the task of getting young people to know each other, to know about themselves and their culture, which from personal knowledge is particularly neglected in the African/ Caribbean community. This may be an underlying cause for some of the educational failures. Thus social clubs for young people should be a priority as these would enable them to come together as groups to discuss the frustrations they encounter as young black people in a white majority society. It might also be the time for African/ Caribbean professionals to work in their community as mentors, as is done in England, to provide youths with positive images of African/Caribbeans in professions to which they can aspire. Social clubs for the eight to twelve age groups are also needed, for early childhood discrimination is evident with African/Caribbean children being excluded from simple social gatherings such as birthday parties by white school friends. Social and cultural clubs where drama, dance and singing could be taught on a communal basis is important and should be developed for the younger generation who lack the communal social and cultural experiences that their parents or grandparents once experienced in Africa or the Caribbean and sometimes take for granted in Scotland. Socio-cultural initiatives such as the above would provide the cultural sustenance to drive will-power needed besides education and employment to survive in Scotland.

Thus it is also recommended that informal cultural educational courses aimed at the younger generation and at the wider African/Caribbean community should be developed as is done in England by community groups and individuals (Jones 1986) and women's organisations such as the Claudia Jones black women's group. Already

an Africa cultural centre has been established in Scotland so future development is not an impossible goal. Awareness of self as a member of a black minority living within a white majority society and awareness of one's responsibilities as citizens not only to the wider society but to one's own community, is important. Thus the need for African/Caribbean individuals to want to be members of committees within their own community and not only to seek membership of "prestige" committees in the wider Scottish society as is sometimes the practice. The need for more African/Caribbeans to participate in decision-making processes (Smith 1989) which affect them within the wider Scottish community and the task not be left to a few hardworking and conscientious individuals is urgent. The unintentional or intentional denial of African/ Caribbean presence will only be rectified if the African/Caribbean voice, individually as well as collectively, is heard. Thus the thesis recommends more and fuller participation and representation of African/Caribbeans in the development of their well-being and the future of Afro-Scots in Scotland. The African/Caribbean community in Scotland has come out of obscurity with the publication of the 1991 census. The common line that they do not live in Scotland is no longer relevant. It is suggested that African/Caribbeans take advantage of this visibility the census accorded them and work together in the interest of their Afro-Scottish descendants whose future in Scotland does not seem to be a bright one. The chapter now puts forward some ideas for future research.

8.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Since this research on African/Caribbeans in Scotland is a pioneering project, the scope for future research is wide. The argument here is the need for more related studies, historical and geographical, to be undertaken to provide a better understanding of this minority group in Scotland. Hence the focus is on a set of research projects orientated around being African/Caribbean in Scotland.

The historical aspects of the research enlarges and connects the presence of African people in Scotland from as early as the sixteenth century or even earlier (Edwards 1990). However their social and cultural life remains hidden. Research on the presence of African people in Scotland could be concentrated on their presence in the homes of the Scottish aristocracy as evidence here might throw some light on their socio-cultural life. Research focussed on parish registers: births, marriages and deaths would be of interest to ascertain demographic factors and provide valuable information on the spatial distribution and geographical spread of African people in Scotland over time

and place. Research on African/Caribbeans in Scotland could also focus on their presence from the late 18th century as visitors- campaigners for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in America- as well as on the children of slave women and Scottish men who were sent to live, or to obtain education, in Scotland.

Socio-geographical research on the early 20th century African/Caribbean presence in Scotland offers many opportunities; more research focussed on Belizean forestry workers and former seamen is urgently needed before this group dies out. Information obtained may provide insights into the development of the present day community. Case studies, for, example, could be undertaken to gain further knowledge about the beginnings of the contemporary community and its life experiences in Scotland. It is apparent from the study that Afro-Scots were under-represented in the sample. Thus future research should be biased towards younger Afro-Scots. It is evident (as stated earlier) in the African/Caribbean community and from discussion among individuals that some young people who were brought up in Scotland are not doing as well as their parents while the older generation of Afro-Scots seem not to have achieved much educational or job mobility. The study of the children of Belizean forestry workers , children of early twentieth century African/Caribbean sailors and students would enable comparisons to be made with the contemporary presence especially in terms of educational and economic advancement as well as the extent to which skin colour hinders or constrains progress in Scotland. Future research could consider why children of well educated African/Caribbeans who normally would have done equally as well as their parents if educated overseas are being thwarted by the Scottish educational system.

This research , as well as the 1991 census, shows that Ghanaians and Nigerians make up a major part of the African/Caribbean community in Scotland. Study of Ghanaians or other groups by country of origin, would contribute indepth information on the different groups which make up the African/Caribbean community in Scotland and the social and cultural lifestyle in which they operate. The scope for future research into racism in Scotland is wide as racism affects the life chances of African/Caribbean people (and other dark skinned minorities) both individually as well as collectively in almost all aspects of life. One area in which research on racism should be concentrated is in the employment of African/Caribbean and other ethnic minorities. Racism in employment in Scotland has not yet been explored despite evidence that it occurs.

Finally, one sociocultural theme which could be developed is the Geography of Food

as an expression of culture and social difference (Jackson 1988:224). African/ Caribbean music, dance, hairstyles are topics which are conspicuously part of African/ Caribbean identity have over the years witnessed a surge of research interest (Sagay 1983,1987; Gilroy 1987; Mercer 1994). The food of people of African origin or descent still remains invisible in white majority societies in which they live despite its obvious influences in international fast foods such as southern American Kentucky fried chicken and Gumbo dishes. Thus the geography of food is an area which could be developed utilising the Black Atlantic World concept (Gilroy 1992).

8.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there is an African/Caribbean community in Scotland in the late 20th century. Many African/Caribbeans enjoy living in Scotland which they regard as home in spite of racism, the inability to obtain jobs suited to education or level of qualification and the uncertainty about the future of their offspring, AfroScots. Though the historical presence of African/Caribbean people in Scotland is eroded and contemporary presence denied they look forward to a future in Scotland in which their talents and contribution would be recognised. The thesis challenges academics, policy makers and service providers to make this possible.

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APPENDIX 1 - THE QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT of GEOGRAPHY

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RESEARCH PROJECT ON THE PRESENCE OF AFRICAN PEOPLES IN SCOTLAND

Dear Reader

I am a research student at the University of Edinburgh undertaking research on the African (in a wide context) presence in Scotland.

African people have lived and worked in Scotland since the early 1500's but this fact is hardly known today in Scotland. Africans. Afro-Caribbeans. African-Americans and their descendants. Afro-Scots and Black British. continue to live in Scotland today.

In the first half of the 20th century they were students. sailors. entertainers. nurses and doctors. Some African GPs were well known in Scotland. their memories live on today. During the second world war Belizean forestry workers. Jamaican technicians as well as African sailors worked in Scotland. However. the presence and achievements of Africans over the years have not been recognised nor acknowledged.

I appeal for your help because the knowledge of our presence in present day Scotland is only in peoples memories. It needs to be written so that it will not be dispersed and forgotten as has been so much of our history in Scotland.

I have already spent a year and a half undertaking research on old newspapers. letters. files and diaries for information. Now I would like to collect information on the living experience and would like to meet you to chat about life generally in Scotland. If you agree. I would like you to answer some questions. Your time and cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you for your help.

June Evans
Research Student
Geography Department
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Tel: 560-2532
Home:664-5916

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT Professor David E Sugden MA DPhil
Ogilvie Professor Susan J Smith MA DPhil

Reminder letter used for pursuing replies to questionnaire

PhD Research - African/Caribbeans in Scotland

Date

Dear Respondent,

I am writing to remind you about the questionnaire I sent you on the African presence in Scotland. The research is trying to put together information about our life in Scotland which is not taken into account or is usually ignored. The research, one of the first of its kind undertaken in Scotland, is trying to retify this imbalance and this can only be done with your cooperation. Your response is very important to the research.

Is it possible for me to have the questionnaire in another two weeks time. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thanking you in anticipation.

June Evans
Phd Candidate
Geography Dept.
University of Edinburgh

AFRICAN-CARIBBEANS IN SCOTLAND

June Evans *Research Student University of Edinburgh*

CODE PASS TO

QUESTION NO.

CARD NO.

QUESTIONS TO ESTABLISH PRESENCE IN SCOTLAND AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

1. How many years have you lived in Scotland?

.....

2. . What is the best thing about living here in Scotland?

.....

.....

3. What is the biggest problem you have experienced living in Scotland?

.....

.....

4. What is the biggest problem African-Caribbeans generally experience living in Scotland?

.....

.....

5. Where do you live in Scotland?

Edinburgh	1
Glasgow	2
Dundee	3
Aberdeen	4
Inverness	5
Any other	6

.....

5a. In which area of the town or the city do you live?

.....

6 Were you born in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2

Scottish born (go to Quest. 11)

7. What was your main reason for coming to Scotland?
(circle)

work 1

study 2

visit 3

marriage 4

other 5

What other reasons?.....

7a. Elaborate on your option
e.g If to work or study- where and what?

.....

.....

---

8. When you first came to Scotland, did you intend to stay?

yes 1 No 2 Had on open mind 3

8a If not, why did you decide to stay?

---

9. Have you lived in other parts of the U.K. before coming to Scotland?

yes 1 no 2

If yes, where .....

.....

and for how many years .....

10. Have you lived in another country other than the UK, and other than the one you were born in before coming to Scotland?

yes 1 no 2

which countries? .....

and for how long?.....

QUESTIONS TO ESTABLISH SOCIAL LIFE.

11. Do you socialise much in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2

Occasionally 3

12a Do you attend social functions organised by Africans or Afro-Caribbeans in Scotland?

yes 1 no 2

If no, why?

.....

.....

12b. If yes, why do you attend? .....

.....

.....

12c. Do you attend any of these?

Birthdays 1

Christenings 2

Get together (with food) 3

Africa Day 4

Weddings 5

National Days 6

Independent days 7

African naming ceremonies 8

Outings 9

Going out for a drink 10

Liberation parties 11
e.g South Africa, Namibia

Rites of Passage (deaths) 12

13. Approximately how many African-Caribbean persons you are aware of living in your area?

less than 5 1

5 but less than 10 2

10 but less than 20 3

20 but less than 30 4

30 but less than 40 5

50 or more 6

---

14. How many persons of African Caribbean origin are in your household? about 6

(circle)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 less than 10

15. How many African-Caribbean persons do you regard as acquaintances locally?

.....

16. How many African-Caribbeans do you regard as acquaintances in Scotland?

.....

---

17. Approximately how many African-Caribbeans do you think live in Scotland?

.....

---

18. Is there an African-Caribbean night club near to where you live?

yes 1 no 2 don't know 3

If yes, where?

.....

.....

19. Do you visit African-Caribbean night clubs in Scotland?

yes 1 no 2

20. Do you go dancing at African-Caribbean night clubs?

weekly
monthly
twice a month
occasionally
never

20a. What clubs (and where) do you visit

.....

.....

21. Do you have many white friends in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2 A few 3 Many 4

21a. How do you maintain this friendship

by phone 1

visiting 2

going out together 3

Any other 4 (elaborate)___

22. Are you invited to social gatherings at the home of your white friends?

occasionally 1

frequently 2

never 3

22.a Do you go when you are invited?

Yes 1 No 2

sometimes 1

never 2

always 3

22.b When you go, how do you feel?

at home 1

welcome + comfortable 2

neutral 3

uncomfortable 4

unwelcome + out of place 5

LOCAL NEIGHBOURHOOD

23. Are you the only African-Caribbean family/ individual in your local neighbourhood?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3

24. Are you the only non-white family in the neighbourhood?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3

25. If no, What racial composition exists?

.....

26. How would you describe your friendship with your white neighbours?

Close & warm 1 polite & formal 2 distant & cold 3

27. If you unexpectedly run out of an item, such as bread, sugar, oil - How often would you ask to borrow from-

A - White friends in your neighbourhood

Always 1 Occasionally 2 Never 3

27b What kind of things would you borrow?

.....

.....

27c If never, why?

.....

.....

27d
B- African-Caribbean households

Always 1 Occasionally 2 Never 3

27e What kind of things would you borrow?

.....

.....

27f. If Never, Why?.....

.....

.....

28 Whom do you mainly go to for support, If you are ill or some one in your family is ill?

A White friends in the neighbourhood?

B African-Caribbean friends further away?

C Non-white friends in your neighbourhood?

D Support from professionals (social services)?

E Any other (elaborate

29. At the celebration of a wedding, birthday or holiday are your guests mainly

A White friends in your neighbourhood?

B white friends further away?

C African-Caribbean friends from within your town?

D African-Caribbeans friends further away?

E African-Caribbean friends in your neighbourhood?

F A mixture (Asians 1 Chinese 2 Africans 3 Afro-Caribbeans 4
Whites 5 (Circle group or groups)

G What other .....

.....

---

30 When you first moved into your home, what was the reception in the neighbourhood like?

friendly 1

unfriendly 2

indifferent/
neutral 3

don't know 4

RECORD 2

31 Is there a community centre near to you?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3

32 How often do you part-take in social events in your neighbourhood community centre.

frequently 1

occasionally 2

never 3

If never, why

.....

.....

33. Do (Did) your children get involved in your neighbourhood community centre?

frequently 1

occasionally 2

never 3

34. Do (did) your children meet with other black children to play or socialise?

.....

35. Where do (did) your children socialise with black children?

.....

.....

36. Would you say that community centres provide adequately for the social and recreational needs of African-Caribbeans?

yes 1 no 2 Don't know 3

If yes,

explain.....

.....

.....

If no,

explain.....

.....

.....

37.(say this only to overseas born)

Many black people who came to Britain/ Scotland were regular churchgoers in their country of birth.

Do you attend a church in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2 go occasionally

If no, why?

.....

.....

Which church do you normally go to in Scotland?

What are white church goers attitude towards you generally?

.....

.....

(Overseas born)
What is the church atmosphere like compared with churches in your country of birth or black churches in England?

.....

.....

.....

QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH CULTURAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND

37. Do you keep up any African-Caribbean traditions in Scotland?e.g Story-telling (Anansi the spider tales)

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know of any traditions 3

If yes, say something about it?

.....

.....

.....

38 Do you support cultural functions organised by the African -Caribbean community in Scotland? eg Africa day? Afro-Brazilian dances?

yes 1 no 2

38a. If yes, why?.....

.....

.....

38b. and, which is the last function you attended?

.....

.....

38c. If no, give reason.....

.....

39. Do you attend International African, Afro-Caribbean or Afro-American cultural shows which come to Scotland? eg Fatala, Svinurai, Cotton Club, West Indian Calypso bands?

yes 1 no 2

If yes, why? .....

.....

.....

If no, give reasons.....

.....

.....

40. Which is the last show you attended? and where?

.....

.....

41.. Do you think it is important to pass on to African-Caribbean children their cultural values in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2

42. Do (Did) you think that it is (was) important to pass on to your children African-Caribbean cultural tradition in Scotland?

yes 1 No 2 (give reason for your choices)

.....

.....

.....

42a If yes, how do (did) you do it?

(Tick as appropriate) 1

Reading books about Africa and or the Caribbean 2

Telling them about life in Africa or the Caribbean 3

Watching videos at home about black people in Africa, the Caribbean or the USA. 4

Attending African-Caribbeans social functions in Scotland. 5

Occassional visits to Africa or the Caribbean. 6

Visits to London to attend social functions where more African-Caribbean people live. 7

Organising social events for your children and others in Scotland. 8

None of the above 9

In what ways, then, explain

.....

.....

43. Is African-Caribbean food cooked at your home

Frequently 1

Always 2

occasionally 3.

never 4.

44. What African or Afro-Caribbean food(s) is (are) prepared most regularly in your home?

.....

.....

45. Do you eat African-Caribbean food?

Yes 1 No 2

Never eaten it 3

Eat it occasionally 4

46. Do (did) your children eat African-Caribbean food at home?

yes 1 No 2

47. Do you listen to African-Caribbean music at home?

Yes 1 No 2

frequently 3

all the time 4

occasionally 5

never 6

What would you say is typical of African-Caribbean music?

.....

.....

48. Are your children familiar with African-Caribbean music?

yes 1 No 2

49. Had you been living in Africa or the Caribbean your childrenwould have been seeing black people in all kinds of roles eg Presidents, Prime Ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, community leaders etc. How do (did) you give your children, in Scotland, a positive image about black people whom they donot often see in such roles on Scottish TV, in books at school or in real life.

reading about important black people in history 1

telling about important black people at home 2

telling about important black people in Britain 3

other, explain

.....

.....

49a Can you name a few of these black people you talk about?

.....

.....

50. If you were living in Africa or the Caribbean your children would have been learning about their heritage and culture from gandparents, the extended family and in their day to day life.
Do (Did) you tell your children about your roots in Africa or in the Caribbean?

Yes 1 No 2

50a What kind of things do (did) you tell them?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.

51. When do you think African peoples first started to live in Scotland?

.....

.....

52. What jobs do you think African peoples have done in Scotland through the ages?

.....

.....

Do you know of anyone who did those jobs?

.....

EMPLOYMENT

53. Do you work in Scotland?

yes 1 no 2

(Yes go to Ques 52)

53. If no, are you

retired 3

unemployed 4

student 5

53a. If retired or unemployed what work did you do before?

.....

54. Are (were) you self-employed?

yes 1 no 2

(Retired & Unemployed go to 54)

55. What type of work do you do for a living in Scotland?

.....

56. Do (Did) you work?

Full time 1

Part time 2

Job share 3

57. What times do (did) you work?

9 - 5 1

long weekends 2

early in the mornings 3

late at nights 4

nights 5

Any other (Describe) 6

58. Is (Was) your job reflective of your experience or qualification?

Yes 1 No 3

If no, why?.....

.....

.....

59. Do (Did) you think that you are (were) employed below your experience and/or qualification?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, explain

.....

.....

60. What is your highest training or qualification?.

.....

.....

TENURE

61. Are you a(an)

1.
House owner 1

Outright owner (a) buying with loan (b) mortgage (c)

2.
private tenant 2

3.
council tenant 3

4.
living with parents 4

5.
housing association tenant 5

62. Type of Dwelling

1. Flat 1

Low rise (a) less than 4 floors High rise (b)

2 terrace 2

3. semi-detached 3

4. detached

RACISM

63. Do you think that some white people in Scotland discriminate against people with dark complexion.

Yes 1 No 2

64. Do you think that racism exists in Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, in what forms?

.....

.....

65. Have you ever experienced any of the following in Scotland?
(Tick as appropiate)

(a) Discrimination in selecting jobs

(b) Discrimination in the housing market?

(c) Verbal abuse or threats

(d) Physical harassment or violence?

66. What is the attitude of white people towards you generally?

polite	1
pay scant attention to you	2
racist	3
indifferent	4
varies	5

67. Have you ever experienced any of the following in Scotland? How often?

	Yes	No	All the time	often	occasionally	rarely
1 Being slighted in the workplace	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. When you are in white company they talk to each other as though you don't exist	1	2	3	4	5	6
3 Being glared at menacingly when you enter a pub	1	2	3	4	5	6
4 The vacant seat next to you on the bus or train is the last to be taken	1	2	3	4	5	6
5 Your cheque card is subjected to very long scrutiny in banks or supermarkets	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 Whites talk to you normally when inside a building but pretend not to notice you on the road or in public	1	2	3	4	5	6

Any other?

.....

.....

68 .(employed) Would you say that racial discrimination hinder(ed)s your path to progress up the job ladder in Scotland?

yes 1 No 2

If yes, explain

.....

.....

69. (unemployed) Would you say that racial discrimination prevent(ed)s you from obtaining jobs?

yes 1 No 2

If yes, why do you think so?

.....

.....

70. (private owners & council tenants)
Would you say that racial discrimination prevent(ed)s you from obtaining suitable housing accommodation..

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3

If Yes, What are your reasons?

.....

.....

71. (private tenants)
Have you experienced racism in obtaining rented accommodation?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, explain.

.....

.....

72. Have you ever experienced racism where you live?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, in what forms?

.....

.....

73. (House owners)
Have you experienced racial discrimination when selling a house?

Yes 1 No 2 Difficult to tell 3

Never sold a house 4

If yes, how could you tell?

.....

.....

74. Have you ever experienced racist name calling in Scotland?

sometimes 1

frequently 2

once in a while 3

never 4

What names have you been called?

.....

.....

75. Ha(ve)s your child(ren) ever received racist name calling at school or in the Park etc?

.....

76. Have you ever been racially abused (verbally) in Scotland?

yes 1 No 2

once 1

frequently 2

never 3

try to avoid the situation 4

77. Have you been physically abused in Scotland as a result of racism?

yes 1 No 2

If yes, describe circumstances.

.....

.....

.....

78. Have you heard about any African Caribbean person who has been physically abused in Scotland as a result of racism?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, what happened?

.....

.....

79. Have you heard about any African-Caribbean who has been verbally abused in Scotland because of racism?

.....

.....

.....

MIGRATION

80 Has any one in your family migrated from Scotland?

Yes 1 No 2

If, yes where to?

.....

Was the reason any of these

employment 3

study 4.

marriage 5.

any other 6.

Elaborate on your choice. 7.

.....

.....

.....

.....

81. Do you know of any person of African or Afro-Caribbean origin who once lived in Edinburgh and migrated South?

Yes 1 No 2

If yes, where to .....

and about how many of them?.....

.....

82 Do you know of any African or Afro-Caribbean person who once lived in Scotland and migrated overseas(to Canada or the USA).(explain)

.....

.....

ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND

83. Sex

Male .... 1 Female 2

84. Marital status

single	1
married	2
living as married	3
divorced	4
separated	5
widowed	6

85. Place of Birth

Africa	1
Caribbean	2
Scotland	3
England	4
U.S.A	5
Any other	6

If from Africa or the Caribbean state which country?

.....

If British born from which countries did your parents originate?

mother.....

father.....

From which country did your grandparents originate?

mother side

mother .....

father .....

father side

mother .....

father .....

86. Are you married to a(n)

African	1
Afro-Caribbean	2
Scot	3
English	4
Welsh	5
Any other (explain)	6

.....

Not married 7

87. If African, from which country?

.....

88. If Afro-Caribbean, from which country?

.....

89. Do you have children?

Yes...1 No...2

How many?

90. AGE

How old are you?

.....

.....

Age range

15-24	1
25-34	2
35-44	3
45-64	4
65-74	5
75-84	6
85 and over	7

91. Do you think that many Scottish people are aware that African-Caribbean people live in Scotland.

.....

92. Are you treated as a stranger in Scotland by Scottish people?

Yes 1 No 2

If Yes, why do you think so?

.....

.....

93. Are your children treated as though they don't belong to Scotland even though they have been born here.

Yes 1 No 2

If Yes, why do you think so?

.....

.....

94. What do you think the future holds for young Afro-Scots in Scotland?

.....

.....

.....

95. What collective efforts are (did) you undertak(e)ing in your community or in Scotland to make their future better than yours?

.....

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

June Evans

1992

APPENDIX 2

Some tabulated questionnaire results and tables of other figures used.

Question 85 (Figure 5-1)

Countries of origin of respondents	
Ghana	25
Nigeria	11
Kenya	6
Zimbabwe	5
South Africa	3
Sierra Leone	3
Zambia	2
Malawi	2
Uganda	2
Liberia	1
Gambia	1
Botswana	1
Tanzania	1
Guyana	6
Trinidad	6
Barbados	4
Jamaica	3
Dominica	2
Venezuela	1
Belize	1
U.K.born	13

Question 7 (Figure 5-3)

Reasons for coming to Scotland			
Work	Study	Marriage	Other
12	44	27	17

Question 10

Countries (other than native land) lived in before coming to the U.K.
(39% of respondents, but some had lived in more than one country)

USA	9
Jamaica	5
Nigeria	4
Kenya	3
Germany	3
Canada	3
Denmark	2
France	2
Zimbabwe	2
Italy	2
Sudan	1
Saudi Arabia	1
Costa Rica	1
Bahamas	1
Netherlands	1
Trinidad	1
Gambia	1
Norway	1
Togo	1
Hong Kong	1
Barbados	1
Switzerland	1
Greece	1
Israel	1

Question 90 (Figure 5-5)
Age groups in sample

25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
34	36	18	7	4	1

Question 1 (Figure 5-6)
Length of stay in Scotland, years

0-5	23
6-10	18
11-15	10
16-20	17
21-25	12
26-30	13
31-35	2
36-40	2
41-45	1
46-50	1
51-55	0
56-60	0
61-65	0
66-70	1
71-75	0

Question 84 (Figure 5-7)
Marital status of sample

(Male :Female ratio 47:53)

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Living together	Separated
67	20	7	2	3	1

Question 55 (Figure 5.9)

Social class (based on occupation)
(From Standard Occupational Classification groups and employment status)

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Professional	Managerial & Technical	Skilled	Partly-skilled	Unskilled
28	28	25	4	5

(Unclassified - 10)

Question 56 (Figures 5.11, 5.12)
Working patterns

Working	Not working	Retired	Unemployed	Student	Self-employed
77	22	7	5	7	18

(Declined to reply -1)

Working full time	Working part time
68	15

Question 57 (Figure 5.12)

Working hours (% of those working)	
9 - 5	'Unsocial hours'(Weekends, shifts)
50%	49%

Question 60 (Figure 5-8)

Educational qualifications

Degree	Diploma	SRN	Vocational	School leaver	No qualification
51	17	9	7	6	10

Question 61 (Figure 5.13)
Householding

Council tenant	Outright owner	Mortgage/loan	Housing Association	Private tenant
11	11	55	5	15
(+3 with parents)				
From census figures - total Scottish population				
34.9%	16.4%	37.1%	6%	6.9%
'Black' population				
24.2%	6.6%	33.5%	6.2%	29.5%

Question 62 (Figure 5.14)
Type of housing

Detached	Semi-detached	Terrace	Flat	Room/bedsit
8	26	14	52	--
From census figures - total Scottish population				
17.0%	20.0%	24.0%	38.3%	0.2%
'Black' population(by head of household)				
10.8%	12.5%	16.4%	57.7%	1.6%

Question 66 (Figure 7-7)
Attitude of white Scots to African-Caribbeans

Polite	Scant attention	Racist	Indifferent	Variable
48	10	4	11	50

Question 67/1 (Figures 7-8, 7-9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Slights in the workplace			
All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
0	2	23	19

Question 67/2 (Figure 7-8, 7-9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Existence being ignored					
Yes	No	All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
39	51	2	2	20	13

Question 67/3 (Figure 7-8, 7-9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Menacing glares in pubs					
Yes	No	All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
45	33	4	5	20	6

Question 67/4 (Figure 7-8, 7-9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Last vacant seat in bus					
Yes	No	All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
62	25	6	16	28	7

Question 67/5 (Figure 7-8, 7-9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Long scrutiny of cheque card					
Yes	No	All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
41	47	3	4	18	9

Question 67/6 (Figure 7-8, 7-.9)

Perceptions of racist attitudes of white Scots to African-Caribbeans Existence being ignored in public					
Yes	No	All the time	Often	Occasionally	Rare
52	37	7	7	23	9

Question 68 (Figure 7-1)

Respondents experiences of racism				
Experienced	In Job	In housing	Verbal abuse	Physical abuse
98	43	9	69	16

Question 72 (Figure 7-2)

How often do you experience racial abuse ?

Never	Sometimes	Rarely/once in a while	Frequently
13	37	45	2

Question 75 (Figure 7-4)

Have your children been racially abused (verbally) at school?

Sometimes	Frequently	Rarely	Never	No response/children too young
39	5	2	7	6

(59 respondents with children)

% of those respondents with children				
66.1	8.47	3.38	11.86	10.1

Question 86 (Figure 5-8)
Origins of respondents' spouses

Africa	23
African-Caribbean	6
Scotland	28
England	9
Ireland	1
Asia	2
Black British	1

Figure 7.3 Verbal abuse and threats reported to Lothian and Borders police 1988-92

1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
58	49	68	77	102

Figure 7.5 Racial assaults reported to Lothian and Borders police 1988-92

1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
10	9	43	61	43

APPENDIX 3 - DUNBAR'S POEM

ON ANE BLAK-MOIR LADYE.

LANG heff I maed of ladyis quhytt;
Now of ane black I will indytt,
That landet furth of the lait ſchippis.
How fain wald I diſcryve perfytt
My ladye with the mekle lippis!

How ſcho is tute-mowitt lyk ane aep;
And lyk a gangarel onto graep.
And how hir ſchort catt-nois up ſkippis.
And how ſcho ſchynes lyk ony ſaep.
My ladye with the mekle lippis.

Quhen ſcho is claid in reche apparall,
Scho blinkis as brycht as ane tar-barrell.
Quhen ſcho was borne the ſone tholit clippis;
The nycht be fain fiucht in hir quarrell.
My lady with the mekle lippis.

Quha for hir ſack, with ſpeir and ſcheld,
Preſſis maiſt mychtely in the feld,
Sall kiſs, and with hir go in grippis;
And fra thynefurth hir luf ſall weld
My lady with the meikle lippis.

And quha in felde receavis ſchaem,
And tynis thair his knychtlé naem,
Sall cum behind and kiſs hir hippis;
And nevir other comfort claem.
My lady with the mekle lippis.

Quod Dunbar of ane blak-moir.

APPENDIX 4 - APPEAL TO LEITH RESIDENTS

LEITHERS

DEAR LEITHERS,

I AM A POST-GRADUATE RESEARCH STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, UNDERTAKING DOCTORAL RESEARCH ON THE AFRICAN PRESENCE IN SCOTLAND. DOCUMENTS SHOW PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN OR DESCENT LIVING IN SCOTLAND SINCE THE EARLY 1500's. SO FAR I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FIND A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF INFORMATION ON AFRICANS IN SCOTLAND IN THE 1700's AND THE 1800's.

FOR EXAMPLE, A LEITH PARISH REGISTER HAD THIS IN 1784:-

> Bennat - Mr Bennat from Jamaica had a black servant named Ann Bennat baptised by Rev. Mr Thomas Scott on the 11th Oct. 1784. She is about 19 years of age. Witnesses Mr John Hadaway, Merchant in Leith, Mr Patrick Hadaway Brewer there and the said Mr Bennat.

AT THE MOMENT I AM TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT AFRICANS WHO MIGHT HAVE LIVED IN LEITH IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY. SEVERAL AFRICANS AND AFRO-CARIBBEANS WERE SAILORS AT LEITH. ONE EVEN OWNED A GUEST HOUSE, ANOTHER WAS A PREACHER. AFRICANS ALSO CAME TO SCOTLAND AS STUDENTS. A FEW WERE LODGERS IN LEITH.IS THERE ANY HISTORY OR REMINISCENCE THAT YOU OR ANY ONE IN YOUR FAMILY MIGHT HAVE ABOUT AFRICANS, AFRO-CARIBBEANS OR THEIR DESCENDANTS IN LEITH? ANY INFORMATION WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

JUNE EVANS

Information can be sent to
June Evans - Geography Department
University of Edinburgh,
Drummond Street,
Edinburgh.
Tel: 650 2528/2523 or 664 5916

APPENDIX 5
PROBLEMS OF, AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SURVEY

A few whom I phoned or made contact with by word of mouth stated that they were not interested and that they never answered questionnaires of any kind. Gauging from reactions it did seem that it was the first time African/Caribbeans had been asked about their life in Scotland and some did not know what to make of a study that was aimed specifically at them, particularly one conducted by a black female. One possible reason for this stems from the exclusionary behaviour of interviewers (or even charity workers seeking funds) who generally bypass African/Caribbeans on the streets. It seems that their opinions (or support) are rarely sought.

However, some Afro-Caribbeans seemed more willing and wanted to be part of the research for they felt it could improve their situation here if more were known about it. This willingness on the part of Afro-Caribbeans could be in part because the author is Afro-Caribbean. On the other hand, it could also be attributed to the fact that many Afro-Caribbeans came to Britain on their own free will and not because of political conflicts at home. Hence this group was not constrained and discussed subjects freely. There was never the fear of retribution of any kind or a feeling of 'if I say too much I can be victimised' which is an underlying fear of some Africans. The refugee status of some Africans might have contributed to this as individuals thus classed are not supposed to get involve in politics.

Not every Afro-Caribbean completed the questionnaire but some were gracious about it. For example a letter was received from a non-respondent asking me to forgive her for not filling in the questionnaire but saying that some how it did not seem to concern her. The person in question has lived for over thirty five years in Scotland after coming here with her parents from the Caribbean as a young child. Even though I respected her wishes, her attitude was surprising for her own mother completed the questionnaire and returned it. This reluctance on the part of native born Afro-Scots, individuals who grew up in Scotland, or Afro-Caribbean individuals who came to Scotland before experiencing nationhood in their country of birth, was pronounced. Some Afro-Scots, in fact either returned the questionnaire unanswered or did not send it back. Low response from this group seemed to be due to the relatively low interest in Afro-centric heritage and culture. A few individuals with whom I discussed this matter argued that this is always the tendency of the first generation who are concerned more with establishing a place for themselves within the

place of their birth. It is usually the second generation which begins the quest for ancestral heritage. Reservations were expressed by the older generation of Afro-Caribbeans who seemed resigned to their fate, having passed through all that was on offer in Scotland, and who now just wanted to live life with their Scottish born children and grandchildren. Other Afro-Caribbeans, however, wanted to know what was the 'real' purpose of the study and asked if I am being 'used by academics' as the questions were so thorough and piercing. The questions 'hit home' as one respondent claimed. Others felt it made them think about their future as well as their children's future in Scotland. A few individuals, understandably, did not see the need for a study as their history is still alive with them, they talk about it and live with it in their day to day existence. This view, however, might be apt for the short term and the present but from an academic as well as cultural perspective there is need for such a study as this or the present oral knowledge will eventually die with the people, leaving no trace of their presence in Scotland just as past African/Caribbeans have faded from Scottish history.

OBSERVATIONS OF STUDY

Although the postal questionnaire displaced the closeness that I had with respondents, it shielded me from certain sections of the questionnaire such as 'racism'. This section was the most awkward to administer. Even though racism is experienced, it is sometimes a taboo subject and few are prepared to admit readily to its presence, for it is seen as something of a humiliation. Sometimes it did seem too painful for respondents to give a true answer and they escaped by saying 'no' or 'this never happened to me'. For example, one old Afro-Caribbean gentleman was so insistent on saying that he did not experience racism that his Scottish wife and daughter had to express incredulity. When he said that his children did not experience racism at school or in the park, both his daughter and his wife contradicted him. The daughter later told me that she indeed experienced racism at school. The wife, too, seemed taken aback for as a white person married to a black, she herself had experienced much of the racism directed at her husband. He just wanted to forget it. Even with the postal questionnaire there seemed to have been reluctance about answering questions about racism. Some respondents left out the section out altogether or just answered 'no'. One wanted to know why we have to keep harping on about racism. The pain of racism, I assume, was a cause for people wishing to evade the issue. Others wanted to share their experiences.

Since the questions on racism were based on experiences that I have heard people discuss frequently and on incidents known to have occurred, it was sometimes eye opening to read

replies to some questions. Verbal abuse and racist name calling, in my experience, are normal occurrences in Scotland. To have lived in Scotland from one to twenty one years without even being called a racist name or name pertaining to the colour of a dark skin seemed unlikely. Some respondents were charitable and said that incidents could have been racism but could have been the individual or youthful pranks or ignorance. Sometimes I felt that there was a lack of frankness. For example, one respondent told me that his wife's cheque card was subjected to long and frequent scrutiny in supermarkets but his wife answered 'no' to that particular question. Another respondent who is known to many to have left the job because of the institutional racism concerning promotions also claimed that racism was not an impediment. One individual with whom I had an informal interview remarked that she has to live "in this white society" and that she "will not jeopardise her children's future".

These were some of the surprises to emerge from the questionnaire. Some people would discuss with you orally their their life experiences and problems with racism in Scotland, but were quite reluctant to put it down on paper. A former Belizean forestry worker was willing to talk about his life but would not fill the questionnaire. His experience, he claimed, with journalists, on this topic had made him very cautious. He was adamant that he would give me all the information I needed by word of mouth but he was not going to commit anything to paper. He refused to answer the questionnaire even when I offered to fill it for him. This fear of "officialdom" was one of the reasons why I never asked anyone for a taped interview.

Appendix 6

Areas where some respondents *live* - Edinburgh

Wardie
TRINITY
EH5
North Leith
HARBOUR
LEITH
Bonnington
EH6
Goldenacre
Warriston
ALLOTMENTS
Inverleith
INVERLEITH
Royal Botanic
Garden
EH3
Broughton
EH7
BROUGHTON
Pilrig
LORNE
South Leith
Comely Bank
STOCKBRIDGE
Stockbridge
CENTRAL
LEITH
Dean
Village
NEW TOWN
CALTON
Calton
Greenside
Abbeyhill
LONDON ROAD
Hillside
Canongate
HOLYROOD
PARK
Arthur's Seat
Dalry
Fountainbridge
TOLLCROSS
HAYMARKET
EH1
ST. GILES
EH8
Leonards
Polwarth
MERCHISTON
Merchiston
Church Hill
MARCHMONT
Grange
SCIENNES
EH9
MAYFIELD
MORNINGSIDE
Blackford
EH10
BLACKFORD
Brunstfield
Marchmont
Newington
PRESTONFIELD
Meadows
Water of Leith
Powderhall Stadium
Royal Infirmary
Simpson Meml Maternity Pavilion
Royal Hosp for Sick Children
Astley Ainslie Hospital
Royal Edinburgh Hospital
Lothian Health Board
Waverley Sta.
Haymarket Sta.
Bus Sta.
Victoria Park
St Mark's Park
Pilrig Park
Springfield
Leith Links
Calton Gallery
Royal Terrace Gardens
Princes Street Gardens
Queen Street Gardens
Meadowbank
Easter Warriston
Warriston Cemetery
Rosebank Cemetery
Dean Cemetery
Grange Cemetery
Newington Cemetery
Fettes College
Edinburgh Academy
Trinity Academy / Telford Coll. Annexe
Leith Academy
Royal Botanic Garden
Inverleith Park
Meadowbank Sports Centre
Royal Commonwealth Pool
Scottish Widows H.O
Edinburgh District Council
Lochend Loch
St Margaret's Loch
Duddingston Loch
Salisbury Crags
Samson's Ribs
Queen's Drive
Nether Hill
Gutted Haddie
Hunter's Bog
Dumbiedykes
Palace of Holyroodhouse
Abbeyhill
Easter Road
Leith Walk
Ferry Road
Great Junction Street
Bonnington Road
Pilrig Street
Lochend Road
Lorne Street
Commercial Street
Constitution Street
Bernard Street
Baltic Street
Sandport Street
Dock Place
Duke Street
Broughton Street
Broughton Road
Claremont Street
Annandale Street
Leith Street
Calton Hill
Regent Road
Waterloo Place
Princes Street
Queen Street
George Street
Hanover Street
Frederick Street
Castle Street
North Bridge
South Bridge
High Street
Cowgate
Canongate
Holyrood Road
Dalry Road
Haymarket Terrace
Morrison Street
Gardner's Crescent
Fountainbridge
West Approach Road
Melville Drive
Marchmont Road
Warrender Park Road
Braid Road
Morningside Road
Comiston Road
Clerk Street
Leamington Road
Salisbury Road
Dalkeith Road
Craigmillar Park
Mayfield Road
Craigmillar Park Road
Lady Road
Duddingston Road West
Duddingston Road
Milton Road
Willowbrae Road
Restalrig Road
Easter Road
Ferry Road
Inverleith Row
Inverleith Place
Arboretum Road
Kinnear Road
Fettes Rise
Boswall Parkway
Boswall Road
Boswall Drive
Boswall Terrace
Boswall Avenue
Boswall Crescent
Boswall Green
Boswall Quadrant
Boswall Gardens
Boswall Court
Boswall Bank
Boswall Av
Fraser Av
Fraser Gdns
Fraser Ct
Fraser Cres
Trinity Road
Trinity Crescent
Trinity Gardens
Trinity Grove
Trinity Place
Trinity Ct
Trinity Gro
Trinity Terr
Trinity Av
Trinity Gdns
Trinity Pl
Trinity Rd
Trinity Ter
Trinity Cres
Trinity Academy
Trinity Hall
Trinity Apse
Trinity Cemetery
Trinity Crematorium
Trinity Academy / Telford Coll. Annexe

Areas where some respondents live - Glasgow


M8
Clyde
River Clyde
EXPRESSWAY
CLYDESIDE
GOVAN ROAD
PAISLEY ROAD WEST
EDMISTON DRIVE
HELENSTON
RENFREW ROAD
SHIELDHALL
PAISLEY ROAD
Govan
Drumoyne
Shieldhall
Elder Park
Kingston
Finnieston
Anderston
Kelvingrove
Woodlands
Woodside
Hillhead
Partickhill
Broomhill
Dowanhill
Hyndland
Kelvinside
Wyndford
Kelvindale
Maryhill
Partick
Clayton
Jordanhill
Scotstoun
Scotstounhill
Whiteinch
Anniesland
Knightswood
Knightswood Golf Course
Temple
Garnethill
Cowcaddens
Harthill
North Kelvinside
Possilpark
Bellahouston
Ibrox
Govan
Dumbarton Road
Crow Road
Balshagray Av
Saracen St
Craighall Rd
Hillhead Street
Kelvin Way
Maryhill Road
Great Western Road
Queen Margaret Drive
Lincoln Avenue
Hamilton Road
Renfrew Road
Clyde Tunnel
Kingston Bridge
Kingston Park
Victoria Park
Scotstoun Leisure Centre
Scotstoun Sports Centre
Govan Workspace
Govan Town Hall
Govan Old Parish Church
Govan Graving Docks
Govan Subway
Govan Cross
Govan Road Retail Park
Shieldhall Cemetery
Elder Cemetery
Partick Cemetery
Western Infirmary
Queen Margaret University
Glasgow University
Kelvin Hall
Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum
Kelvingrove Park
Kelvingrove Bandstand
Kelvingrove Lawn Cemetery
Maryhill Burial Ground
Bunhill Burial Ground
Temple Cemetery
Knightswood Cemetery
Bellahouston Park
Ibrox Stadium
Ibrox Park
Govan Underground
Govan Ferry
Govan Shipyard
Govan Dry Dock
Govan Graving Docks
Govan Workspace
Govan Town Hall
Govan Old Parish Church
Govan Cross
Govan Road Retail Park
Govan Subway