

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: TODAY WE ARE ALL SCOTTISH:
PERFORMANCES OF SELF, COMMUNITY, AND
NATION AT HIGHLAND GAMES AND
GATHERINGS

Karalee Dawn, Doctor of Philosophy, 2014

Directed By: Associate Professor, Dr. Laurie Frederik Meer
School of Theatre, Dance, & Performance Studies

In this dissertation, I analyze the complicated history and markers of cultural identity, as well as the sometimes-diverse performances of Scotland and Scottishness. I have documented that although Scottish symbols carry centuries of meaning, they have not endured without reinventions and struggle. Whether they are seen in Scotland or at Highland Games and Gatherings in the United States, and regardless of the traditions' "inventedness," "selectivity" or contested status, their interaction and dialogism work to represent the unique history and heritage of Scottish national cultural identity in local communities and in the overseas marketing campaigns for a growing and essential tourism industry.

This dissertation examines the factors that draw together thousands of people who proudly proclaim (or seek) their Scottish heritage in a variety of performances, rituals and festivities. I examine how popular markers of Scottish heritage, such as bagpipe playing, kilt wearing, and clan affiliation transform when they change locations and cross borders. I ask if the "Wearing of the Tartan" changes meaning when it shifts locations, and I investigate how issues of shared heritage, genealogy, and membership are interpreted and enacted in a global Scottish community.

TODAY WE ARE ALL SCOTTISH:
PERFORMANCES OF SELF, COMMUNITY, AND NATION
AT HIGHLAND GAMES AND GATHERINGS

By

Karalee Dawn

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2014

Advisory Committee:

Dr. Laurie Frederik Meer, Chair

Dr. Franklin J. Hildy

Dr. Esther Kim Lee

Dr. Erve Chambers

Dr. William Taft Stuart, Deans Representative

© Copyright By
Karalee Dawn
2014

Dedication

For my mom, Linda Carol Kinsinger
Grandpa Maynard Kinsinger
Grandma Nora Kinsinger
Harley Dawn

This is for you...I couldn't have done it without you.
You were always there with your unconditional love and support...
I miss you all.

Acknowledgments

This work is based on a series of interviews, surveys and participant observations that I completed on research trips to Scotland in the summers of 2009 and 2011, and by attending twelve Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings in the United States. This research was made possible by the generous funding of the International Initiatives Committee (The School of Theatre, Dance, and Performance Studies) and a Graduate Student Summer Research Grant provided by The Graduate School, University of Maryland.

I am deeply indebted to the many Scots that opened up their homes, hobbies and lives to me on my travels. Their generosity and honesty is deeply appreciated, as are the music, dance and storytelling lessons and adventures. Debra and Jim Davidson are owed a special debt of gratitude as they opened up their Clan Davidson tent to me on multiple occasions and were always willing to answer my endless questions. I am also grateful to my many professors, friends and colleagues at the University of Maryland that have spent countless hours talking with me, reading early papers and chapters, and listening to conference papers as I developed my research. A note of special thanks goes to Natalie Tenner, Gina Pissasale and Robert Thompson for always providing a critical eye, moral support and friendly encouragement, (not to mention quite a few Strong Bows).

My colleagues in the Arts Management program at George Mason University were also incredibly supportive of my research and a source of inspiration on many occasions. A special thank you goes to Dean William Reeder, Andy Bursten, Paul D'Andrea, and AMGT Program Directors Richard Kamenitzer and Claire Huschle,

who were always encouraging and supportive of my research. I am also grateful to my “kids” and “peeps” (my amazing students) in the Master of Arts in Arts Management program at GMU. I have been so blessed to be able to teach and work with each of you. Your generosity and interest in my research was much appreciated.

This work would not have been possible without my dissertation committee. I would like to thank Dr. Franklin J. Hildy, Dr. Esther Kim Lee, Dr. Erve Chambers, Dr. William Stuart and Dr. Heather Nathans for their guidance through this process and their willingness to work with me through many obstacles that were part of this endeavor. A very special thank you is due to my advisor, Dr. Laurie Frederik Meer, for her unwavering support, encouragement, insight and guidance through the amazing six-year journey of this project. I will be forever grateful that you joined the faculty at the University of Maryland and opened up this fascinating world of ethnography and performance studies. You helped me take a vague idea and shape it into a research project that has been so incredibly fulfilling and full of adventure. Thank you.

Finally, this is for my best friend and husband, Cliff MacKay. Thank you for your love, understanding, patience and inspiration—and for always being willing to play the bagpipes for me. You are an amazing man, Mr. MacKay! I look forward to many more adventures on our journeys across the United States and Scotland with our four-legged “kids,” Poncha Heather Dawn and Magnus Maxwell MacKay.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
 Chapter One: Introduction.....	 1
 Chapter Two: Scotland and Scottishness.....	 22
 Chapter Three: Blood, Birth, Tartans and Clans: Genetics, Artifacts and the Claiming of Scottishness.....	 47
 Chapter Four: Highland Games and Gatherings: Nation-Making through Competition, Festival, and Play.....	 86
 Chapter Five: Ceremonies and Ritual: Opening Ceremonies, Massed Bands and Spectacular Community Building.....	 137
 Chapter Six: Homecoming Scotland, The Gathering, and the Marketing of a Popular Cultural Homeland.....	 155
 Concluding Comments.....	 183
 Epilogue: The Making of a True Scot	 194
 Appendix A: Highland Games and Gatherings Survey.....	 201
Appendix B: Scottish Highland Games: Bagpipe Survey.....	203
Appendix C: List of Highland Games & Gathering.....	205
Appendix D: Aboyne Highland Games List of Events.....	209
Appendix E: Competitive Events at the Highland Games.....	213
Glossary.....	230
Bibliography.....	232

List of Figures

(All photos taken by the author)

Figure # 1: The Beginning of the Clan March up the Royal Mile, Edinburgh.....	2
Figure # 2: Map of Scotland.....	23
Figure # 3: Clan Davidson List of Clan Septs.....	60
Figure # 4: Clan Morrison DNA Project Poster.....	67
Figure # 5: Clan Village Ringing the Track at Grandfather Mountain.....	71
Figure # 6: Small Section of the Clan Village Tents at Grandfather Mountain.....	71
Figure # 7: Clan Davidson Tent Overview with Debra & Jim Davidson.....	74
Figure # 8: Clan Davidson Family Home Model, Invernahavon, Scotland, 1400.....	75
Figure # 9: Location of the Clan Area at the Braemar Gathering	84
Figure # 10: The Massing of the Bands in Honor of Queen Elizabeth II.....	100
Figure # 11: Overview of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games.....	119
Figure # 12: Grandfather Mountain Entrance Through the Campground.....	122
Figure # 13: Overview of the Virginia Highland Games and Festival.....	126
Figure # 14: Massed Bands Marching at the New Hampshire Highland Games.....	132
Figure # 15: Clan Roll Call at the New Hampshire Highland Games.....	144
Figure# 16: Opening Ceremony Massing of the Bands, VA Highland Games.....	154
Figure # 17: Section of the Clan Village at The Gathering, Edinburgh.....	161
Figure # 18: A Section of The Clan Village, The Gathering, Edinburg.....	168
Figure #19: Massed Bands Lining Up to Perform at The Gathering	169
Figure # 20: MacKay Wedding.....	196
Figure # 21: Clan MacKay Tent at Grandfather Mountain Highland Games.....	200
Figure # 22: Clan MacKay Crest and Motto “With a Strong Hand”	201

Chapter One: Introduction

From July 24-26, 2009, over 47,000 people from over forty countries traveled to Edinburgh, Scotland to take part in The Gathering, a featured event of Homecoming Scotland 2009. Organized as a way to honor the 250th birthday of Scottish poet Robert Burns, *Homecoming Scotland 2009* featured over two hundred events that were held throughout the country from Burns Night on January 25th through St. Andrew's Day on November 30th, 2009, all orchestrated to celebrate Scotland's heritage, history and people. All regions of Scotland took part in hosting their own *Homecoming* events, but the largest and most prominently featured was *The Gathering* in Edinburgh, which encouraged Scots at home and abroad to gather together and share their culture and heritage for all to witness.

On Saturday evening, July 25th, 20,000 spectators lined the Royal Mile and observed, applauded, and cheered more than 8,000 members of 124 Scottish clans as they marched from Holyrood Palace to Edinburgh Castle in a vibrant performance of clans, tartans, banners, kilts, bagpipes, and drummers. Led by the Scottish Guards, the line of tartan wearing marchers stretched for almost a mile, from the gates of Holyrood Castle down past Salisbury Crags. Clan after clan marched up the Royal Mile and into the Edinburgh Castle esplanade in a proud display of their culture, heritage and history. The Gathering website stated that this was the largest gathering of clans since the visit of King George IV in 1822.



Figure# 1: The Beginning of the Clan March up the Royal Mile, Edinburgh

That evening, thousands filled the grandstands to watch the sold-out production of *Aisling's Children: Tales of the Homecoming*. The performance represented the Scottish immigrant experience as it moved through multiple generations of the McLean clan in Scotland and throughout the world. The grand performance was staged on the esplanade in front of Edinburgh Castle. These events were all just a lead up to the keystone experience on The Gathering grounds, billed as the “greatest international clan gathering and Highland Games ever held in this

country.”¹ For four days, visitors from over forty countries and nationalities took part in events and competitions, traced their clan heritage, purchased merchandise, wore their kilts and tartans, ate haggis, drank whisky, connected with family members and friends (old and new), and proudly took part in and consumed all things Scottish. What was the catalyst that brought all of these people “home” to Scotland? It was the opportunity to share and perform their culture in its homeland with thousands of others in a display of Scottishness that had never before been seen on this scale. Through the wearing of the tartan and kilts and by taking part in clan activities, members of the Scottish Diaspora claim and perform their Scottishness through public ceremonies, rituals and displays. Nowhere is this claiming and performance of Scottish culture more on display than at the over four hundred Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings that are held annually throughout the world.

Highland Games and Gatherings

The Highland Games and Gatherings are cultural festivals, athletic competitions, music performances and competitions, carnivals, spectacles, rituals and perhaps even, “ethnic theme parks.” For my dissertation research, I set out to investigate just what they were, how to define them, and to assess their cultural, political and economic influence on Scotland itself, for the Scottish Diaspora, and for non-member lovers of all things Scottish. Today, there are over four hundred Highland Games and Gatherings held throughout the world from Brazil to Jamaica, Canada to New Zealand (see Appendix C for a listing of Highland Games). In

¹ “Homecoming Scotland 2009,” accessed on August 16, 2009, October 12, 2009 and November 16, 2011. <http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com/media-centre/gathering2009tickets.html>

Scotland there are sixty-two events that are held each year from May to October. In the United States there are one hundred and seventy annual events that are held from March through November. Events in both countries feature Highland bagpipe, dance, and heavy athletic competitions and a merchandise area featuring items for sale that include kilts, tartans, sporrans, clan crests, saltire flags, whisky, haggis, shortbread and many other items that proudly represent their Scottish heritage. Some Highland Games are small rural local community events and attract a few hundred participants and observers while others draw over twenty thousand people to their events. Some are more recent in origin while others such as the Braemar and Aboyne Highland Games claim origins that are several centuries old. Each year thousands of participants, competitors and spectators travel to these specific locations to take part in Scottish culture and heritage where they may participate or observe the many different events, competitions and performances of Scottishness.

The history of Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland is complicated since various types of events have been classified as a Highland Games as far back as the 11th century and the competitions that King Malcolm Ceann-Mor (Canmore) held at Braemar, Scotland.² The origins of the Braemar Gathering is said to be “an eleventh century incident when the King summoned the clans of the Braes of Mar, whereupon a hill race to the summit of Craig Choinneach was held.”³ Emily Ann Donaldson writes, “The influence of Malcolm Canmore is seen in every aspect of the Scottish Highland Games. The spectacular sword dance in the dancing competition is said to have originated at Dunsinane in 1054 when, according to legend, Malcolm

² Grant Jarvie, *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 3.

³ Jarvie, 20.

slew one of MacBeth's chieftains, crossed his own sword over that of the vanquished, and danced in exultation."⁴ These competitions spread throughout the Highland region as clan chiefs established contests of strength to determine who had the strongest warriors, messengers and loyal clan members.

The "modern" (post 1832) Highland Games are often considered to include the heavy athletic, dancing and music competitions, and are traced to the late 1700s⁵ with the Northern Meetings that were first held on June 11, 1788. Of these modern Games, the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering, first held in 1832, proudly bills itself as the longest continuously running Highland Games and the only event that members of the Royal Family regularly attend.⁶ The popularity of Braemar and the rise of tartanry led to the creation and establishment of other Games and Gatherings throughout Scotland.⁷ The growth of the Highland Games in Scotland in the late 18th and 19th centuries also informs us about the use and performance of Scottish culture as a way to re-establish their own cultural heritage as separate from that of the English following the Act of Union of 1707 and the rise of tartanry following the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822. From these early origins, the Highland Games have continued to grow in popularity over the last two hundred years. They have become destination events where Scottish culture and heritage is proudly

⁴ Emily Ann Donaldson, *Scottish Highland Games in America* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1986), 11.

⁵ Jarvie, 2.

⁶ The Braemar Royal Highland Gathering web site available at <http://www.braemargathering.org/history.htm> Accessed on April 24, 20012.

⁷ Tartanry is a term that is used to by scholars to refer to the romantization of Scotland that occurred in the late 1700s and early 1800s when the tartan, kilts, bagpipes and the Highlands became a popular way to imagine and reinvent the Scottish Highlands and culture and its history. In part due to the writings of Sir Walter Scott and the visit of the English King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, the heritage and culture of the Highlands became increasingly popular and a way to identify that culture in opposition to that of the English. Please see, Ian Brown (ed.), *From Tartans to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

performed, claimed, displayed and sometimes contested, as there are several understandings and opinions about what “authentic” Scottish culture entails.

These festivals of Scottish culture are not limited to their land of origin. In the United States, the Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings that are held each year attract thousands of competitors (those taking part in the athletic, music and dance competitions), participants (musicians, clan members and re-enactors) and spectators (audience and observers) from around the world. Highland Games are also held in Australia, Bermuda, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, South Korea, South Africa, and New Zealand, among many others. What factors draw so many people to travel to created sites on a specific weekend each year to proclaim (or seek) their Scottish heritage? By attending twenty-two different Highland Games in Scotland and the East Coast region of the United States, I have examined how issues of shared heritage, bloodlines, and clan membership in a unique global community is claimed and made visible and visit-able through the public display and performance of Scottish culture at the Highland Games.

There are multiple levels to investigate: How and why did the Games develop? What are they and what role do they have within Scottish culture and the creation of past traditions and myths that still exist today? What elements must be included in the performance of Scottish culture for it to be “authentic?” How do the symbols of Scottish heritage transform when they change locations and cross borders? Does the “Wearing of the Tartan” mean the same thing in Edinburgh as it does in Linville, North Carolina and what does it symbolize to the rest of society?

Finally, how do native born Scots view the Games as a representation of their culture compared and contrasted to the non-native born but of Scottish heritage?

My work adds to the current scholarship on Scotland and Scottish culture by incorporating an ethnographic methodology that allows me to examine, research and explore in a qualitative and in-depth way, how Scottish cultural identity is being identified, claimed, and performed at the Games today, as well as how that then relates back to a national and international movement. My dissertation examines the cultural and symbolic significance of the Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings as “theatre” and performance, and how various issues such as the concepts of a cultural “home,” identity, tradition and heritage are constructed, maintained, and also transformed, changed and reinterpreted.

Review of Literature & Theoretical Framework

Several books have been written over the last thirty years that trace the history of the Games in Scotland and the United States. Grant Jarvie’s, *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth* (1991), focuses on the cultural and historical context of the Games in Scotland. Jarvie’s work includes research on the origin of the Scottish Games in Scotland through to the 1990s and the logistical obstacles they have faced throughout the decades. He also describes how sports have played an important part in the development of a Scottish cultural identity. David Pirie Webster’s, *Scottish Highland Games* (1973), provides an historical look at the Games in Scotland with a focus on the Heavy Athletics events. More recently, Webster, along with Lyn Boland Richardson, wrote, *The World History of the Highland Games* (2010), which

expands upon his previous work and includes material on the United States and Canada. He traces the origin of the Games and pinpoints how each competitive sporting event originated and examines how they developed and grew in popularity throughout the world.

Moving from Scotland to the United States, *The Scottish Highland Games in America* by Emily Ann Donaldson (1986) traces the growth of the Games in the United States from the early nineteenth century through to the early 1980s. She focuses on a brief history of the cultural organizations that were involved in the early development of the Games and how the events changed throughout the decades. Her main focus is concerned with a breakdown of each competition event and its origins and includes a comprehensive listing of the Games that were held in each state as of 1986.

Celeste Ray, T.M. Devine and Paul Basu show how emigration affected the spread and expansion of Scottish culture and heritage beyond their places of origin and how that impacted the places they settled. In *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (2001), Celeste Ray examines the way that Scottish heritage has been developed specifically in the Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina as well as the larger region of the American South. Documenting the arrival of thousands of Scottish Highlanders in the late 18th century, Ray's work explores how their traditions evolved and adapted, and have also been invented to show how their Scottish heritage merged with the concept of the American South. She shows how a unique Scottish cultural identity formed in North Carolina by creating a "hybrid" of both heritages, "Southern" and "Scottish."

T. M. Devine's book, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010*, (2011) provides a detailed historical study on how the Industrial Revolution, the Highland Clearances, the Scottish Enlightenment, potato blights, famine and economic challenges affected Scotland and its people and consequently led to waves of emigration from Scotland to countries throughout the world. He addresses the many issues the immigrants faced upon arrival, which he supports with statistics, tables, maps and records from the United States, Canada, India and Africa. The popularity of tracing Scottish heritage and family lineages is explored in *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (2007) by Paul Basu. He explores the lure of place, ancestry, and belonging to a specific homeland as part of the tourism industry in Scotland. He examines the different motivations that people have to travel to their ancestral home and the emotions and community that are found within that journey as they search for their own self-identity in a globalized and mobile world.

Apart from historical analysis, there has been little studied about the Highland Games as "contemporary" cultural performances (not just the actually antique understanding of "modern"), especially in relation to their extensive and thus, very important historical context. By "contemporary," I mean the post *Braveheart* era of 1995 to the present day. My research is important in its illumination of the continuation of powerful symbols and practices over time and how it endures (yet changes) through the generations. To do this, I have drawn from a wide range of disciplines and literatures for this project including history, anthropology, performance studies, and heritage and tourism studies. The major concepts explored

in this work include nationalism and national identity, the cultural and performance aspects of spectacle, festival, and ritual and the commercial marketing of a cultural “home.” Nationalism and national identity construction has often been explained through the prominent works of Benedict Anderson (1983), Anthony D. Smith (1991), Ernest Gellner (1983), Eric Hobsbawm (1983, 1990), and Michael Billig (1995), among many others. These theorists focus on the various ways that nation, nationalism, and national identity are constructed and defined and how globalization, technology and mobility have affected these concepts as civic, ethnic and political issues have driven the argument towards a way of defining a common identity and culture in a technologically changing world. I will expand on these works by exploring the complicated issue of “Scottishness” and how that identity is claimed, performed and understood by native-born Scots and members of the Scottish Diaspora.

Concepts of festival, spectacle, ritual and the cultural processes are important factors in my research, which have been analyzed broadly, especially in anthropology, and more recently, in performance studies. The Highland Games are a complex event that requires further study to explore how diverse festival, competition, and cultural rituals are used to perform nationality in a "nation" that does not currently exist—Scotland is a region of the United Kingdom, not an officially recognized nation. The work of John MacAloon (1995), Victor Turner (1974, 1982, 1988), Hugh Trevor-Roper (1983) and David I. Kerzer (1988) uses cross-cultural examples, which relate society to culture building through performative action. Richard Schechner (1985, 1988) adds to this conversation

through a collaboration and expansion of the work of Victor Turner, to bring out the distinctions and inevitable intertwining of ritual and theater. Schechner's concept of the efficacy-entertainment braid allows me to explore the ways that certain aspects of the Games such as the Massing of the Bands and the Opening Ceremonies are constructed as a ritual, yet also depend upon elements of a theatrical performance. How do the performers and audience understand these elements? In Scotland, such distinctions become important because there are competing cultural performances that are being presented to the world as uniquely Scottish. Examining exactly what is being performed, who is performing, as well as who makes up the audience are essential to the place that Scottish Highland Games serve to produce and perpetuate a Scottish cultural identity that is recognized and accepted.

The work of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), Jane Desmond (1999), Bella Dicks (2003), Edward Bruner (2005) and Erve Chambers (2006, 2010) on cultural tourism and the marketing of a cultural homeland as a destination and visitable experience tie all of these concepts together in an exploration of what is exhibited, marketed, consumed, sold and bought as an "authentic" Scottish heritage both by the insider and outsiders of the global Scottish community. By examining what is being performed and displayed as a visitable experience at the Highland Games, I unpack the complicated issues of who controls what is shown and exhibited versus what is left out. What aspects are public versus what are private heritage markers (Chambers 2006, 2010)? Unlike other examples of ethnic theme parks (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, Edward Bruner, 2005), and reconstructed historical sites (Handler and Gable, 1997), many of those participating in the Scottish Games

have a unique agenda, and a distinct context within which to search, find and define what their Scottish experience will entail.

What is needed for a cultural home or homecoming to be able to exist? Can mobile and temporary spaces of cultural tourism be considered a “home?” Mechthild Hart and Miriam Ben-Yoseph (2005) and Michael Jackson (1995) write about how complex and paradoxical the idea of a “home” can be and that it is not only hard to define but is a deeply personal feeling and emotion for each individual. Hart and Ben-Yoseph write that, “the very notion of ‘home’ calls forth deeply lodged feelings in almost everyone. While it seems to be attached to a universal yearning to be grounded, for being safe, for belonging, it cannot be fenced in by a single definition or approach.”⁸ This staging of a Scottish home and/or a homeland and the coming together of this community in a specific place and time makes the various Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings a location that allows for a public, private, or purely emotional realization of a cultural and historical home as a place where they belong in the presence of others. I investigate the longing for and creation and marketing of a Scottish cultural home and the ways that the Games allow for a mobile community to “belong” to a specific place and time through bloodlines and heritage. My dissertation examines the complex relationship of history, tradition and myth making to contemporary conceptions of Scottishness in particular and identity in general. I investigate the importance of multi-sited yet standardized festival, ritual, and music performances to a “nation” that may never truly find itself in the midst of its “invented” traditions and understandings of a cultural homeland.

⁸ Mechthild Hart and Miriam Ben-Yoseph, eds., *Psychological, Political, and Cultural Meanings of Home* (New York: Haworth, 2005), 2.

I also look at the importance of natural environment – the large and small scale “staging” of cultural performances and the importance of the “here” or “there” in the recreation of a cultural home. Laurie Frederik (2012) examines the notions of authentic national identity in Cuba and examines what happens when categories of time (past, present, future) and space (urban, rural) become incompatible. Similarly, I look at the importance of the Highland landscape – as an imagined nostalgic longing and in the actual reconstruction of festival sites. How does one find a “true Scot” in multiple sites and in the in-between? How does the physical experience of the land (or the likeness of one) contribute to the development of an idea, a Scottish ideology that has political power in the real world?

Methodology

My methodology was complex in that I constantly needed to move, to find the Games and Gathering locations and to contact informants from around the world. The games became the focal point during which to make contact with a high density of Scots and lovers of Scottishness. I used an activity-based ethnography method, in which I *followed the event*, or rather the series of events, thus also connecting with those who had been virtually building and supporting the event before the actual dates. The online community at www.xmarksthescot.com was an effective resource when deciding which events to attend. In the in-between times, I contacted organizers, public relations people, spectators, and the virtual social media community online. My group of informants was made up of people from around the world. I communicated with them about their views on the different types of events

and I monitored their interactions with other members as they exchanged opinions and thoughts. This methodology allowed for me to track the changing focus and interests of participants and aficionados as the Games approached, and then to follow up after the Games to see if the events had met their expectations, or not – how and why. This contact allowed for a deeper examination of the motivating factors that the organizers, competitors, participants and spectators have in regards to their activities at the different Games.

I utilized a multi site, multi event activity based ethnographic methodology that included participant observation (with pipe bands, heavy event competitions and clan events); interviews (formal, informal, structured and semi-structured) with participants, spectators, clan members, performers, competitors, tourists and the organizers of the events; historical archive research; media and marketing analysis and surveys (276 surveys were distributed with 263 returned). I attended twenty-two Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland and on the east coast of the United States. In the United States I attended the Virginia Scottish Highland Games located at Great Meadow State Park at The Plains, VA in 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2013; the Maryland Scottish Highland Games in Annapolis in 2008, the Meadow Highland Games & Celtic Festival in Richmond, VA in 2010 and 2012, the Southern Maryland Celtic Festival in St. Leonard, Maryland in 2013, the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in Linville, North Carolina in 2012 and 2013 and the New Hampshire Scottish Highland Games in 2006 and 2013. In Scotland, I attended The Gathering in Edinburgh, and the Aboyne, St. Andrews, Stirling, and the Isle of Skye Highland Games in 2009. I returned to Scotland in 2011 and attended the

Cowal Highland Games, Braemar Highland Gathering, the Argyllshire Gathering, and the Pitlochry Highland Games.

During my six years of research I attended over thirty-four different types of events from Highland Games and Gatherings to Tartan Days, Wallace Remembrance Ceremonies, Burns Suppers, St. Andrew's Days ceremonies, ceilidhs (traditional Scottish music and dancing evenings), clan activities, Gaelic language lessons and public and private music, dance and storytelling events. At each of these events I conducted formal and informal interviews and passed out surveys (see Appendix A). The survey return rate was exceptionally high, since many of these surveys were distributed in places where responders had time (buses, clan village tents) and direct interest in the research being conducted (tourists, Scottish and non-Scottish, history buffs, locals, Games organizers, and workers, etc.). In some cases, I was conducting the same research as my informants, just with a different end goal (a PhD dissertation instead of personal satisfaction and confirmation of lineage authenticity), and thus, they were very interested and willing to participate.

At each Highland Games event I made sure that I was able to get a mix of clan members and competition participants as well as games attendees to fill out the surveys. In the United States I found that the clan village and the food areas were the best locations to encounter people that would be willing to fill them out for me. In Scotland, I would hand out surveys as people left the grounds. I also discovered that talking with people on the tour buses as we traveled to and returned from each Games event was the best way to ensure that the surveys would be filled out and that

I could get them returned easily. Nineteen people asked me to send them via email and I had twelve of them respond with completed surveys.

It was also fairly easy to find those willing to be interviewed, for similar reasons as mentioned above. When I interviewed clan representatives I focused on their clan membership, family heritage and history and the importance of genealogy and bloodlines in their daily lives and at the Games. Many clan members invited me to sit with them in their clan tents as I conducted the interviews, which allowed for a more relaxed and informal interview process. Other interviews were conducted on the grounds of the clan village at picnic tables and while we were walking around the area. In my research I concentrated on the Davidson, MacKay and MacLeod clans so that I could get a better understanding of how different Clan memberships are organized, what qualifications are needed to become members, generational shifts that have happened as well as what part the clan plays in their daily lives. Each of these clans was very generous, open and helpful in detailing their clan organization and personal histories and ties to the individual clans and to the overall Scottish community.

By interviewing and surveying the observers, I was able to examine what part Scottish heritage plays in their choice of attendance, how the cultural symbols of Scotland resonate with them and how they understand and experienced the Games. Most of these interviews were very informal and consisted of talking as we were walking around the grounds of the different Games locations. I also interviewed people as they left the event grounds and walked to the parking areas. This allowed me to obtain a mix of comments from people as they were experiencing the Games

in the moment as well as when they had spent time at the events and were then able to reflect on their entire experience.

I was able to utilize participant observation in several ways and with different focuses. I was able to observe and listen to several pipe band rehearsals and practices, take part in an amateur heavy event competition, and interact with several clans as they talked with the people that came by their tent and had questions or comments about their specific clans. Debra and Jim Davidson of Clan Davidson were especially helpful to me in my research and allowed me to sit with and observe them at two different Games (Southern Maryland Celtic Festival and the Virginia Highland Games) as they interacted with the visitors in the Clan Village.

Finally, I was able to speak with and interview several Bed and Breakfast hosts in Edinburgh, Kyleakin, Portree, Glasgow and St. Andrews and four Edinburgh based bus operators with Gray Line Tours that became invaluable informants. I stayed in their establishments and took their tours. They all provided me with a wealth of information about their experiences with tourists that travel to Scotland and their interaction and conversations with the different groups. Their experience with the individual travelers and the tour groups was very enlightening and provided essential material to use within my research. Over dinner and/or breakfast in the kitchens and pubs with the bed and breakfast hosts and while riding with the individual tour bus drivers throughout Scotland, I was able to better understand the questions, expectations and reasons that the tourists had for their travels and how they interacted and what they expected from my informants in their role as tour guides. I was also able to observe my informants interaction with the tourists as we

traveled. This allowed me to see and understand both sides of the conversation and be able to follow up with them at a later time. These formal and informal interviews provided an opportunity to gather information on the expectations and questions of the tourist and the responses of the tourist workers and how they both experienced each trip.

Richard Bauman writes that, “cultural performances share characteristic features that are scheduled, temporally and spatially bounded, are programmed and are coordinated public occasions.”⁹ While the Highland Games meet these criteria, they are a complex cultural performance that has multiple levels of intricacy and meaning that cannot be easily defined. By observing, asking questions and taking part in the creation of Scottish culture at the Games, I go beyond an historical analysis and incorporate ethnographic data that explores the creation, maintenance and performance of Scottish cultural identity at the Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland and the United States. In my dissertation, I argue the following three points: 1) that Scottishness as a cultural identity has multiple meanings to native born versus non native born Scots when it comes to issues of membership, belonging and cultural homecomings; 2) that the performance of Scottishness that is claimed and performed at the Highland Games is fluid and changes and adapts as it moves from Scotland to the United States; and 3) the Scottish Highland Games are a complex cultural performance that incorporate elements of ritual, festival, theatre and play that intertwine and revolve around the different ways that Scottish culture is claimed, consumed, sold and performed.

⁹ Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.

This dissertation contains an Introduction and five chapters. In *Chapter Two: Scottishness: A Brief History*, I investigate questions of Scottish cultural identity and how this is reflected in the history and context of the symbols such as the tartan, kilt and clans that are found at various Highland Games and Gatherings. I explore how these symbols and traditions are made uniquely Scottish and how they perpetuate a real as well as “invented” Scottish past and present. While the focus of my dissertation is on the Highland Games and Gatherings, this section expands beyond to better understand how these cultural symbols are understood by contemporary Scottish society outside of the Games locations. I trace the development and association of these symbols from their outlawing by the English in 1746 through to the Referendum vote for an independent Scotland that is scheduled for September 18th, 2014. Each of these events serve as historical markers and points of transformation in how these cultural symbols have been utilized, recognized and understood.

In *Chapter Three: Blood, Birth, Tartans and Clans: Genetics, Artifacts and the Claiming of Scottishness*, I investigate the place and meaning of the clans at the Highland Games and how they have moved from a divisive community to one that is now united in the furthering of Scottish nationalism and the preservation of their history and heritage. By exploring how clans are organized and how membership is claimed and performed through the wearing of the tartan, family histories and DNA tests, I delve into the complicated hierarchy that exists within the clan structure and how gender roles are performed. *Chapter Four: Highland Games and Gatherings: Nation-Making through Competition, Festival, and Play*, examines how Scottishness

is performed through athletic, dance and music competitions and how Scotland is “staged” at six specific Highland Games in Scotland (Braemar, Cowal and Aboyne Highland Games) and the United States (Virginia, New Hampshire and Grandfather Mountain Highland Games). I explore the unique personality and focus of each location and event and investigate how competitors, performers and observers, understand, define and experience Scottishness at the Games. By documenting a series of Highland Games, I examine how tradition and national identity have been constructed and then marketed to a global world where many Scots are no longer in Scotland, or have never even been there. Is this marketing of tartanry based on a true or invented Scotland and how aware are the buyers of the myths and traditions that are part of this cultural home and homecoming?

Chapter Five: Ceremonies and Ritual: Opening Ceremonies, Massed Bands and Spectacular Community Building, examines how the various ceremonies and events that are staged as part of the Highland Games incorporate different aspects of ritual, festival, theatre and play through public displays of Scottish culture and role playing. Through solemn and joyous rituals, traditions and performances, the events allow for community building to occur on multiple levels. I explore these various communities and how they are constructed and maintained as an essential part of the experience. I argue that, in fact, the games are something distinct, marketed especially by their communities that meet the goals set out by participants and organizers.

Chapter Six: Homecoming Scotland 2009, The Gathering and the Marketing of a Popular Cultural Homeland, explores the concepts of a cultural home, belonging and the various performances of Scottishness that are found at Highland Gatherings

and the Homecoming Scotland events of 2009. I investigate how they are used to commercially market Scotland, both at home and to the rest of the world. The concept of a cultural home is a multi-layered issue for the people of Scottish ancestry worldwide and it is deeply embedded in the makeup of the global Scottish community. The sharing of blood, heritage and memory are all significant parts of establishing membership. Scotland has a wealth of cultural and historic examples of a homeland that are recognized by the people of Scottish descent worldwide. This chapter examines what is being created and “sold” as a part of their culture and tradition and analyzes the consumers and the sellers. In the *Epilogue*, I investigate my own Scottish becoming and the different aspects of this claiming.

Chapter Two: Scotland and Scottishness

In the quest for national (as opposed to state) identity, heritage is a vital source of legitimacy. The iconography of nationalism is replete with sacred objects such as flags, emblems and sites, which are often contested and fought over...In asking who we are, the totems and icons of heritage are powerful signifiers of our own identity. We may find tartanry, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Mary Queen of Scots, Bannockburn and Burns false descriptors of who we are, but they provide a source of ready made distinguishing characteristics from England, our bigger, southern neighbor.¹⁰ – David McCrone

In this chapter, I investigate concepts of Scottish national cultural identity as reflected in the historical context of symbols such as the tartan, kilt and clans. I trace the development and association of these symbols through a series of historical markers: their outlawing by the English in 1746; the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822; the resultant rise of tartanry over the next thirty years; the release of *Braveheart* in 1995; and finally, the Referendum Vote for an independent Scotland that is scheduled for September 18th, 2014. Each of these events have had significant impact and serve as indicators and points of transformation in how these cultural symbols have been utilized, recognized and understood.

Scotland Today

According to the National Records of Scotland website, in 2011 the population of Scotland was 5.2 million people. The three largest cities were Glasgow with a population of 592,820, Edinburgh with 486,120 and Aberdeen with 217,120. With over eight hundred islands, of which one hundred and thirty are occupied,

¹⁰ David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, *Scotland the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) 7.

Scotland has a coastline of over 6,213 with a total area of 30,414 square miles. In geographic area, according to the U.S. Geologic Survey website, Scotland is roughly the size of South Carolina, which is 31,117 square miles in area and ranks fortieth in size of the fifty states. Scotland is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the North and West, the North Sea on the east and the border with England in the south. It is made up of three geographical regions: the Islands, Highlands and Lowlands, which contains two thirds of the population of Scotland. English is the major language although Scottish Gaelic is also spoken in the upper Highlands and Islands regions.



Figure # 2: Map of Scotland

Since Devolution in 1999, Scotland has had its own parliament based in Edinburgh. Although it is, in reality, much more complicated and relationships are still overlapping, descriptions generally explain that the Scottish Parliament controls

areas such as health, education, justice, and culture.¹¹ The United Kingdom still controls issues relating to foreign policy, immigration, defense, and trade.¹² Since the May 5, 2011 elections, The Scottish National Party (SNP) has had majority control of the one hundred and twenty-nine Members of Scottish Parliament (MSP). The Scottish Parliament is controlled by the First Minister, Alex Salmond, and eight Cabinet Secretaries: Employment and Sustainable Growth; Education and Lifelong Learning; Justice; Rural Affairs and Environment, Culture and External Affairs; Parliamentary Business and Government Strategy; and Infrastructure and Capital Investment.¹³ Major industries that drive the Scottish economy include: tourism, life sciences, electronic technologies, energy and financial services. The exportation of food (especially seafood), whisky, wool, oil, and chemicals also drive the economy.¹⁴

As I will detail later in the chapter, the people of Scotland exist in the midst of two systems and symbols of government representation. Queen Elizabeth II is their Constitutional Monarch and the Union Jack flag flies from all official government buildings, including Edinburgh Castle. The Scottish Parliament controls many of the day-to-day operations of the courts and education reform, yet, other elements such as the mail and banking services are still under the control of the UK Government. All stamps feature the image of Queen Elizabeth II and the monetary system is based on the UK pound sterling. These dual systems of government and issues regarding taxation, immigration and foreign trade rights have been the driving factors in the

¹¹ "About The Scottish Government," last modified Monday, March 17, 2014, accessed on Wednesday, March 18, 2014, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/>.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "The Scottish Government Background," last modified Monday, March 17, 2014, accessed on Wednesday, March 18, 2014, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Government/background>

¹⁴ "Scottish Fact and Information," accessed March 12, 2014, <http://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/facts-about-scotland/>.

fight for an independent Scotland from 1950 into 2014. This journey will culminate with the Referendum Vote on September 18, 2014 that will ask the people of Scotland one question: “Should Scotland be an independent country? Yes/No?” This vote represents the next step in the complicated three hundred year history of Scottish national identity and the fight for self-rule since the Act of Union of 1707 was signed with England.

The Complicated Concept of a Unique Scottish National Cultural Identity

The quest for a cohesive national cultural identity has been complicated by over one thousand years of regional infighting within Scottish territory, from which distinct local patterns of language, culture and loyalties has developed. The descendents of these peoples have proved unwilling to surrender what they consider their rightful cultural heritage, or to subsume their regional cultural traditions to a more generic notion of “Scottishness.”¹⁵ By the Middle Ages, four distinct peoples had settled in Scotland and each left cultural fingerprints on their area of the country. In the west there were the Scots or Gaels (Highlanders) that came from Ireland; the north the Viking and Scandinavian influence; in the northeast it was the Picts; and in the Strathclyde area were the Britons.¹⁶ The existence of several languages including Gaelic, Scots (or Lallans), Welsh and English made unified communication difficult. Scotland was never a unified province or nation, so borders, regional politics and alliances were constantly changing. Perhaps most significantly, there wasn’t any autonomous Scottish culture or unified idea of what it meant to be Scottish to bring

¹⁵ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 28-29 and 37-42.

¹⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples*. (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 123.

these peoples together. Rather than a single identity there were numerous regional identities that had been constructed over time and by various invaders, conquerors, and settlers of the area.¹⁷

This conflict arises due to the regional differences and concerns that exist in the Island, Highland and Lowland areas of Scotland. The division between the Highlands and Lowlands regions was (and continues to be) economic as well as social. Immanuel Wallerstein, writes that, “Lowland Scotland is a classic case of ‘development by invitation’...he insists that the choice to develop or not was one made not by the Scottish elite, but at the invitation of the English, and concludes that Scotland’s economic plan was not structural, it was a combination of circumstances. The Lowlands were in a position after the last Jacobite uprising of 1745, in Hobsbawm’s phrase ‘to take advantage of the exceptionally favorable European and British conjuncture of the end of the 18th century’.¹⁸ This regional conflict continues today as the interests and culture of the Islands, Highland and Lowland areas continue to hold onto a distinct regionalism. This explains, in part, why the fight for a separate national cultural identity and the development of a cohesive Scottish nationalism has taken so long to define.

Another part is the long-standing control of the United Kingdom and thus, divided allegiances. Since the Act of Union of 1707 uniting the Scottish and English Parliaments into one body, Scotland has been controlled by Westminster and the ruling monarchy in England. Although Scotland entered into the Act of Union as a willing participant in hopes of economic gain and expanded foreign trade

¹⁷ R. A. Houston and W.W. J. Knox, eds., *The New Penguin History of Scotland* (London: The Penguin Press in association with the National Museums of Scotland, 2001), xvi-xvii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

opportunities, it has, in effect, been a conquered region since the last Jacobite Rising of 1745 failed in the attempt to restore Charles Edward Stuart to the throne. This economic, political and cultural dominance by England over the last three centuries has created confusion in the cultural psyche for many in Scotland. What does it mean to be “Scottish” rather than “English?” This confusion and ambivalence over their identity is the central issue that has stymied the movement for an independent Scotland. Anthony D. Smith writes:

Movements of ethnic autonomy recognize the possibility, perhaps desirability, of dual identities, a cultural-national and political-national identity or, as they would see it, a national identity within a territorial state identity...they recognize the duality of historical memories and political sentiments that cannot easily be severed, not to mention economic benefits to be gained by remaining within an existing framework.¹⁹

Smith’s argument echoes the confusion over what type of nationalism might be most beneficial. Scotland possesses a cultural history that is separate from the English, but three hundred years of coexistence has muddled the history and genealogy of the people in both areas. In addition, the lack of a unifying vernacular language, clear religious differences or political beliefs makes justifying the rise of Scottish nationalism as an ethnic movement difficult to discern in the ways that many academics have done previously. According to David McCrone,

As far as nationalism in Scotland is concerned, much has been made of the fact, that it belongs at the ‘civic’ rather than ‘ethnic’ end of the spectrum. This is in part because its cultural distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* England appears thin, and hence has been forced to develop a ‘political’ rather than a ‘cultural’ sense of what it means to be Scottish, which, almost as a by-product, emphasizes territorial inclusivity rather than ethnic exclusivity.²⁰

¹⁹ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London and New York; Penguin Books, 1991), 138-139.

²⁰ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 177.

The absence of a defined and distinct Scottish cultural nationalism offers one of the greatest obstacles that Scottish nationalists face in gaining support to create an independent Scotland through the 2014 Referendum. Anthony D. Smith writes, “The place of diffusionist models has been largely taken by the dependency models, which stress the processes of ‘internal colonialism’ by which peripheral communities are economically and politically subordinated to core *ethnies*, especially during and after industrialization.”²¹ Therefore, Scottish nationalists have had to develop an approach to their struggle that synthesizes civic and cultural nationalism, invoking some ethnic claims of “Scottishness,” while battling the effects of three hundred years of internal colonialism.

This is even further complicated by the fact that even after the Act of Union of 1707, Scotland kept control of its own systems of law, education and religious institutions. As briefly discussed above, the major infrastructure elements of Scotland such as the electricity, gas, oil, mail service, taxation, issues of defense, trade, railroads and highways were and continue to be controlled by Westminster.²² People across Scotland are confronted daily by two political systems and infrastructures that they depend on and directly impact their lives.

This divided system of government has made it difficult for the Scottish politicians to define exactly why they are fighting for independence from the UK. With the exception of wanting more taxation and decision-making powers within the United Kingdom and the European Union and a more even divide of profits from the

²¹ Ibid., 125.

²² Michael Gardiner, *Modern Scottish Culture*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 21.

booming North Sea oil trade, most people are unclear what an independent Scotland would look like compared to the current system. This is especially true in the Lowland areas of Scotland that have always had long term business and economic relationships with their English counterparts. The Highlands are seen as a region of agriculture, fishing and tourism, the Lowland area is a center for finance, engineering, science, technology and medicine. The fight for an independent Scotland has been going on for decades, most people when they are asked, do not understand what the long-term benefits would be and how it would affect them individually. They do not see a definitive difference from their lives and those of the English and are inclined to take a status quo approach to the issue.

Contemporary scholars have explored the ways in which the Scots have labored to separate their cultural history from that of England and have queried to what extent such a separation is either possible or useful. Jonathan Hearn writes:

Scots are used to living in the cultural shadow of England, having their history, language and culture measured against an English standard. For centuries Scots have been told that historical progress is a matter of following England's example. Getting ahead has often meant suppressing the Scots language and approximating to the norms of middle-class English speech—and even leaving Scotland all together.²³

This view extends to the various symbols and elements of Scottish culture and heritage that continues to exist today. Hearn continues,

Scottish culture has tended to be crudely stereotyped, portrayed as quaint and romantic, a pastiche of kilts, clans and bagpipes and somehow suspended in a distant past, no longer truly relevant. These images and attitudes have been created as much by Scots, especially expatriates and the middle class, as they have been by the English. But the result has been a legacy of resentment, and many Scots believe that

²³ Jonathan Hearn, *Claiming Scotland; National Identity and Liberal Culture*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 3-4

greater control over their own politics would foster a more confident and self-assured cultural identity.²⁴

Hearn's suggestion that many Scots seek a "more confident and self-assured cultural identity," points to the importance of establishing and recognizing a unique Scottish cultural identity that more clearly separates and gives worth and empowerment to their culture from that of the English. This has taken on even more importance over the last several years as the fight for a vote to determine an independent Scotland has become reality.

The Referendum of 2014 has created the need for a deep examination of what Scotland is and can be separate from its identity within the United Kingdom. Without the normal identifiers or clear differences in language, religion, ethnicity or political ideology, the cultural symbols and traditions have taken on even greater importance in establishing their Scottishness. Even if most Scots do not agree that tartans, kilts, clans and bagpipes are the only true reflection of a modern Scottish identity, they still represent a ready made identifier of their cultural heritage that is recognized worldwide and serves to separate their cultural heritage from that of the English. As Jane Devine wrote in *The Scotsman*, "We may find tartan's image embarrassing, but it's a symbol of Scottishness known all over the world."²⁵

Scottish Cultural Symbols and Traditions

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Jane Devine, "Tartan as a Worldwide Mark of Scotland," *The Scotsman*, 28 January 2013. accessed on January 30, 2013, Available at <http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/opinion/comment/jane-devine-tartan-worldwide-mark-of-scottishness-1-27621691>.

Certain cultural symbols have thrived and remained strong throughout Scotland's history, although they have been prevalent for different reasons in different eras. Those evoking these symbols do so with a selective remembrance of their historical significance, and use them in performance – of self, clan, region, or nation – in interesting ways. “Symbols instigate social action and define the individual's sense of self,” writes David Kertzer.²⁶ It is through these symbols that individuals and groups can make sense and assign value to their cultural heritage and their place within it. These symbols then become part of the daily construction of their lives and their place in society for “it is through symbols that people give meaning to their lives.”²⁷ Scotland does not lack for cultural symbols that help to situate it as its own distinct place within the United Kingdom, and they are still prominent because they are highly performable and theatrical – they are used, put on, carried, played, and embodied. They are dynamic and three-dimensional. They are also open to some individual creativity and adaptation in use, which strengthens their longevity. Tartans, kilts, clans and bagpipes are the stars of the show, and they are also important players. They are seen throughout Scotland during local events, weddings, and other important family gatherings, as well as at larger scale, politically ritualistic events, such as the annual opening of the Scottish Parliament, Burns Night Suppers (held to honor the birth of Robert Burns and involves the serving of haggis with great pomp and circumstance), Wallace Remembrance celebrations (in honor of William Wallace), the opening and closing ceremonies at the Scottish Highland Games, among others. The performance of these symbols in both private and public

²⁶ David. I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988) 6.

²⁷ Ibid. 8.

spheres have allowed the people of Scotland to observe, formally learn, participate in and become socialized into understanding that their heritage is distinct from that of the English.

Outlawing Cultural Symbols, Language and Traditions, of the Highlands

Two main events can be seen as the starting point for this phenomenon that has carried over into contemporary times. The first is the result of the Jacobite loss at the battle of Culloden in April of 1746. Following Culloden, the English set out to extinguish the ‘Scottishness’ of the people that had risen up against them in order to prevent any more threats to the English crown and the Act of Union. Since many of the clans that were involved with the Jacobite Rising were found in the Highland area, they became the symbol of all that was to be forbidden and controlled. First, the Heritage Jurisdiction Act was passed which ended the clan chief’s rights of clan communal land ownership and inheritance. Instead, a new English method of land ownership was installed in the Highlands with English landlords overseeing and making decisions about how the land was utilized and who would reside upon it. This Act resulted in the beginning of the Highland Clearances and mass emigration from the region. The English also passed the Act of Proscription in 1747 that were largely successful in destroying the symbols and traditions of the Highland people. The act stated in part:

Abolition and Proscription of the Highland Dress
19 George II, Chap. 39, Sec. 17, 1747

That from and after the first day of August, One thousand, seven hundred and forty-seven, no man or boy within that part of Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as Officers and

Soldiers in His Majesty's Forces, shall, on any pretext whatever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder-belts, or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid of stuff shall be used for Great Coats or upper coats, and if any such person shall presume after the said first day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid garment or any part of them, every such person so offending....shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond the seas, there to remain for the space of seven years...²⁸

With the Act, the speaking of the Scottish Gaelic language was forbidden; the weapons of the Highland warriors were confiscated; gatherings of the clans were forbidden; and the bagpipes could no longer be played. Breaking any of these laws would result in immediate arrest and transportation out of the country to one of the settlements of the British Empire. This act was repealed in 1782, but within just one generation, a way of life was lost for most Scottish Highlanders and their families – displaying the intense unifying and identifying power of language, cultural gatherings, icons, community associations and music. In the thirty plus years since the passing of the law, the wearing of kilts and tartan and the speaking of Scottish Gaelic had faded into relative obscurity among the Highland population. In its place, was the more accepted style of English language and dress.

The British Army provided the only exception to this rule as Highland regiments were created following the end of the Jacobite Uprising — allowing the only legal option for the wearing of the tartan and the kilt, the carrying of weapons and the playing of bagpipes. Due to the shortage of men needed to serve and fight in the British Army around the world, an edict was passed that allowed for Highland

²⁸ *The Acts Against Highland Dress*, accessed on May 1, 2010, <http://www.tartans.com/articles/actshighland.html>.

men to be raised as regiments and be equipped with weapons, tartans and kilts. The symbols that had previously been seen as representative elements of the rebellious enemies of the English now became a symbol of the might of the British Empire in their fights in North America, France and throughout the world. Their reputation as fierce and fearless warriors in their tartans and kilts served to reestablish the symbols as something that was now a part of the British Empire and was noble and worthy of accolades rather than representing the traitorous Jacobite of the 1740s and the symbol of the threat of Scottish independence.²⁹ This image of the strong, Scottish soldier in tartan kilts, also built up the Scottish identity as particularly masculine. The “Scottish” were strong and fearless *men*.

Scottish Warriors, Sir Walter Scott and the “Reclaiming” of the Tartan Kilt

This transformation of the Scottish warrior led to what Ian Brown calls the “birth of the stereotype figure of national identity.”³⁰ This rehabilitation of at least one of the cultural symbols of Scotland mirrored what was happening in the Lowland region of Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century and the turn of the nineteenth century. This also coincided with the writings of Sir Walter Scott and the establishment of several Scottish heritage and cultural organizations such as the Highland Societies of London and Scotland and the Celtic Society of Edinburgh. These organizations focused on reclaiming the lost heritage of the Scottish Highlander and resulted in organized research being conducted regarding the language, music, clans, tartans and history of that region. These organizations led the

²⁹ Ian Brown, *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 17-21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

fight to repeal the “Dress” and “Disarming Acts” that were part of the 1746 Act of Proscription. Over the ensuing years, the tartans, clans, kilts and bagpipes of the Highlands went from being outlawed and seen as the representation of an uncivilized traitor to the required formal wear of Scottish and English gentlemen of the Edinburgh and Glasgow social elite in the Lowland area of Scotland.

1822, King George IV Visits Edinburgh and Tartanry is Born

This shift in acceptance of Scottishness was further codified by the official visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822. Sir Walter Scott, the president of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, summoned all Clans for a “Gathering of the Gael” in the King’s honor, and utilized this occasion to recognize all of these resurgent cultural symbols of Scottish heritage in a very public way. Scott had had great success with his *Waverly* novels and their popularity had coincided with this rebirth of interest in the Scottish Highlands and the heritage and cultural symbols and traditions of the region. The tartan and the kilt were to become the featured elements of this event. It was for this momentous occasion that clans were contacted and asked to research and/or create their own tartans so that all the lairds could march in their now unique clan tartans to Edinburgh with their loyal followers to parade in front of the King in a show of Scottish pageantry. It is from this event that unique clan tartans became established as signifiers of identity for each individual clan.

A Grand Ball was to be held in which the Highland tartan kilt was the only appropriate formal dress that would be allowed. This created a demand for individual tartans that could be identified by Highland and Lowland families as representations

of their lineage and cultural heritage. The events surrounding the King's visit in August of 1822 served to reawaken Scottish pride in their own heritage and traditions even though they were for the most part created or in the words of Hugh Trevor-Roper "invented" for this event. Sir David Wilkie painted King George IV in a full tartan kilt outfit, and thereafter the "tartanization" and kilt-wearing traditions were fully established as the most identifiable symbols of Scottish cultural heritage for families of the Highlands and Lowlands.³¹

The birth of tartanry served to establish the kilt, tartan, bagpipes and the clans as a symbolic representation of Scotland and its mythic past that allowed the people of Scotland to see the establishment and codification of their own symbolic cultural identity that was unique from that of the English. Tartanry was, according to David McCrone,

A form of dress and design which had undoubtedly real but haphazard significance in the Highlands of Scotland was taken over by elements of lowland society anxious to claim some distinctive aspect of culture at a time when the economic, social and cultural identity was ebbing away in the late nineteenth century. This was the point in history when Scotland as a whole could safely appropriate Highland images, when the threat to the British state and to Protestantism had safely receded.³²

The importance of national dress in the development of cultural identity is seen in cultures worldwide. We see it paraded in international rituals everywhere, the Olympics, for example. We recognize and know cultures, not from their "race" or the way they walk, (e.g. Marcel Mauss in *Techniques of the Body*, 2007), but by their dress. Certainly, theatre people have always know the importance of costuming and staging.

³¹ This painting by David Wilkie still hangs in Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh and is referenced in countless books on Scottish cultural symbols and history.

³² McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, 135.

1800s, Highland Societies and Clubs

This new popular/public emphasis on Highland ancestry and heritage was further encouraged by the creation of various organizations in the mid 1800s such as Highland and Thistle Societies, Burns Clubs, and, Wallace Remembrance Societies, among others. This also led to the resurgence of old events and the new creation of Highland Games and Gatherings throughout the region, with the main purpose of establishing and celebrating the history of a Scottish heritage that was based on tartans, kilts, music, dance and the mythic heroes of the past. These societies and clubs required Highland dress to be worn at all meetings and for serious discussion and research to be conducted into the clans, tartans, bagpipes and dance history of the past. Through this social interaction they harnessed the power of these symbols and used them to promote the creation of new “invented traditions,” such as the Highland Games and clan gatherings, to reclaim and to spread Highland culture throughout the region (Hobsbawm, Ranger and Trevor-Roper, 1983). This new emphasis and interest on the history, dance, music and dress of the Highlands spread from the meeting rooms of the societies and clubs in Scotland to the grounds of the Highland Games and even to the royal family.

This tartantry would continue to gain in popularity during the reign of Queen Victoria in the 1840s when she purchased the Balmoral Castle and estate and established it as the official Royal residence in Scotland, that is still in use by the Royal family today, and had her own Stuart tartan designed. She then proceeded to decorate the estate in full Stuart tartan from the furnishings to the clothing that was

worn while they were in residence. Scholars report that she even demanded that all official visitors to Balmoral had to wear their own representative clan tartans to their meetings with her. McCrone writes, “The royal associations, begun by ‘German Geordie’, helped to guarantee commercial success.”³³ Behind all of this was a considerable ‘heritage’ industry bent on authenticating the ancient designs for an anxious world ready to believe.”³⁴ This heritage movement would continue to gain in popularity throughout the next two hundred years as tartan, kilts, and bagpipes became recognized worldwide as symbols of Scottish cultural identity.

20th and 21st Century Tartanry: *Braveheart* and the SNP

In the mid 1990s, two Scottish themed mass produced movies were released: *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*. Both movies have problematic issues with historical accuracy, yet, they were both very popular and well received and revived in popular culture the myths of two of Scotland’s honored historical heroes. The Mel Gibson movie, *Braveheart* (1995), told the story of the life of William Wallace, the Highland warrior who fought to free Scotland from English rule during the Wars of Scottish Independence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It became a worldwide blockbuster and won several Oscars on its way to dominating movie theatres across the globe. This renewed interest in Wallace was so influential on Scottish politics, popular culture, literature, educational projects, and tourism that it is often referred to as “The Braveheart Effect.” Seeing an opportunity, the Scottish National Party (SNP) used the premiere of *Braveheart* to hand out pro-nationalist

³³ McCrone is referring to King George IV of England.

³⁴ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, 134.

leaflets throughout Scotland. Alex Salmond, the leader of the Scottish National Party, commented:

In 1995, *Braveheart* mania broke out, and it had a pretty powerful political impact. The SNP campaigned on the back of the film, and surged to 30% in the polls. I well remember 20th Century Fox sending the SNP a lawyer's letter demanding that we 'cease and desist' from distributing *Braveheart* leaflets outside cinemas. They changed their minds when I gently pointed out that while we may have appropriated the stills from their film, they had appropriated the story of our hero!³⁵

A foreign-produced film, starring an Australian-American action hero, once again reawakened the pride of the Scottish people in their own cultural symbols and the national heroes and history of Scotland. The Scottish National Party seized this opportunity to use the elements of tartanry to establish a way to define Scottish culture and history in opposition to that of the English. Tartanry became an important element in the fight for Devolution and the reestablishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999.

Recently, the Scottish National Party has once again focused on elements of tartanry to promote the need for an independent Scotland in the Referendum Vote of 2014. After several delays and discussions between the SNP and Westminster, the vote has officially been set for September 18th, 2014. This vote has been decades in the making as Scottish and English politicians in Edinburgh and Westminster have argued over the future of Scotland. *The Scotland Act* of 1998 allowed for devolution and a sitting Scottish Parliament, but the argument has continued about whether full independence is needed for Scotland to be able to ensure its own economic, political

³⁵ Alan Raich, *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 195.

and cultural future. Once again we see the shifting identity of Scottish politics, economics and infrastructure. The Scottish Government website states that;

Scottish Ministers support independence, believing a sovereign nation can prosper by choosing its own policies for social and economic growth and having its own distinctive voice in Europe and the wider world.

The Scottish Parliament has been granted the powers to organize the referendum and both UK and Scottish Governments have agreed they will respect the result.³⁶

Scotland has a population of just over five million people while England is over fifty-three million. This results in Scottish representatives making up a very small portion of the British Parliament and an unfair advantage for the interests of England and the United Kingdom to take precedent over the needs of Scotland. The Scottish National Party argues that the requirements of Scotland need to be better represented and that this can only come through a vote for independence. After decades of discussion in the Scottish and English Parliaments, this vote will finally be held on September 18th, 2014. Now that the vote has been set, several issues have come to the forefront of the argument for independence. First, who has the right to vote for an independent Scotland and second, what would an independent Scotland be like?

Referendum 2014 and the Future of Scottishness

The 2014 Referendum has brought one main question to the forefront of the discussion: who has the right to vote on this question that will determine Scotland's future? The need to define this issue has created a maelstrom in the press about what constitutes Scottishness and who has the right to vote in 2014. As it stands now, only

³⁶ Ibid.

people that are legal residents of Scotland in September of 2014 will be able to vote on this question. But what about all of the people that were born in Scotland but currently reside in England, Wales or Northern Ireland? In his article entitled “The Formula for Scottishness” Jon Kelly writes, “When the referendum on Scottish independence is held in the autumn of 2014, only residents of Scotland will be eligible to vote. As a result, almost 400,000 people living north of the border but born in other parts of the UK will get to take part, while 800,000 Scots living in England, Northern Ireland and Wales will not.”³⁷ So even though he was born in Scotland he cannot vote because he resides in London, England. However, if the vote passes he will gain “legal expression” of his Scottishness. He writes that, “Under proposals by the Scottish National Party (SNP) government, the fact that I was born in Edinburgh would entitle me to citizenship of a sovereign Scotland, even if I continue to remain in exile.”³⁸ So while he cannot vote on the issue of independence due to his current residence in England, that would not preclude him from having Scottish citizenship in an independent Scotland no matter his place of residence. This reasoning then allows for a political/civic and territorial inclusivity as well as an ethnic/exclusivity identity being projected on this modern form of Scottish national cultural identity.

There are varying perspectives and experiences:

Steve of Becester, England:

This is an intriguing question, and one I've struggled to answer most of my life. Born in Africa to a Scottish father and a Norwegian mother (who was born in Scotland during WWII), raised mostly in the Scottish Lowlands, not far from Jon Kelly, but having lived more than half of my life in England, what nationality am I? Talk to me and I'm

³⁷ Jon Kelly, “The Formula for Scottishness,” *BBC News Magazine*, 25 October 2012., Accessed on January 10, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20048521>.

³⁸ Ibid.

undeniably Scottish. Ask me to fill in documentation and I'm stubbornly Scottish. But am I entitled to claim that nationality?³⁹

L. Pedreschi of Edinburgh, Midlothian:

Coming from an Italian-Scot, for me being Scottish is not about your background or ethnic make-up. It is simply about identifying and feeling Scottish. There is nothing more to it than that.⁴⁰

G. Ward of Leicester, Leicestershire:

I am intensely proud of my Scottish heritage. However, I have been very happy living in England for 50 years, having arrived at the age of twenty. If I ever had to make a choice of my nationality, I would opt to be English, out of gratitude and my sense of civic responsibility to England. I still have my west of Scotland accent.⁴¹

M. MacLeod of Cramlington, Northumberland:

I consider myself to be completely Scottish, although I have never lived in Scotland. My parents are both born and raised in Scotland, as were their parents and their parents and their parents and so on. My father was in the Navy and was drafted down to Portsmouth where my brother and I were born. Does this make me English? I don't think so. If I had been born in a stable it wouldn't make me a horse. I am fiercely proud of my Scottish heritage of Clan MacLeod and Clan Campbell mix. If my location makes me ineligible to vote then so be it, but I do hope that those eligible to vote will use their vote wisely.⁴²

In a 2005 article in *The Sociological Review* entitled, "Birth, Blood and Belonging: Identity Claims in Post-devolution Scotland," written by Richard Kiely, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, they claim that, "Scotland is often seen as a good example of a civic/territorial rather than an ethnic/cultural form of nationalism. From the 1970s the campaign for a Scottish parliament stressed an inclusive, residence based, civic sense of being Scottish, and more recently, Scotland's political elites

³⁹ Kelly, "The Formula for Scottishness"

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

have seen the new parliament as an endorsement of territorial belonging.”⁴³ So if Scotland is an example of civic/territorial nationalism, then what role does blood and heritage play in understanding Scottishness? Their findings concluded that:

For Scottish nationals, who are of course the crucial audience for migrants’ claims, being Scottish was a pragmatic matter of birth-place rather than birth-blood. Those English migrants who felt that ancestry was especially significant in Scotland appear for whatever reason to overestimate its importance. A significant finding, which chimes with much of our earlier research, is that, for Scottish nationals, ‘blood’ is relatively unimportant as a marker of identity. Has devolution made a difference? For Scottish nationals, political identity is a matter of where you live and not where you happened to be born.⁴⁴

The Scottish National Party (SNP) has taken the lead in this latest discussion as they focus on how an independent Scotland would operate and its place in the global world. The SNP is focusing on the political, economic and social issues that currently face Scotland and how these areas can be improved upon to better serve the people of Scotland today and in the future. The slogan on their website states that, “Together we can make Scotland better.”⁴⁵ The SNP shares their vision for “The New Scotland” by stating:

Independence is about making Scotland more successful. At its most basic, it is the ability to take our own decisions, in the same way as other countries do. Scotland is a society and a nation. No one cares more about Scotland's success than the people who live here and that, ultimately, is why independence is the best choice for our future...With independence we can work together to make Scotland a more ambitious and dynamic country...

And independence will mean a strong, new relationship between Scotland and the rest of the UK. It will create a partnership of equals - a social union to replace the current political union. Independence

⁴³ Richard Kiely, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, “Birth, Blood and Belonging: Identity Claims in Post-devolution Scotland,” *The Sociological Review*, (2005) 53: p. 150.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁴⁵ “Together We Can Make Scotland Better,” The Scottish National Party website, accessed on March 25, 2013, <http://www.snp.org/>.

means Scotland will always get the governments we elect...The big difference will be that Scotland's future will be in our own hands. Instead of only deciding some issues here in Scotland, independence will allow us to take decisions on all the major issues. That is the reality of independence in this interdependent world.⁴⁶

Several themes can be seen in their vision of The New Scotland. Primarily that the people of Scotland will have “the ability to make our own decisions” and that “no one cares more about Scotland's success than the people who live here...”⁴⁷ This focus on the people that are within the borders of Scotland being able to make the decisions for the future once again focuses on the civic and territorial inclusivity of Scottish national cultural identity. The focus on a cultural or ethnic identity is not once mentioned on the website. In addition, there is not one element of tartanry to be seen. No tartan, kilts, or bagpipes. With the exception of a sporran flask that has an inscription of “Scottish Proud SNP” that is for sale and one picture of a couple holding hands on top of the Salisbury Crags overlooking Edinburgh, all of the images focus on babies, youth and families. The featured film *Independence* also focuses on the future of Scotland being in the hands of the people of Scotland rather than the politicians of Westminster. In all of these images, the main symbol of Scotland that is featured are the various people that currently live in and make up the population of Scotland. Has tartanry ceased to exist in any meaningful and measurable way in a modern Scotland? Are the symbols of the tartan, kilts, clans and bagpipes only for the tourists? Jonathan Heard writes,

The major significance of the kilt for most modern Scots is as a kind standard male wear, at weddings for example, and as a culturally marked option for special occasions, such as ceilidhs. Scots tend to

⁴⁶ “The New Scotland,” The Scottish National Party website, accessed on March 25, 2013, <http://www.snp.org/>.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

have a sophisticated and ironic understanding of the meanings surrounding tartanry, as both a symbol of national and cultural defiance, and as a fabrication for tourists.⁴⁸

This view shows the complicated place of tartanry in modern Scotland. Is the tartanry that is seen today only for the tourists? A fabrication that builds upon the tartanry and romantic image of the Highland mythic past that is now sold to the tourists and is expected upon their arrival. I argue that the answer to this is no, as tartanry is still found throughout the region and at various family, society and government functions and celebrations – not at just big spectacular and public events. Each year the opening of the Scottish Parliament session is overseen by the Queen and features regimental pipe bands and a parade of Scottish dignitaries and Members of the Scottish Parliament and features, tartans and kilts. The major festival celebrations, such as the Edinburgh Tattoo and Hogmanay, also feature a display of tartans, kilts and bagpipes. Tartans, kilts and clans are also seen on a smaller scale at weddings and other family and community events. However, it has had to relinquish some of its power and popularity as other modern elements of Scottish identity have come to the forefront. It is this balancing act that has become an issue in the fight for an independent modern Scotland and the ever-growing and economically advantageous tourist industry.

The cultural symbols that were appropriated and (re)created in 1822 continue to define and represent Scottish cultural identity and heritage today. The symbols themselves haven't changed in fundamental form, but the way that they have been utilized has been adapted to the needs of a twenty-first century Scotland and its increasingly dispersed population around the world. There are multiple understandings and meanings of Scottish cultural identity and Scottishness at home

⁴⁸ Hearn, 178.

and abroad. The people of Scotland may see the cultural symbols of the tartan, kilt and bagpipes as something that is reserved mainly for tourists, but it cannot be denied that these elements are still a vibrant part of a Scottish identity. Journalist Jane Devine writes,

We claim it as part of our heritage, as something instantly recognizable as Scottish, but we recoil when we see it trotted out along with the bagpipes and haggis in the displays of tourist-destination high-street shops; and get frustrated when it is proffered along with misty landscapes, heather and whisky as part of the iconography of our nation.

So, at home, we might shy away from its naff image or even be embarrassed that all things Scottish seem to have to be tartan, but away from Scotland and for visitors to Scotland, tartan IS Scotland. And that is hugely important and valuable⁴⁹

Jane Devine's comments show the complications of tartanry where it is undeniably a symbol of Scotland, yet it is not an image that today's Scots fight to support as a true reflection of modern Scotland. This dual image and understanding of the cultural symbols and heritage of Scotland reflect the same complications that are involved in defining a twenty-first century Scottish cultural identity. If native-born Scots are not supportive of the tartan, kilts and clans as representative of Scottish culture, then what is? Is tartanry only essential to the tourists and the Scottish Diaspora? Chapters to follow will explore these issues in more detail.

⁴⁹ Jane Devine, "Tartan as Worldwide Mark of Scotland," *The Scotsman*, 28 January 2013. Accessed on February 1, 2013, <http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/opinion/comment/jane-devine-tartan-worldwide-mark-of-scottishness-1-27621691>.

Chapter Three: Blood, Birth, Tartans and Clans: Genetics, Artifacts and the Claiming of Scottishness

It is popularly believed that the cultural icons of Scotland are deeply seeded in historical facts. Similar assumptions occur in most nations around the world. We form identities by telling origin stories, and by understanding our present in terms of an ancient and indelible past. However, when historiographers, social scientists, and theatre studies scholars dig deeper, they find that the historical story is not so simple, and there is never just one story. “Facts” may exist, but some are selected for reproduction while others are hidden and/or forgotten. Others are newly born from unforeseen events.

In the introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm establishes his theory of “invented traditions,” writing that many cultural traditions thought to be centuries old might actually be newer in origin than is commonly thought. While invented traditions can take many forms, all rely on the legitimization of a *new* tradition that may not actually have an established and known historic past. The invented tradition takes on deeper cultural significance since it seeks to establish a tie between the past and the time of the new or currently practiced tradition. According to Hobsbawm,

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable heroic past.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Hobsbawm, 1.

Through this repetition and ritualizing of the new event, the tie with the “suitable heroic past” is often assumed to be true – often because we want it to be true, since everyone loves a hero. However, upon closer examination and research the supposed timeline can be seen to be suspect and instead a tool to bring credence to the new event. As the new invented tradition continues to be repeated the cultural group accepts this event as part of their culturally historic past.

Hobsbawm defines three types of invented traditions: “a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimatizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior.”⁵¹ While an invented tradition can consist of more than one of the above characterizations, each of the definitions has a distinct use and function to establish group unity and call for action. It is because of these functions that invented traditions can hold such strong and long lasting power.

Hugh Trevor-Roper builds upon and supports Hobsbawm’s theory in his chapter, “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” in a discussion on the origin of the kilt and clan tartans. Trevor-Roper claims that the kilt and clan tartan are 18th century creations that were invented by Scottish nationalists. (detailed in the previous chapter). Many Scottish scholars, such as David McCrone (2001), Ian Brown (2010), Tom Nairn (1997) and Murray Pittock (1999), among others, have disputed Trevor Roper’s chapter and have documented that these cultural items *did* exist prior to the late eighteenth century, while also admitting that they may

⁵¹ Hobsbawm, 9.

be utilized in nontraditional ways today. Grant Jarvie states, “I would argue that the Highland tradition, and indeed Scottish cultural identity, is not so much an invented tradition as a selection of tradition. Tartans, clans and a certain way of life did exist prior to 1745, it was not invented.”⁵² He supports this statement by quoting from journals and documents from this time frame that mention and refer to these traditions. Celeste Ray echoes Jarvie’s work when she writes that the claiming of a specific heritage, “may entail the selection, and often invention, of tradition, but what is most interesting about that process is how such cultural transformations of history become traditional and why.”⁵³ It is in tracing these symbolic elements of Scotland and how they have been changed and adapted from the eighteenth century to today that informs us how they have been “selected” and/or “invented” at different times for different purposes. Ray proposes that when considering the traditions and events that are found at Scottish Highland Games and other heritage events that,

Some of what is considered traditional at Scottish events could be called invented traditions, and when historical origins of some traditions are known, their contemporary forms of practice can be amusing. This does not, however, invalidate the very real meaning that their practice now imparts. All traditions are invented at some point. Invented traditions are designed to be meaningful, and it is this function that makes them worthy of respectful study.⁵⁴

In order to understand the distinction and relationship between these invented and selected Scottish traditions, I examine three of the most recognized and iconic cultural symbols of Scotland: the tartan, kilts, and clans. By tracing the early history into the contemporary usages of these three symbols, I analyze how they have grown from historically significant in their own time, to part of an invented tradition, to an

⁵² Jarvie, 104.

⁵³ Ray, 7

⁵⁴ Ray, 102.

essential yet “selected” tradition that is seen today at all Highland Games and Gatherings as a way to claim membership and perform Scottishness on multiple levels.

Clan Tartans

There are over two hundred and sixty-five separate and officially designated clans in Scottish history and contemporary culture, all registered through the Court of the Lord Lyon in Scotland. Clans are akin to Scot’s system of kinship, and clan family trees show long standing family relationships by blood and marriage. Each of these clans (and septs or sub-clans) have their own particular tartan. Clans are protective of their tartans, and wear them proudly, on their bodies, on blankets, change purses, wallets, bookmarks, teddy bears and even tablecloths, bed coverings and wall hangings.

The tartan and the kilt are perhaps the most well known symbols of Scottish cultural identity that is seen at the Highland Games. While the kilt and tartan both existed prior to the visit of King George IV in 1822, the creation of individual tartans for each clan can be considered an invented tradition that can be traced to this event. Within twenty years each clan had an official tartan and proudly identified with it and the tradition of wearing it as way to identify and claim a specific clan history and heritage.

This new tradition fits within Hobsbawm’s three types of invented traditions. The acceptance of the clan tartan kilt allowed for “social cohesion” and the public showing of group membership, it legitimized the status and authority of the Scottish

Highlanders in Lowland society and provided a social apparatus for the “inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior.”⁵⁵ Upon the creation and more importantly, public *recognition and acceptance* of these invented traditions a new pride and cultural awareness was created. This allowed for a foundation to be established upon which Scottish writers, painters and musicians of the 18th and 19th century created new material that weaved these new traditions with the established Scottish history and heroes of their past – a past that had a start date, not a mythic “past.” By the mid 1800s, tartan was an essential part of Highland culture, dress and history and could be seen at the Highland Games, at the Balmoral estate of Queen Victoria and in the popular literature, music and art of the time period. Its popularity has continued to grow until today the tartan, usually worn in the form of a kilt for men and as a skirt or sash by women, is an iconic symbol of Scottishness at home and abroad. Whether an ‘invented’ or ‘selected’ tradition, the tartan has become a way for many people of Scottish descent to publically claim and show ones Scottishness through membership in a specific clan. Before I investigate the multiple ways that clans utilize the tartan as a way to claim and designate their place in the clan community, I first examine the way that the tartan evolved and how it is controlled and organized today.

The Scottish Tartan Museum defines a tartan as a, “pattern of interlocking stripes, running in both the warp and weft in the cloth (horizontal and vertical), or any representation of such a woven design in other media (printed, painted, or otherwise rendered).” The Scottish Register of Tartans, which was established by the Scottish Parliament in 2008 to “protect, promote and preserve tartan,” states on its website

⁵⁵ Hobsbawm, 9.

that, “a tartan is a design which is capable of being woven consisting of two or more alternating coloured stripes which combine vertically and horizontally to form a repeated chequered pattern.”⁵⁶ According to the Scottish Register of Tartans there are now over seven thousand registered unique tartans.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the different clans did not begin to associate specific tartans with individual clans until the visit of King George IV in 1822 when Highland dress became accepted in both Highland and Lowland Scotland. As this popularity grew and people and clans began to research and document their own family and clan histories, the naming of tartans became essential to differentiate each tartan from another. Today, each clan has an established and recognized clan tartan that is named and unique to that specific clan. Historically, the creating and naming of each tartan often fell to the individual weavers that would assign a name to each tartan that was produced, usually related to the clan, family name or region of Scotland that it was created for at the time. Eventually this led to the need for a central authority to organize and register each tartan to ensure that the specific colors and style of tartan weave could be reproduced. Today the Scottish Register of Tartans is responsible for registering and organizing the archives of all tartan colors and weave patterns worldwide.

Tartans prior to the eighteenth century were all locally produced and relied on the colors that were found naturally in the region and skill of the local weavers. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, bolder colors were incorporated and as their popularity grew, commercial weavers, such as William Wilson and Sons of

⁵⁶ Scottish Register of Tartans Act (2008), accessed on March 1, 2014, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2008/7/section/2>.

Bannockburn, established in 1792, took over the production of most tartan fabric in Scotland. Originally there was one clan tartan that was worn for all occasions. After chemical dyes were introduced in the mid nineteenth century, a wider range of colors was introduced and clans began to develop alternate tartans such as the muted, ancient, and modern classifications. According to Peter Eslea MacDonald in his article, “The Use of Colour in Tartan,” the different tartans can be defined in the following way:

Old, Ancient or Vegetable Colours:

These are the mid-light shades, which are supposed to represent the colours obtained in the past from natural dyes and their use dates from towards the end of the first half of the last century.

Modern or Ordinary Colours:

The early aniline or chemical dyes were a byproduct of the coal and chemical industries, the first of which, Perkin's Purple, was produced in 1856. Although cheap and easy to use, these dyes did not have the subtlety and versatility of those they replaced and as a result, the shades that they produced were very strong and dark.

Muted Colours:

These are of fairly recent origin, c. early 1970's, they fall somewhere between the old and modern colour ranges and are the best commercial match to the overall shades of natural dyes prior to 1855.⁵⁷

The tartan has become an iconic symbol of Scotland and a way to claim Scottish heritage worldwide. Whether invented or selected, the tartan is a tradition that has continued to be a major part of Scottish history and heritage. Tartans are most visible and most “performed” in public on kilts, making the tartan kilt a double hit of cultural symbolism, in pattern and form, and the statement of wearing one in the first place.

The Tartan Kilt

⁵⁷ Peter Eslea MacDonald, “The Use of Colour in Tartan,” Tartan Authority website, accessed March 12, 2014, <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/tartan-today/tartan-design/tartan-colours/>.

Popularly referred to as the national dress of Scotland, the kilt, like the tartan and the clans also has a complex history and, according to Hugh Trevor-Roper, was an invented tradition. Grant Jarvie disputes this, but regardless of the actual origin, the fact remains that the kilt is accepted as highly emblematic of the population's identity. The kilt, also known as the *Feileadh Breacain* in Gaelic, is a tartan that is two yards by four to six yards that is worn in two styles. Today the most popular style is the *Feileadh Beg*, or the little kilt and is fitted, hemmed with the pleats pre-sown neatly into the garment and attaches to the wearer with a belt and buckles. The other style is the *Feileadh Mor*, the belted plaid or the great kilt and is the style of wear that made famous by the 1990s movies, *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*, and includes the lower kilt and a length of tartan that is draped over the shoulder and secured with a large broach pin.

As Scottish culture has grown in popularity in the last thirty years thanks to movies such as *Braveheart*, *Rob Roy* and *Brave*, the tartan kilt has become ubiquitous as a symbol of Scottishness. However, this popularity has also caused issues with authenticity and created the question of what is proper Highland dress. Matthew Newsome, the curator of the Scottish Tartan Museum writes that the kilt is the, “universal symbol for the Scotsman” and that,

Today more and more people are becoming interested in their Scottish heritage. And one of the most visible signs of that heritage is the proud tradition of Highland Dress. However, as tartan and the kilt become more popular, it seems that the myths about them continue to spread even more rapidly, especially regarding the history of Highland Dress. William Wallace wearing a “great kilt” in *Braveheart*, stage productions of Macbeth in kilt and plaid, and pipe bands in modern

military kit performing at “Renaissance” festivals only add to the confusion.⁵⁸

This confusion extends to the Highland Games in the United States as many different version of the tartan kilt can be seen on display. However, this confusion does not limit its ability to serve as a marker for claiming and performing ones Scottishness. The Scottish Tartan Authority is an organization that provides a tartan certification service and database for research on the history and patterns of clan tartans. The Tartan Authority’s website states that.

Nowhere in the world is there such a versatile textile design capable of displaying such aesthetic beauty, evoking such heartfelt images and providing the wearer with such strong 'genetic links' to the past. After many centuries it is still a living, evolving expression of national pride and individuality that shouts out to the watching world, "Look at me and look at whence I came!"⁵⁹

While the kilt, tartans and clans are hugely popular symbols at Scottish heritage events in the United States, they are not as prevalent at the events in Scotland. In the next section, I explore these differences and why the clans and the “wearing of the tartan” is such a central component in how people of Scottish descent claim and perform their Scottishness at the Highland Games.

The Clans

The clans and the issue of clan membership is a multi tiered and complicated structure with each clan having their own rules for membership and involvement and who has the right to “claim” and “show” their link to the clan. The act of wearing a

⁵⁸ Matthew Newsome, “Generations of Highland Dress,” Scottish Tartan Museum website, accessed on March 12, 2014, <http://www.scottishtartans.org/generations.html>.

⁵⁹ “Tartan Today,” The Scottish Tartan Authority, accessed on March 12, 2014, <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/tartan-today/>.

clan tartan is a serious matter that involves permissions and research as well as a clear understanding of the history of the clan that is being claimed. In addition, many people in Scotland have very different views on the clans and tartans compared to the views that are shared by Scottish-Americans that claim clan membership and proudly wear their clan tartan as a mark of their heritage. To unpack these issues, I investigate the complicated issue of clans, clan membership and clan societies and their role and place at the Highland Games both in the United States and in Scotland.

What is a clan and why are they so prevalent at Scottish Highland Games in the United States? A clan, which means ‘children’ in Gaelic, was originally a complex family and social structure that has existed from the fourteenth century in Scotland. Grant Jarvie writes that the Highland clans were a “relatively unique figuration, which developed a specific set of social relations and practices.”⁶⁰ Clan membership was achieved through the sharing of blood and/or marriage, or the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the clan chief that resulted in the person and his family being able to claim membership in a specific clan and that family being regarded as a sept (or subgroup) of the clan. In exchange for the protections that the clan offered, the person had to declare their unwavering loyalty and the willingness to bear arms in the service of the clan chief and the clan in case of threat.

Much like the kilts, tartans and the bagpipes, the early history of the clans in Scotland is complicated by a lack of written records and documentation –thus opening the door to Trevor-Roper’s type of assessments of invented traditions. Through journal, diary, court and newspaper articles from the early 1700s there is

⁶⁰ Jarvie, 18.

enough documentation to establish that a clan system did exist in Scotland prior to the 1750s and they were based in the Highland region of Scotland.

The Highland line is a geographical feature also known today as the Highland Boundary Fault that denotes the beginning of the Highland region that runs roughly from Helensburgh in the west to Stirling in the central region to Stonehaven in the east. Geographically the landscape changes from rolling hills and pastures to peaks, bens, deep lochs and burns and granite outcroppings. Culturally, the Highland Line separated the Scots of the Highlands from the Scots of Lowland region that included the urban areas of Glasgow and Edinburgh. As described in Chapter Two, in the 1700s the people of the Highlands were seen as barbarians while the lowlands area, which was closer to England, was seen as the civilized area of Scotland. While the image of the Highlander and the Highlands themselves was reclaimed and recreated by the rise of tartanry in the 18th and 19th centuries, the clans did in fact exist with their own culture prior to the romanticized version that was created by writers such as Sir Walter Scott and the heritage organizations that set out to “save and preserve” the Highland culture that was to be found in that specific location.

The Highlands had their own unique culture and laws that were centered on the clans and their system of landowning, subsistence farming and community. This way of living existed for centuries in the Highlands until its destruction following the Jacobite Uprising of 1745 and the Battle of Culloden. What was re-established in the nineteenth century due to the tartanry movement and the romanticizing of the Highlands by writers such as Sir Walter Scott, was not the same life and culture that had existed prior to 1745. During this time of upheaval the clans were affected in a

multitude of ways including the loss of land ownership, famine, and the Highland Clearances, that each forced drastic changes to their way of life. Each of these issues resulted in the clans dispersing to where they could find work to be able to support their families. Some moved to the Lowland region or to England or eastern Europe, but a majority of them left Scotland for good and emigrated to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, among other destinations. The clans often emigrated in small and/or large groups, so often the clan structure was maintained to some degree in these locations. The concept of the clan as part of the Scottish culture was thus transplanted in new settlements. The Scottish heritage societies and the Highland Games that were created in these new lands also adopted their traditions. Today, the concept of clans revolves around the concept of family with a shared history and heritage, and it is this idea of the clan that has become the central focus for many who attend and take part in the Highland Games in the 21st century.

Clans and the Highland Games in the United States

No matter where you walk or what events or activities you undertake at a Highland Games, you are surrounded by people declaring and performing their clan affiliation through the wearing of clan tartan kilts, skirts, and sashes, as well as t-shirts and hats emblazoned with clan crests and mottos. Members proudly wear t-shirts emblazoned with “American by Birth –Scottish by Blood” and “American Made –With Scottish Parts” or “American Always – Scottish Forever.” The need for belonging and publically showing their positions through clan membership is central to many of the people that attend Highland Games. Celeste Ray writes, “Most

Scottish Americans join clan societies that share their surnames or are part of their family history; as clan has come to mean “family,” clan history becomes their family heritage.”⁶¹ While saying that everyone with the same surname is in fact related by blood and therefore part of the same clan is much too simplistic. I have witnessed this situation many times myself – while observing the action in a Clan Village, a person will walk up to a clan tent and declare his/her right to membership due to the sharing of the same surname. However, surname is not enough to prove clan affiliation. Just because someone is named MacKay, does not mean that his or her family bloodlines align with the clan’s lineage. More proof is needed, such as DNA, artifacts, or family records. Although the intentions of the solicitor may be innocent, hopeful, and enthusiastic, the implications if his/her actions can be far reaching and it may lead to a scolding if the clan is strict in their requirements for membership.

Paul Basu echoes this when he comments,

In North America, this devotion to clan is often founded on a number of erroneous assumptions: the assumption, for instance, that a shared surname is a reliable indicator of shared kinship (that every MacDonald, for example, is biologically related to and descended from Donald of Islay, grandson of Somerled, progenitor of the clan). Indeed, the ostensible purpose of genealogical research for many clansfolk is to find the ‘missing link’ that connects their own family histories to these chiefly lineages that emerge dimly from Scottish mytho-history.⁶²

This need to be able to prove their connection to the famous chiefly lineages of Scotland is a point of great pride to many that join clan societies. In fact, clan lineages are very complicated and cannot simply be defined by a shared surname and an assumed blood heritage. Ray writes,

⁶¹ Ray, 77.

⁶² Basu, 124.

Though biological kinship was an essential part of reckoning membership and position within a clan, membership also stemmed from semi-feudal alliances with chiefs and their immediate underlings. Individuals or groups could choose to join a clan with which they lacked any marital or biological ties. Residential unity also shaped clan membership...smaller groups and families might ally themselves with powerful clans in their area for defense and other reasons without any regard to common ancestry.⁶³

Therefore, clans were made up of a combination of families and people that shared blood, were united by marriage or had sworn an oath of loyalty to the clan chief, and became a sept of the chief's clan. Sept relationships can muddy the water even more since they are sub-groupings of larger, more established clans. These sept relationships were very fluid and some changed allegiances over time, so they can be difficult to trace to one specific clan. Today, each clan will have a list of affiliated sept clans that are recognized as part of their clan structure.



Figure # 3: Clan Davidson List of Clan Septs

⁶³ Ray, 77.

All of this can be very confusing and it has resulted in some clans demanding that there be a proven shared bloodline and/or verified surname that follows the official and recognized family lineage lines in order to be able to be granted full membership. For example, Clan Stewart is a very well known Scottish clan and many want to claim membership within the Stewart clan due to its historical significance in Scottish history and legend. Due to this popularity, The Stewart Society in Scotland states that membership is only available to those “who bear the name of Stewart (Stuart, Steuart, or Steward), or who are Stewarts by birth or descent.” On their membership form they have a disclaimer that states, “ If you are a new member your application will need to be approved by The Society before it is activated.” Family lineages will be checked to determine if the new member is qualified to belong to the society due to their being able to prove that they are of blood or marriage descent of the official Stewart family tree.

Other clans, such as Clan Davidson, have a more relaxed membership requirement and all are welcome to join. I asked Debra Davidson, the Region Seven (Mid-Atlantic) Representative of Clan Davidson Society USA, about this issue and she said that the wealthier clans had the ability to document their family lineages through the courts, churches and heraldry rolls and were more stable in their ownership of clan land and location in Scotland. Therefore, there were very clearly established blood and heritage lines that could be easily documented back through several generations and even centuries. The less wealthy clans, like the Davidson's, did not have that stability or financial ability and instead were reliant on family documents like bibles and birth records that were kept by many different family

members. If these records were lost, such as when families emigrated, then proof of family lineages was lost with them and that makes it very hard to prove and document in later years.⁶⁴ Therefore, while many families may be able to trace their lineages clearly back to their ancestor that left Scotland, they do not have documentation of the family while they were still residing in Scotland.

These differences in opinion about clan membership rights and claims have set up many scholarly arguments about the authenticity of the clans and clan societies and between native born Scots and hyphenated Scots such as the Scottish-Americans, who have whole heartedly embraced clan belonging and membership in the last several decades. Paul Basu explains,

In popular Highlandist discourse, academic quibbles over historical constitution of clan society and the inventedness of its traditions are, however, largely irrelevant, since it is the 'romantic ideology' of clanship that continues to be promulgated and consumed with enthusiasm. This is particularly true in the Scottish Diaspora, and especially among members of the North American Scottish heritage community, for whom affiliation to a clan society is frequently central to the practice of 'being Scottish' and clan duties are performed with a seriousness that baffles homeland Scots.⁶⁵

This quest for membership in a particular clan and the ability to prove their right to wear a certain clan tartan is a deeply personal issue for many in the clan community in the United States. Many people that I spoke with were happy to sit with me and discuss how far back they could document their family line in the clan heritage. Many of them had gone to Scotland and traced their lineage through the archives in Edinburgh and the church records and cemeteries in villages where their clans had been located. This need to document and to then show pictures and artifacts of their

⁶⁴ Conversation with the author on April 27, 2013.

⁶⁵ Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*, (Routledge: London and New York, 2007), 123-124.

travels to the clan homeland is the focus of many conversations that I overheard in the Clan Village at the Games. They had made the pilgrimage. They had touched the ground of their homeland. There were always crowds of people surrounding maps of Scotland in the clan tents. Whether through DNA, careful genealogical documentation, connections to the land, or through oral legends that have been handed down generation to generation, the need to connect and be part of Scotland through the clan is a theme that runs throughout many of the participants' experiences at the Games.

Clan Societies and Clan Membership

Each clan has their own organizational structure that involves local, regional, national and international associations. For example, Clan MacLeod has multiple levels of clan organizations that include the Clan MacLeod Carolina's Region; Clan MacLeod Society, USA; and the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland. Clan MacLeod Societies are also be found in Canada, Germany, France, Australia and New Zealand, among others. Each society has its own rules for membership. Founded in 1891, the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland states on their website that it "encourages all those interested in their heritage to meet socially to share Clan heritage, history and music." According to their web site, membership in the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland is open to "anyone bearing the name MacLeod, or who is descended from a MacLeod and all members of the Septs of the Clan." According to their website, these Septs include the following surnames:

Beaton, Beton, Bethune, Calum, Lewis, MacLewis, MacHarold, MacCrimmon, MacAskill, MacCaskill, MacAulay of Lewis, MacCabe,

MacCaig, MacLear, MacLeer, MacLure, MacClure, MacRait, MacCreild, MacCorkindale, MacCorquodale, Malcolmson, Norman, and Tolmie.

So even though the person may not be a MacLeod in direct surname or marriage, if they share the surname of one of the approved septs, they would be able to request membership in the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland. Therefore, membership relies strictly on blood lineage and surname affiliation.

The Clan MacLeod Society, USA has a looser set of requirements for membership in their organization. Their web site states that,

Since the days of Leod in the 13th century, it has grown to be a worldwide clan with active societies in nine countries. The Clan MacLeod Society, USA and its sister societies provide a vehicle to communicate and strengthen the bonds of fellowship in our far flung family—people of the name MacLeod (however spelled), **families with names long associated with the Clan** (see our list of "Septs"), **as well as friends with an interest in the rich heritage of the Clan MacLeod.** [Emphasis theirs]⁶⁶

Their membership requirements are much looser than those of the society in Scotland.

On their “Home” page they even bold the options for membership for those that do not carry the surname of MacLeod. On the “Membership page” they list the eligibility requirements as:

Anyone having the name of MacLeod (however spelled) and anyone directly
by marriage or descent
Septs of the Clan MacLeod (however spelled) and anyone directly by
marriage or descent
Friends of the Clan MacLeod

There is a major difference in the two organizations in the accepted spellings of the surname “MacLeod.” In contrast to the Society in Scotland, the Clan MacLeod Society, USA website states that they accept the following spellings:

⁶⁶ “Home,” Clan MacLeod Society, USA, <https://clanmacleodusa.org/>, accessed on February 23, 2014.

M/Leoid, McGloid, McGloyd, M'Cleod, M'Cloid, M'Glaud, M'Kleod, M'Leud, M'Lewd, M'Loid, McCleoyd, McCleud, McCloaud, M'Cloide, MacLeoad, MacLode, MacKloud, MaKeloid, M'Loyd, M'Loyde, M'Clode, MaKcloid, Lowd, Clowd, Cloyd, Loyd, Lewd, Clode and possibly Laird/Leard. ("Mc is the same as "Mac")⁶⁷

With these numerous variations, they are much more open to the changes that may have occurred in the spelling of the name over time and change in location due to emigration resettlement. They also include more sept names on their eligibility list. While they have all of the names that were previously listed by the Clan MacLead Society of Scotland, they also list the multiple spellings that may have occurred. For example, where the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland only listed “MacHarold,” the Clan MacLeod Society, USA includes: Harold, Haraldson, Harold, Harrold, Heraldson, and Herrald. They have also expanded the list to include surnames such as: Allum, Andie, Askie, among others. (The full list can be found at: <https://clanmacleodusa.org/Septs.html>). Their list of official clan septs includes one hundred and twenty-one names as compared to the twenty-four that are listed on the website of the Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland. This expansion of the sept names, as well as the acceptance of multiple spellings of MacLeod, allows for a much greater number of dues paying, official members in the Clan MacLeod Society, USA

Finally, the requirement that they just need to be a “Friend of the Clan MacLeod” raises interesting questions since MacLeod was the surname of the lead character in the *Highlander* movie franchise and the TV show that aired in the 1990s. The film coined the cult classic phrase “I am Connor MacLeod of the Clan MacLeod...there can be only one!” Much like the *Braveheart* effect, *Highlander* was also a popular and influential movie, and television franchise, especially for men. I

⁶⁷ Ibid.

asked the members in the Clan MacLeod tent at Grandfather if that popularity for the movie and television series still impacted their membership and was told that it was a large factor and issue in the 80s and 90s but that it did not come up as much now as it had in the 90s. However, they still get questions about the movie and have people show up in costume at some Highland Games. They try to discourage this popular culture aspect and instead stress the “real” warrior heritage that is found in their clan history. Performing a character in costume is not the same as reenacting a real historical figure (so it is believed). This is not a game to be enacted after all – but a real family lineage and history. Much like Clan Davidson they like to share their history with people and say that if that gets the people to stop at their tent they are happy to talk about the movies, but they also try to get them interested in what the clan is doing today and the rich heritage that is part of Clan MacLeod in the United States and in Scotland.

In researching multiple clan societies in Scotland and the United States, I found that the requirements in the spelling of surnames and the septs designations to be similar in several clan membership requirements. This expansion in the spellings of surnames and the list of septs has sometimes led to friction between the clan societies in Scotland and the United States. While the clans in Scotland are more specific and selective and may state that membership in the society must be approved, as in the above Stewart Society membership application, many clans in the US are more flexible and open to membership and inclusion simply involves paying annual or lifetime dues fees. Other clans are quite complicated and demand verifiable genealogy records and even possession of heritage items that have been passed down

generation to generation. Several clans have become stricter in the last several years and now employ official clan historians and genealogists that verify the applicant's rights to join the clan through blood or marriage records. Advances in DNA testing in terms of technology and availability have also started to impact membership qualifications in some of the clans.

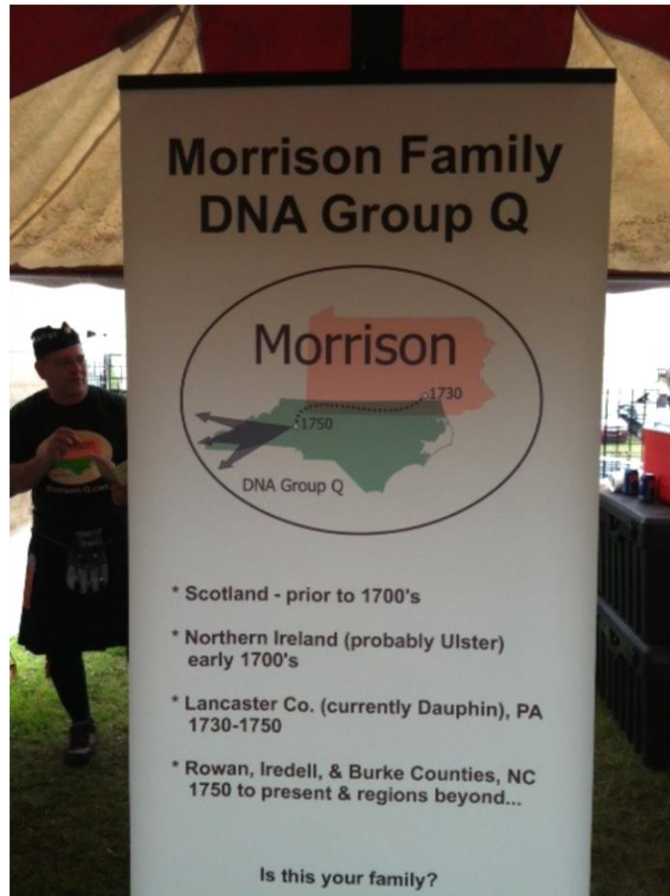


Figure # 4: Clan Morrison DNA Project Poster

DNA: Blood Scots and Proof of Belonging

At the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, DNA charts took up one wall of the Clan Morrison tent. When I spoke to one of the members of the clan, he said they had been tracking DNA for several years tracing it back to Scotland to establish

where concentrations of Clan Morrison members could be found. He said that DNA technology has evolved so fast that they can easily and affordably undertake this project to better establish the paths that members of Clan Morrison have taken in the last several hundred years. The Clan Morrison website explains the project by saying, “The Morrison DNA Project has continued to help us learn more about our Morrison origins with every new participant... If one or more of the matches has a documented link with a location in Scotland, then a participant will learn the area in Scotland that his family was from.”⁶⁸ A chart was displayed in the clan tent that documented where concentrations of Morrison’s have been found due to this testing. On their website they have a map that shows where Morrison DNA has been tracked and located. This was a very popular display and every time I came by their tent it was packed with people talking about it and asking questions about the project and the results.

These DNA tests are just one more level that allow for people of Scottish descent to be able to prove that they belong to a particular people and location in Scotland. Rather than just saying that their family was from a specific area, the DNA test allows them to prove – with out a doubt – that they were from this place and they did indeed have a claim to the concept of coming “home.” While Clan Morrison is the most detailed display that I have seen at the games, many clans have flyers that describe the DNA testing that they are undertaking clan wide as well.

Several companies and organizations such as the Scottish DNA Project, Scottish Clans DNA Project, and Your Scottish Ancestry, have developed relationships with Family Tree DNA, Ancestry DNA and the National Geographic

⁶⁸ “Morrison DNA Project,” Clan Morrison Website, accessed January 12, 2014, <http://clanmorrison.net/>.

Genographic project, that allows for the sharing of the results in this research in order to track participants Scottish DNA traits and document concentrations of locations of the same DNA strains. In the last several years these projects have become increasingly popular with clan organizations. This adds another level of documentation that can be used to prove family histories and ties to specific locations in Scotland. While most clans in the United States allow for people to join even if they do not have documentation of a bloodline or family history, these DNA projects are adding another level of membership status that is similar to the requirements in Scotland. In the six years that I have been conducting research on the Highland Games, I have increasingly found that conversations about these DNA projects have become more and more popular in the Clan Village. I question that as these DNA projects get cheaper and more established, if membership in the clans in the United States will become stricter and eventually they will require verifiable bloodline heritage in order to belong. The Clan Morrison website constitution states that membership is open to anyone that meets the following requirements:

Annual Members: Residents of North America who bear the name Morrison, Morison, Murison, Gilmore, etc., who shall by blood, adoption or marriage be connected to the Clan Morrison of Scotland or who shall acknowledge the Chief of the Name as his or her Clan leader shall be eligible for Annual Membership.⁶⁹

As the Clan Morrison DNA project gets more information and detailed, will this last criteria be changed? Or, will there be a tiered membership structure that is developed for the confirmed DNA bloodline members versus the non-DNA bloodline members? Will there be a hierarchy of memberships where a DNA test will become a requirement for full membership? Will the importance of cultural performance and

⁶⁹ "Constitution," Clan Morrison website, accessed January 12, 2014, <http://clanmorrison.net/>.

display take a back seat to scientific tests? If blood and genetics become definitive markers for membership, will the need for storytelling and historical knowledge fade away into more private spheres?

This difference in determining who belongs and who does not creates issues regarding authenticity and validity of membership when encountering clans and clan societies in both countries. In the words of Paul Basu, this “cult of the clans” has taken on great meaning for people of Scottish descent in the United States and any other locations with a strong Scottish emigrant experience:

As the Scottish heritage revival has gained momentum over the past thirty years, so too has the cult of the clan, and there are now many hundreds of clan associations throughout the world, each recognizing a particular Highland lineage, and each identifying a specific region within the Highlands and Islands as its ancestral homeland.⁷⁰

The “cult of the clan” is very clearly on display at the Highland Games and the *sense of belonging* to a specific Scottish family and place is a major factor in how many clan members perform their Scottishness. Nowhere is this claiming and performing of clan membership more visible and visit-able than in the Clan Village.

⁷⁰ Basu, 125.



Figure # 5: Clan Village Ringing the Track at Grandfather Mountain Highland Games



Figure # 6: A Section of Clan Village Tents Ringing the Track at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games

The Clan Village

In the United States the Clan Village serves many purposes and takes on great importance at the Highland Games. In the data that I have collected from surveys that were completed at the games that I attended, the Clan Village was the number one rated reason for attending. This was followed in importance by the heavy events, musical performances, and the merchandise area where they could buy clan related items. When I asked spectators (non clan members, tourists), what attracted them to the Clan Village, the most popular reply was the sense of history and the many different colored tartans that were on display. When I spoke to clan members, the main reason they gave for attending the Games was the sense of family and community that they found at the Clan Village that they could be a part of and share in for the length of the event.

The Clan Village is usually easy to find at the Games since there is a large grouping of tents with the bright blue and white saltire and rampant lion flags flying above them. The clan names are emblazoned on tartan banners and clan members are wearing their clan tartan kilts, skirts, shawls and sashes while they are milling around in a beehive of activity. At the New Hampshire Highland Games there were over seventy clan tents divided into two sections, at Grandfather Mountain there were over eighty clans that completely lined the track around the athletic field, and at the Virginia Highland Games, the Clan Village was the first thing that you saw after you came through the entrance gate. Each year that I attended the event there were over thirty different clans represented.

Each individual clan tent is unique in its set up and organization, but there are also several similarities from tent to tent. Each tent features the clan name in a banner across the top of the tent. On the tables that line the front and sides of the tent there are books that are related to the history of the clan, memoirs and biographies of famous clan members, and bloodline documents such as family bibles, birth certificates, church ledgers, property deeds, among others, that prove the bloodlines ties to Scotland. There are items that document the history of the clan that may include paintings and pictures of clan chiefs, battles and castles, and military medals and claymore swords. The most popular items are the maps that show the location of the clan lands in Scotland and a family tree that traces the clan name back multiple generations in the United States and Scotland. There are also flyers about the clan history and the clan associations that it is affiliated with to encourage new members to enquire how they can join the organization. Some are very detailed with multiple displays and computers that feature photos or family history power points and videos, while others are more basic and feature only a few items. The level of display at each tent depends on the dedication and involvement of the clan society that is organizing the exhibit.

Each individual clan tent takes on the role and appearance of a mobile miniature clan museum as heritage and history items are displayed and honored. At each tent there are several people that can detail the history and lineage of the clan and describe why the displayed items are important and have such value.



**Figure # 7: Clan Davidson Tent Overview
with Jim and Debra Davidson⁷¹**

One of the more in depth and entertaining Clan Village displays that I have witnessed is the Clan Davidson tent that was created by and is under the direction of Debra and Jim Davidson. I first met Debra Davidson at the Virginia Highland Games in September of 2007 when she told me about the history of her clan and explained the different items that were included in the Clan Davidson 1400s home model that was on display. Since then I have had occasion to meet with her and her husband Jim several times and even sit in their clan tent and spend time with them to discuss their involvement with Clan Davidson and how their tent came to be designed the way it is today. Their clan tent is always one of the more popular places in the village as they have several unique features including: a model of Tulloch Castle circa 1920 and a

⁷¹ I was very fortunate to meet Debra and Jim Davidson at the Virginia Scottish Highland Games in 2007. I have been able to talk with them at several events over the last six years and they have been a very generous source of information on clans, clan membership and the history and organization of Clan Davidson.

model of the Clan Davidson family home in Invernahavon, Scotland circa 1400, that were both built by Jim.

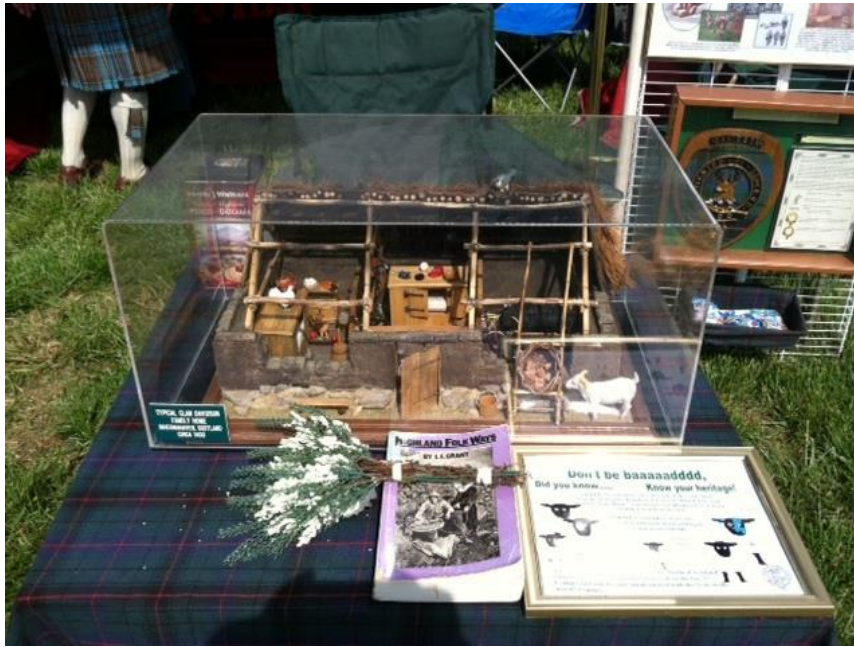


Figure # 8: Model of the Clan Davidson Family Home, Invernahavon, Scotland, circa 1400.

Other items in their display include: a large poster depicting various examples of “Highland Life” that the members of Clan Davidson would have been a part; a poster of the “Battle of the Clans: 1396;” a poster of the family lineage of the “Chiefs of Clan Davidson; a banner listing the Septs of Clan Davidson; a large framed picture that features Tulloch Castle in Dingwall, Scotland, the seat of Clan Davidson; picture albums of a trip that they took to Tulloch Castle and other important landmarks to Clan Davidson in Scotland; history books and flyers that include information on Clan Davidson, the Clan Davidson Society, USA and their connection to Harley Davidson motorcycles, (which they get many questions about). The tent is very informative,

welcoming and detailed in their displays and information. This attention to detail has resulted in their winning many Clan Tent awards for best presentation and informational display at several different Highland Games.

Each of these items draws people of all ages to their tent, especially the models of their home and the castle. But the greatest draw is Debra and Jim themselves, as they are such a warm and generous couple that loves to share their wealth of information about the clan and the clan life in Scotland. When I asked Debra about her favorite part of being involved with the Clan Davidson tent, she replied,

My favorite part about participating in the festivals is the people I meet. I love talking to people, especially the children who visit our tent. Some of the Clans focus on Clan Gatherings and eating and drinking all day; however, Jim and I like to focus on the history and learning experience. Nothing makes my day more than a child who is curious and asks a thousand questions. If we can do anything to motivate a child's curiosity, our day is complete. My husband made the dioramas and models specifically for that reason.⁷²

They invited me to sit with them in their tent in April of 2013 at the Southern Maryland Celtic Festival and I was able to watch them interact with the people that visited their tent. For several hours I watched as they answered questions about the clan and how to become a member of the clan society, showed people the different items in their tent and why they were important; shared the history of the clan and assisted them in finding ways to research their own families. I was amazed at the wealth of information that they shared and in the multiple ways they made people feel welcome and at home. When I asked her about the typical questions that they get she said,

⁷² Email communication, April 25, 2013.

First of all, most people think we're a wealth of information on THEIR ancestors. They don't understand that each family within a clan has it's own history. There is no one person who is the fountain of information on his or her particular ancestors.

The other major question is that they want to know what tartan is associated with their particular family or what clan. We always try to help them look it up in our books and guide them to the correct tent.

We get a lot of questions about the models we display. That gives us an ideal chance to talk about history, our favorite subject. They want to know if we know where their great-grandfather was from. Again, we don't have the history of their ancestors, but we do try to guide them to some resources to help them find out. They also always stop to look at our map of Scotland and take great pride in showing us where they've been. It's all good and all fun.⁷³

In my interaction with the Jim and Debra it became clear just how much time they devoted to the tent and taking and setting it up at various Highland Games and Festivals throughout the year. When I asked her about their travels with the clan tent she explained that,

We have cut down the amount of games we used to do. We started out doing about 8 a year, for a couple of reasons, one is my work schedule and the other is the expense. We now do around four a year, plus the Scottish Christmas Walk in Alexandria. We do the parade, the Southern Maryland Celtic Festival and the Richmond Highland Festival every year. This year we'll also be doing the Fredrick, Maryland Festival and possibly the Williamsburg Festival. We used to do the Anne Arundel Festival every year, but that event is no longer active. We may also do the Virginia Scottish Highland Games and Festival in The Plains in September.⁷⁴

From these comments, it is clear to see the commitment and devotion it takes to create and maintain the Clan Davidson tent each year. Jim and Debra serve as clan historians and genealogists, public relations experts, clan tartan experts, clan society membership coordinators, and travel guides to the hundreds of people that interact

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

with them each day of a Highland Games event. It is a serious commitment to their clan and the clan society to do each of these things well and to be able to repeat it several weekends throughout each year.

Why is the Clan Village so popular? One of my informants explained to me the heavy athletics and the music competitions are the “entertainment” components of the Games while the Clan Village is its “heart” and where the scattered Scottish family reunites and shares their history and heritage. It is, in some sense a division of entertainment and efficacy, as theorized by Richard Schechner (1988, 2005) and Victor Turner (1982). In this case, the entertainment is actually “efficacious” in showing the strength and skills of the Scottish participants –and the warrior-like characteristics of the ideal Scot (male), but its active, or physical participation is limited to the competitors. The spectator may be “transported” in time and imagination while watching, but they are not included – there is a separation of audience and stage. Spectators cannot show their Scottishness through strength and athletic skill. However, the Clan Village is for all to experience; it educates and includes, and perhaps, even transforms – albeit temporarily in many cases— individuals into a clan member. Clan participants and spectators are not easily distinguishable, they mix and mingle, before and after events, and the audience is allowed to become part of the “stage,” bleeding over the lines and into the “game” space as much as they are watching and drinking. The competition events are scheduled and structured, but the Clan Village is continuous and timeless. With the exception of the clan parade and the opening ceremonies, someone will always be at the Clan Village willing to talk to the people that stop at their tent. There is less a

sense of urgency and people can take their time exploring, looking and talking with people at each tent. The Clan Village is a place for social interaction and the sharing of Scottish history and heritage. It serves as a Scottish family reunion area that allows multiple generations to reconnect or to meet for the first time. Many clans attend the same three or four games each year so there is a sense of a family reunion tour of the same familiar locations that many people embark on each games season.

The Clan Village is also a place where all in attendance can perform their Scottishness in a multitude of ways. It is the place where people sit together and eat haggis and shortbread, drink Irn Bru and whisky, and talk about their ties to Scotland. It is where they have their clan association meetings, share updates about other Highland Games and their travels to Scotland. Through the coming together of clan members, the wearing of the clan tartan, the proclaiming of clan mottos, the sharing and the constant retelling of Scottish myths, history and legends, the Clan Village offers a twenty-first century version of the clan gatherings of earlier times. For this one weekend, in this one place, it is the heart of the clan community of that region.

The Clan Village is a “performative” experience for the members of the clans, in that it is one of the few times, places, and experiences in which they “feel” part of their established clan. By performing their Scottishness in the Clan Village, they become “more Scottish” through taking part in the rituals, ceremonies and play that is involved in the different activities. These Clan Villages are necessary, especially in the United States, for identity construction and maintenance since they are not part of the everyday, and kilts and tartan sashes are not worn to work, these performances are

crucial elements to the people of Scottish ancestry in the United States. As Kertzer (1988) and Turner (1982) write, one believes through doing.

The Clan Village also provides a place to explore the different gender performances that are a part of the construction of the Clan organizations. The stereotypical image of Scottishness is usually the physically imposing male Highland warrior in his tartan kilt with a claymore sword and/or bagpipes in hand. It is a very masculine image and one that is reproduced throughout the iconography of Scotland and on the Games grounds through the images that are sold and displayed on t-shirts, posters and other items such as crystal whisky tasting glasses, flasks, pint glasses and artwork. It is also prominently on display at the heavy event competitions where burly men in kilts throw, toss and heave heavy stones, logs and metal hammers. Popular culture has also served to promote that image with the movies *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* that served to re-imagine the image of the fierce Highland warrior fighting to correct a great wrong.

The most well known and most seen performance of Scottishness at the Games is that of the men of the clans wearing their clan tartan kilt walking through the grounds and taking part in the competitions, clan marches and bagpipe bands, which are usually male dominated groups. At many Games the most popular and well-attended events are the heavy athletic and bagpipe competitions, which provide a very public stage for the performance of male Scottishness to be seen and displayed. While there are female heavy athletic and bagpipe competitions, they are rare and are greatly outnumbered by the focus on competitions for the men. For example, at all of the Games that I attended, only three had official women's sanctioned heavy event

competitions and they did not draw near the crowds that the men's event drew. In the bagpipe bands the women are greatly outnumbered on average of three to one in the bands that I watched perform.

The one place that women were predominant was in the Clan Village. While the clans have historically been a very patriarchal society, my research has shown that in 21st century clan organizations it is often the women that are conducting the family history research and organizing and running the clan tents at the Games. During my research it was usually the women of the clan that were answering all of the questions that the visitors had about the clan and describing the artifacts that were on display. The women were also performing their Scottishness through the wearing of their clan tartan sashes and/or skirts, but the spectators did not recognize it in the same way as the iconic image as the men in their kilts.

The Games provided a place to see the dichotomous roles that still exist, as the men were out in the public and taking part in the most popular events in the athletic and bagpipe arenas, while the women were holding things together in the clan tents and making sure that everything was running smoothly and that someone was always available to answer questions. The men in their kilts may be the dominant public image, but the women still seem to keep the families that represent the kilts in a cohesive recognized and organized group.

One change that has occurred in the last couple of years is that young Scottish girls and women have become more interested due to the popularity of the Disney animated movie, *Brave*, that portrays a young Scottish lady, Merida, that rejects the docile image and role that is expected of her and instead becomes a fierce Scottish

warrior in her own right. Where before it was only the poster image of Mel Gibson as *Braveheart* that was seen in the Clan Village tents, images of Merida began to appear as well and drew the interest of young women to ask questions at the clan tents. Several people that I talked with said that since the movie was released that they are seeing more interest and involvement from young women in Scottish history and events. I also witnessed an increase in young women wearing their own tartan and Merida inspired outfits in the clan villages at the Games in the United States.

The Clan Village in Scotland

In Scotland, the Clan Village is not nearly as prevalent, in fact, it is rarely seen at all at the over sixty Highland Games and Gatherings throughout the area. The Aboyne Highland Games is an anomaly as they have clan tents set up for the major clans of the northeast of Scotland and even an international clan tent for visitors to their Games. They take pride in their Clan Village and it is a popular aspect of the games experience at Aboyne. *The Deeside Piper* covered the event in 2013 and wrote that, “Clan tents, welcoming visitors with a shared name or heritage were open to the public as well, giving guests a chance to learn about the noble houses of the area and meet their descendants. A tent in the clan area was set up specifically for international guests, who attended the games in good numbers.”⁷⁵ Set up in a similar manner to what would be found at a Clan Village in the United States, the Aboyne version was smaller and sparser in its displays. When I attended the event similar conversations were being held about clan history, but since this was a very focused clan gathering of just families of the northeast area everyone knew each other and the conversations

⁷⁵ Aboyne Enjoys a Highland Fling,” *Deeside Piper*,

were filled more with latest occurrences in their daily lives. There were still multiple family generations taking part but it was much more casual and low key – less of a spectacle, and less of a performance for outside spectators. Fewer people wore clan tartans and kilts.

Aboyne does include the Clan Village as part of their structure, giving it some “stage” time, so to speak. But the Braemar Gathering does not feature it at all. There was a modest designated clan area located in a large white tent that also housed other groups and activities, but it was easy to miss and definitely not a main draw. I had to hunt for its location and when I entered the large tent, it was clear that it was mostly for international visitors that were looking for general clan information. In Scotland, the need to visually and performatively associate with a “clan village” and to pose one clan in contrast to another was not an essential part of their Highland Games. They know they are Scottish and the need to identify and claim that heritage is not part of the Games experience. They are much more interested in seeing the competitions and the dance and music performances.



Figure # 9: Location of the Clan Area at the Braemar Gathering (The large white tent behind the grandstand labeled the Overseas Tent - Rotary and Clans).

The clans and Clan Villages were also not part of the set up or the common motivator in conversation at events I attended while in Scotland in 2009 and 2011. This is understandable since family identification through clan history is very present in their daily lives. Debra Davidson said that she had never taken their clan tent to an event in Scotland, but she had attended several events as a spectator. She commented,

We attended the Fort Augustus Highland Games on the northern end of Loch Ness. It was definitely different from our festivals here. They don't have any Clan tents. I guess they already know about being Scottish! They emphasize the "Games" competition more. They also did not have any bagpipe bands. The favorite food vendor was the "Great American Donut Company." We got a kick out of that. We also attended a small festival at Drumnadrochit, home of the Loch Ness

Monster. There were lots of vendors selling things and some athletic competitions, but that was it.⁷⁶

These differences in focus and interest in the clans in the United States and Scotland complicates the issue of clan membership and the view on the importance that clans have in both countries today. The issue of clan tartans and who has the right to claim and wear the clan tartan can also be a contentious issue, depending on which clan and in which country it is being displayed.

In this chapter I have investigated the multiple displays and performances of Scottishness through tartans, kilts and clans found at Highland Games and Gatherings in the United States and Scotland. Although originally built upon “invented traditions” according to Hobsbawm and Trevor-Roper, the cultural symbols of the clans, kilt and the clan tartan of the Scottish Highlander remain the images that are most associated with Scotland and Scottish culture today. These invented traditions have also become essential “selected” (and what’s more, judged and reflected upon), traditions at today’s Highland Games and Gatherings as a way for clan members to claim (successfully or not) membership and to perform their Scottishness. It is these ‘selected’ traditions that are now an expected part of the Games experience for participants and spectators alike. I will explore additional elements and traditions that are an essential part of the Highland Games and Gatherings in the following chapter.

⁷⁶ Email conversation, April 25, 2013.

Chapter Four: **Highland Games and Gatherings:** **Nation-Making through Competition, Festival, and Play**

For the Scottish community, Highland Games and Gatherings have become temporary physical expressions of an “imagined” community. Through tartan parades, massed bagpipe-band performances, dancing, athletic competitions, and solemn rituals in honor of ancestors, the Highland Games are an enactment of the community’s guiding beliefs and central themes of Scottish heritage. The fire that opens the Grandfather Mountain Games symbolizes the gathering of now-dispersed clans at a place that has become home to heritage celebrations, and therefore to the assembled community. – Celeste Ray

According to the Scottish Highland Games Association, from May through September there are over sixty Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings held each year throughout Scotland.⁷⁷ Many are rural events that attract several hundred competitors, participants and spectators from the local area, while others such as the Braemar and Cowal Gathering regularly draw tens of thousands of locals and tourists alike to the grounds of the event. They range in scope from single day events such as the Braemar Gathering and the Aboyne Games to three-day events such as the Cowal Gathering. In the United States there are over one hundred and fifty Highland Games each year that also range in size from hundreds to thousands of participants, competitors and spectators and, like Scotland, range from single day to multi day events. Each event proudly features massed pipe and drum bands, dance, bagpipe, and heavy event athletic competitions, clans, Scottish food and drink, and a merchandise area featuring sales of kilts, tartans, sporrans, dirks, *sgian dubhs*, claymore swords, St. Andrew's flags, haggis, shortbread, and many other items that proudly proclaim and

⁷⁷ “Visitor Events,” Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on March 25, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/visitor-events.php>.

show Scottish heritage. No matter the scale, layout or location of the Games, or what countries they are hosted within, these cultural symbols are always present as representations of Scottishness that are an expected part of all Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings.

These events also allow for the embodied experience of a Scottish landscape, as the “Highlands” become a crucial part of the performer, competitor and spectator experience. These staged celebrations of Scotland rely on the romantic images of the “Highlands” of the past to be able to connect with their heritage and culture. Finally, the Highland Games location creates a place for the proving of one’s Scottishness through mock battles and contests, which includes, in a different way, contests of knowledge and manners of wearing of the tartan and kilts.

In this chapter I focus on the Games from a historical, structural and organizational perspective as I examine what cultural symbols and events are essential elements. To explore these issues I examine the early history, structure and organization of the Games in Scotland and the United States, followed by a closer examination of three specific Games that I have attended in each region. In Scotland, I focus on the Braemar Gathering, the Cowal Highland Gathering and the Aboyne Highland Games. In the United States I examine the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans, Virginia Scottish Games and Festival, and New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival.

These specific events represent a wide range of Highland Games and allow me to examine the large tourist based events (Braemar and Cowal), in context with a smaller local event (Aboyne). In the United States, I chose two of the most popular,

well-attended Games, (Grandfather and New Hampshire Games) and a smaller local event (Virginia Highland Games). In addition, the Grandfather Mountain event is modeled on the Braemar Gathering and allows for a close investigation of how the events and traditions have changed as they left their land of origin. By exploring each of these events and then comparing and contrasting them with each other, I have investigated what traditions have stayed authentic and which ones have become ‘invented’ or ‘selected’ traditions. Finally, I compare and contrast the participants, competitors and spectators that attend the events and analyze what their expectations and experiences entail. Each of these games has a unique origin that allows for a deeper exploration and understanding of how Scottish Highland Games vary in history, scale, and reputation and how aspects such as location, duration, layout and organization serve to attract competitors, participants and spectators to each Games and how these elements are understood as a performance of Scottish culture and tradition today.

A Brief History of Scottish Highland Games in Their Land of Origin

As Scottish cultural history and games scholars Grant Jarvie, Celeste Ray, David Webster, and Emily Ann Donaldson, among others, have documented, it is impossible to establish a definitive origin date for Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings since various sporting and social events have been considered “Highland Games and/or Gatherings” going as far back as the 11th century. Grant Jarvie writes that,

One of the major problems that any researcher faces when trying to pinpoint the exact origin of events such as Highland Gatherings is the

fragmentary nature of the evidence. Highland tradition itself helps to explain this problem since so many legends, customs, and traditions of the Highland communities tended to be passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth rather than be written down.⁷⁸

Despite this lack of verifiable written evidence, many scholars trace the origin of the Highland Games and Gatherings to the competitions that King Malcolm Ceann-Mor (Canmore) held at the Braes of Mar now known as Braemar, Scotland in the mid eleventh century.⁷⁹ The Braemar Gathering claims this origin that is based on “an eleventh century incident when the King summoned the clans of the Braes of Mar, whereupon there was a hill race to the summit of Craig Choinneach.”⁸⁰ Emily Ann Donaldson writes, “The influence of Malcolm Ceann Mor is seen in every aspect of the Scottish Highland Games. The spectacular sword dance in the dancing competition is said to have originated at Dunsinane in 1054 when, according to legend, Malcolm slew one of MacBeth’s chieftains, crossed his own sword over that of the vanquished, and danced in exultation.”⁸¹ No written documentation from this era has survived to substantiate the claim that the Braemar hill running event was the first Highland Games competition, but most scholars are content to use this as the origin point.

Throughout the next several centuries these competitions, at various times, have included twisting the leg off of a steer, heaving heavy stones, sword fights, wrestling, and running competitions. They continued to occur in the Highland region

⁷⁸ Grant Jarvie, *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 7.

⁷⁹ Jarvie, 3.

⁸⁰ Jarvie, 20.

⁸¹ Emily Ann Donaldson, *Scottish Highland Games in America* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1986), 11.

as clan lairds established contests of strength to determine who had the strongest warriors, bodyguards, messengers and most loyal clans folk at their gatherings. These clan gatherings would be called at various times during the year in order for the clan lairds and the clans to conduct trade, clan business, settle disputes, perform marriages and mark agricultural milestones in the seasons.⁸² These Highland Gatherings provided a place for competition as well as an opportunity for social interaction and the sharing of history and traditions among the members of the clans. These gatherings occurred periodically until the 1740s, when the Highland way of life was to change drastically following the Jacobite Uprising of 1745, previously discussed in Chapter Two.

There is a lack of written documentation until the late 1700s that allows for various interpretations to be made as to the origin of the Highland Gatherings and the changes that occurred from the original regional clan gatherings to the establishment of the Games, as they are understood today. As mentioned above, the Braemar Gathering claims an eleventh century origin and has traditionally been accepted by most scholars as the origins of the first Highland Gathering. This is followed by the Ceres Highland Games in Fife that stake the claim to being the oldest *continuously* operating Games in Scotland. Their website states that the “Ceres Games are the oldest *free* [emphasis theirs] games in Scotland, always held on the last Saturday of the month of June, every year (except for war) since the charter to hold the Games was given to the people of the village by Robert Bruce in 1314 in recognition of their support at the battle of Bannockburn.”⁸³ There were occasional mentions in traveler’s

⁸² Ray, 100.

⁸³ “Home,” Ceres Highland Games, accessed on March 12, 2013, <http://www.ceresgames.co.uk/>.

journals, diaries and village meeting notes of other clan gatherings and athletic competitions, there isn't a conclusive way to prove that these Gatherings were a regular occurrence and included the origins of the events that are recognized today as essential elements of a Scottish Highland Gathering.

What has evolved from these earlier clan gatherings to what we now recognize and consider Scottish Highland Games that includes the clans, heavy athletic, dancing and music competitions can be traced to the late 1700s⁸⁴ with the Northern Meetings that were first held on June 11, 1788 and the first official Braemar Gathering that was established in 1832. The Braemar Gathering became and continues to this day "to set the example for events around the globe" as the various Highland Societies and other cultural organizations sought ways to reclaim and capitalize on the newfound popularity of tartanry and the culture of the Highlands.⁸⁵

Grant Jarvie, a leading scholar on Highland Games, sporting events and nationalism in Scotland has classified four stages of development of Highland Games and Gatherings along a chronological timeline that also traces the changes that have occurred among the clans and Highland society from the eleventh century to 1991. His designations are:

Stage one, from the eleventh century to 1750. He writes,

During this stage of development many of the cultural artifacts upon which today's Highland Gatherings are dependent existed in various antecedent forms. They contributed to a somewhat violent, materially impoverished way of life, which, in part, revolved around a fusion of patriarchal-feudal forces, which gave rise to Highland clan formation.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Jarvie, 2.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jarvie, 12.

Jarvie's second stage lasts from 1740 to 1850 and shows how life in the Highlands dramatically evolved during this time frame. He writes,

At least three important processes affected the development of Highland Gatherings during this stage (a) a process of cultural marginalization which resulted in the relative destruction of the original Highland way of life and the cultural artifacts which contributed to it; (b) a process of emigration which resulted in many Highland customs being transported with the *émigré* to North America in particular and (c) an initial stage of cultural transformation during which many Highland and Friendly Societies actually encouraged the further development of a number of Highland Gatherings.⁸⁷

Stage three encompasses the years from 1840 to 1920, "which resulted in the Highland Gatherings becoming inextricably linked with images of 'Balmorality,' loyalty and royalty."⁸⁸ This stage saw the influence of tartanry, and the effects of King George IV and Queen Victoria's interest in the Highlands becoming an essential part and driver of the development of the Highland Games. Jarvie writes that, "this contributed to, not just the popularization of the Highlands Gatherings but also the popularization of the Highlands in general as a leisure playground for the 'sporting landlords.'"⁸⁹

Jarvie's final stage encompasses the time period from 1910 to the publishing of his book, *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth* in 1991 which saw the Highland Gatherings and Games "experience problems of modernity" that includes,

A number of multi-faceted developments such as incipient bureaucratization, rationalization, increasing professionalism and changing class relations all contributed to a dominant interpretation of the Highland Gatherings. And yet the residual images of tartanry, clans

⁸⁷ Ibid., 12-13.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

and landlords continued to be produced and reproduced within the changing nexus of Highland and Scottish development.⁹⁰

These four stages allow for a way to investigate and explore the changes that have occurred in Scotland and with the structure of the Highland Games up to 1991. I would respectfully add a stage five to reflect what has occurred since 1991 to today and how popular culture has impacted the Highland Games.

I argue that since 1995 and the release of the movies, *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* and arrival of the Internet and social media that popular culture has created a new interest and desire to take part in Scottish heritage and culture at the Highland Games (see Chapter Six). Although historically problematic and troublesome, *Braveheart*, created a new wave of interest in the Scottish Highland Warrior that translated into another renewal of research into clans, tartans and kilts. In the United States, it is not unusual to see several men dressed as the iconic William Wallace, and wearing a Wallace belted plaid and carrying a claymore sword. *Braveheart* movie posters and images are also still displayed in clan tents and on t-shirts and banners. It was not as prevalent at the Highland Games in Scotland; the movie did result in new interest in William Wallace and the battle of Stirling Bridge, and resulted in the creation of several new monuments and annual remembrance celebrations. This new popular culture version of tartanry still exists today in Scotland and the United States (see Chapter Six). Additional motivators in this stage would include the rise in Scottish tourism, genealogy research and the ease with which people now travel. Several of my informants at the various games have reported that attendance at the events and

⁹⁰ Ibid.

the number of people requesting applications for membership has increased dramatically since 1995.

These stages can clearly be seen in the development of the Braemar Gathering from its origins in the mid eleventh century to its immense popularity and reputation today. By using the Braemar Gathering as a case study, Jarvie's four stages of development of the Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland can be further examined as well as the way elements of tartanry have been utilized as a way to understand the Games and the cultural symbols of Scotland that are inextricable linked to each other and the performance of Scottishness.

The Braemar Gathering "For Kith and Kin"

As written above, The Braemar Gathering traces its origins to King Malcolm Ceann Mor and his hill race in 1054. From this time until 1745 the Highlands saw the development of clan structures that allowed for an agricultural people to work together in a rather inhospitable land to raise crops and livestock to develop a stable way of life. However, this life was very different from the lifestyle of the people in the south of Scotland who had adapted to a more English way of life. Therefore by the fourteenth century a divide had developed between the two areas that saw the "civilized" Lowland people define themselves in contrast to the "wild and savage" people of the Highlands. Jarvie writes that, "the greatest distinction between Highland and Lowland formation was the existence of the Highland clan as a distinct and powerful figuration which signified the rejection and threat to many of the anglicizing modernizing forces already operating, not only in the Lowlands, but also

in the south.”⁹¹ These differences would continue to be seen as a threat to each faction through to the Battle of Culloden in 1745. During this time frame the identification of the supposedly wild and so-called savage Highlands in contrast to the civilized Lowlands would continue to be emphasized as two distinct cultures developed in opposition to each other.

The development of the cultural symbols attributed to the Highland area that we recognize as essential elements of the Highland Games today are said to have emerged from this opposition. Jarvie writes, “The wearing of tartan dress, the playing of the pìob-bheag [bagpipe], hill running and Highland dancing are all examples of cultural practices which existed before the middle of the eighteenth century and form the core of existing Highland Gatherings.”⁹² Each of these elements may have problematic origin histories, there is enough evidence from journal entries, travel writings, government papers and newspaper articles, among others, to establish that there was an antecedent history of each of these elements being associated with the Highlands and a particularly Highland way of life prior to the 1800s. Hugh Trevor-Roper may call these ‘invented traditions,’ Jarvie, Ray, Donaldson, Ian Brown, David McCrone, Murray Pittock, among others, have all traced documentation to this time frame that shows that there actually was a distinct Highland life and culture that developed during this stage that the tartanry of the next stage built upon. This is also supported by the specificity of the Act of Proscription of 1746 that served to detail the culture and way of Highland life that the English saw as a threat to the Crown. During this time the traditions and culture of the Highland clans began to solidify to become

⁹¹ Jarvie, 22.

⁹² Jarvie, 17.

a distinctly recognized entity that allowed for the next step in the development of the Games and their cultural components to occur.

The second stage of the Braemar Gathering developed along with the tartanry and the development of “Friendly Societies” that promoted the education and study of Highland culture through the creation of Highland Games. Friendly Societies were formed to assist with helping the less fortunate members of a community in times of financial need, sickness and in the case of widowed and/or orphaned children. As detailed in the previous chapter, the popularity of the writings of Sir Walter Scott, King George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822 along with Queen Victoria’s purchase of Balmoral and the establishment of various Highland societies and clubs all contributed to the reclamation of the cultural symbols of the Highlands. One of the first Highland Games to build on this new emphasis and reclamation of Scottish Highland history and tradition was the creation of the Braemar Gathering in 1832.

The first Gathering was organized and produced by the Braemar Wright Society that was first formed in 1815 and formally registered as a Friendly Society in 1817. This Friendly Society was a mutual assistance organization that was formed to take care of the people of the region when they encountered difficult medical or financial times. Members paid in set fees each quarter and then were able to receive a “provision for an annuity for members on reaching the age of 70; sickness and death benefit, and a widow’s allowance.”⁹³ The society changed its name in 1826 to the Braemar Highland Society and at Queen Victoria’s decree “Royal” was added to their

⁹³ History of the Society,” The Braemar Gathering, accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://www.braemargathering.org/history.htm>.

name in 1866. The Braemar Royal Highland Society is still registered as a Friendly Society, and is the oldest surviving Friendly Society in the country.⁹⁴

In the early 1800s, the Society was made up of wheel and square wrights or joiners and they were responsible for organizing an annual procession known as the Wright's Walk that would parade through the village of Braemar. From this beginning additional activities and events such as athletic competitions and dances were added and the event expanded in scope along with the growing popularity and reintroduction of Highland culture until 1832 when the Braemar Highland Society decided to award monetary awards for the athletic competitions.⁹⁵ This addition of monetary awards resulted in the competition events taking on more focus and the competitors changing from local amateurs to the beginnings of a professional class of competitors. From this initial success the Braemar Gathering became an annual event that drew competitors and spectators from across the Highlands for the first monetary prizes that were awarded to the winning competitors.

The Braemar Gathering received added prestige and acceptance when Queen Victoria and her entourage attended the Games in September of 1848. This equates to Jarvie's stage three of "Balmorality, loyalty and royalty" and the growing popularity of the Highlands, Highland culture and the Highland Games that promoted the culture, history and people of the region. David Webster writes,

The interest of Queen Victoria and her Consort brought 'respectability' and a much greater public interest to the games and in 1849, and on subsequent occasions, the Braemar Gathering was actually held at Balmoral Castle as a mark of the Queen's genuine interest in these

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

traditional activities. Queen Victoria's first visit attracted tremendous interest throughout the land.⁹⁶

This added attention was cause for the press and London and Edinburgh society to also take an interest in the Games and led to their growing popularity throughout the region. Due to this popularity many more Games were created and the summer months became a time for excursions to various Games throughout Scotland.

Other Highland Game became established and their popularity expanded, but the Braemar Gathering claimed their place in the hierarchy with ties to the origins of the Games and today declare on their website that the, "foot races at the Gathering are the world's oldest, having been organized on a regular basis by the same body since 1832."⁹⁷ That history complimented by the continued patronage of the Royal family where Queen Elizabeth still serves as the official Chieftain and Patron of the Braemar Royal Highland Society provides an added prestige to the annual event. Each September pictures of the Queen and Prince Phillip, Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Charles, Duke of Rothsey, both dressed in their kilts, are featured in newspapers around the world. Today the event annually draws over ten thousand competitors, participants and spectators from around the world to the one-day event and is one of the most popular and recognized Games today.

Jarvie also claims that during stage four issues of "bureaucratization, rationalization, increasing professionalism and changing class relations" led to far reaching changes that continue to impact the Games today.⁹⁸ Three of these issues bureaucratization, rationalization, increasing professionalism can be seen in several

⁹⁶ Webster, 15.

⁹⁷ "History of the Society," The Braemar Gathering, accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://www.braemargathering.org/history.htm>.

⁹⁸ Jarvie, 13.

ways since the mid twentieth century through the growth of membership in the Games, the emphasis on the thousands of pounds in prize money that is now awarded and by the creation of the Scottish Highland Games Association, Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, The Piping and Drumming Qualifications Board, and the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dance, that oversee all rules and regulations at the various competitions. Instead of just locals attending and competing in the events, the Highland Games have become a growth industry that now requires standardization as competitors come from across the globe to take part in the events and compete for the thousands of pounds in prize money. In addition, the governing body of the Braemar Gathering has developed schools, classes and apprenticeships in the competitive events found at the Games to ensure a continued interest in the traditional Highland Games events. Their mission states that its role is “to promote the education of the public about the history, traditions, sport, language, culture and heritage of Scotland.”⁹⁹ This focus allows for the celebration of the past of the events as well as building a continuing interest in the future of the events.

It is through these changes and adaptations over the decades that we can see how the Braemar Gathering has indeed followed Jarvie’s four stages of Highland Games development. They have adapted and evolved along with Scotland and Scottish culture. Through its long one hundred and eighty-two year history, Braemar has continued to build in recognition and popularity and has become the standard and benchmark that the various Games are compared to by locals, competitors and tourists alike.

⁹⁹ “History of the Society,” The Braemar Gathering, accessed on April 24, 2013,

⁹⁹<http://www.braemargathering.org/history.htm>.

This focus on the passing on of Scottish heritage and traditions has become a cornerstone of the Games in Scotland today. Through the production of this annual event the Braemar Gathering provides a place for Scottish culture to be witnessed and displayed through its high profile opening and closing ceremonies, competition events, Massed Bands, food, drink and the attendance of the Royal Family. By claiming its place in the historical lineage of the Highland Games from Malcolm Canmore to Queen Victoria to Queen Elizabeth today, they are central to the reintroduction and maintenance of Scottish culture, history and tradition and the role that the Highland Games and Gatherings have and continue to play in celebrating and establishing Scottish cultural identity and heritage that is recognized worldwide.



Figure # 10: The Massing of the Bands in Honor of Queen Elizabeth II

In comparison, the Cowal Highland Gathering and Aboyne Highland Games, while similar in scope bring their own history and organization to their individual Games each year. Each features the heavy event, dance, music and running competitions, merchandise, and food areas however they are each different in size and in the events that they feature at their individual Games. By examining each of these Games in contrast to the Braemar Gathering, it is possible to see how each has adapted through the years into the event it is known for today. The Cowal Gathering and the Aboyne Games reveal a wider context of the Highland Games in Scotland in regards to how Scottish culture is seen, performed and understood in two different areas of the region.

The Cowal Highland Gathering

The Cowal Highland Gathering is held annually in the west of Scotland in Dunoon, Argyle on the last weekend in August and say that they are the, “biggest, most spectacular Highland games in the world.”¹⁰⁰ Over the three-day festival thousands of competitors, participants and spectators attend the event “to soak up the unique, friendly atmosphere and stunning Highland location.”¹⁰¹ The first Cowal Highland Gathering was held in 1894 and today draws over 17,000 people to its three-day celebration each year.¹⁰²

Cowal is similar to Braemar in many respects, with the same heavy event, dance, pipe and drum competitions, food and merchandising areas, but it also has its

¹⁰⁰ Home,” Cowal Highland Gathering, accessed on March 28, 2013 and October 10, 2013, <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com/>.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² “Spectatorship,” Cowal Highland Gathering, accessed on March 28, 2013 and October 10, 2013, <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com/spectatorship>.

own features. One of the highlights of the Cowal Gathering is the “Salute to the Chieftain” by the Massed Bands. A major draw for all in attendance the “Salute to the Chieftain” closes the event in a remarkable display of Scottish bagpipes, tartans, kilts and landscape. They describe it on their web site by writing, “As the sun sets down the Firth of Clyde, 1,000 pipers and drummers play ‘Highland Laddie’ in unison. It’s an unforgettable experience and a fitting end to this, the most spectacular of Highland games.”¹⁰³

In addition, the Cowal Gathering is known for its World Highland Dancing Championship and the Cowal Pipe Band Championships that features over 130 pipe bands in competition for the top prize. Other competition events include high-level heavy athletic events, solo pipe and drum, drum major, tug-of-war, running and wrestling events that feature competitors from around the world. According to the official numbers that they released in September, the 2013 Cowal Gathering was one of the most successful in the event’s history. Their web site states that, “Those competing included 599 highland dancers, 132 pipe bands, 97 solo pipers, 88 5K runners, 54 hill race runners, 26 wrestlers and 13 heavy athletes.”¹⁰⁴ Attendance figures that were released stated that 17,500 people attended the three-day event in 2013.¹⁰⁵

However, one of the major features of the 2013 event was the addition of live streaming and social media aspects that allowed a truly world wide audience to take

¹⁰³ “About the Event,” Cowal Highland Gathering, accessed on March 28, 2013 and October 10, 2013, <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com/about-the-event.php>.

¹⁰⁴ “News,” Cowal Highland Gathering, accessed in November 30, 2013, <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com/news.php#newsid246>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

part in the various events even if they were not able to attend the event in person.

They report that,

The Cowal Highland Gathering website scored an incredible 38,833 hits during the games from 18,307 unique visitors – a leap of 1,990% and 1,240% respectively on last year's figures. The website interest came from a total of 72 countries, the top ones being the UK (23,353), Canada (7,909), USA (4,011), Australia (2,300), New Zealand (697), South Africa (218), Netherlands (87), Germany (80) and Belgium (74).

One of the highlights for many of the internet visitors was the live stream from the main highland dancing stage, which had 23,626 views over the three days.

The Gathering's Facebook page was even busier, with 118,283 people interacting with it in some way during the event whether that be seeing it, liking it, commenting on it or sharing posts.¹⁰⁶

The Cowal Gathering is at the forefront of these technological advances that allows for a worldwide audience to take part in the event, which increases its, reach, brand and reputation throughout the world. The Cowal Highland Gathering Chair of the event, Ronnie Cairns said,

Not only did we have many thousands of spectators here in Dunoon, but we also saw an explosion in the interest people are taking in our event through our website, Facebook page and so on. This interest came from every corner of the globe. Cowal Highland Gathering is proud to be able to call itself a genuine worldwide brand, and we are determined to build on this huge support base in future years. What we witnessed this year - both in terms of the level of competition and the enthusiasm of those watching it, wherever they were – was sensational.¹⁰⁷

The fact that people from seventy-two countries took advantage of these tools show once again the continuing popularity of the highland games and shows yet another way to expand upon the traditional offerings of the Cowal Gathering.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The Cowal Gathering suffered a major loss in January of 2013 when the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association announced that, due to issues with the event facilities, that Cowal would no longer be part of the “Major” Pipe Band competition circuit, an honor that they had held since 1906. Due to this ruling Cowal would no longer be part of the Champions of Champions pipe band competitions that determines the World Pipe Band Champions each year. This loss of status was disturbing to the local tourism board and the Argyll and Bute Council as the event annually brings in over £3.7 million to the local economy.¹⁰⁸ This concern was countered by the Chair of the Cowal Gathering, Ronnie Cairns, who stressed that this was an opportunity to improve several areas of the event and to allow the focus to return to the more traditional offerings of the Gathering rather than focusing so much effort, time and budget on just one event. Cairns admitted that they had become a victim of their own success and that the facilities could no longer provide adequate space for the over one hundred and thirty pipe bands that annually came to compete at Dunoon Stadium. He said that,

Far from being the end of the Cowal Gathering this is an opportunity for us to not only improve the facilities for the bands that attend but to also introduce new attractions and elements for the public and by doing so to secure the future of Cowal Highland Gathering as a traditional Highland Games. We will continue to host the Highland Dancing World Championships, heavy athletes, traditional wrestling, solo piping and the popular live ceilidh tent.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Brian Ferguson, “Cowal Highland Gathering Future in Doubt,” *The Scotsman*, January 23, 2013, <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/music/news-and-features/cowal-highland-gathering-future-in-doubt-1-2754439> (accessed January 21, 2014).

¹⁰⁹ “Cowal Gathering Aims to Secure Future Through Piping Status Change,” *STV News*, January 24, 2013, <http://news.stv.tv/highlands-islands/211177-cowal-gathering-aims-to-secure-future-through-piping-status-change/> (Accessed January 21, 2014).

Cairns stressed that although the number of pipe bands that annually attended the event may drop from the over one hundred and thirty bands of the last several years to perhaps an average of sixty in 2014, but that the quality of the participating pipe bands would remain high. He commented that,

Although the number of bands will reduce, the level of competition will remain high and key elements of the pipe band event like the massed bands and the march down Argyll Street at night will remain. We also hope that the fact it is no longer a major championship will mean that we can work with the bands and the RSPBA to reintroduce some of the more fun elements like the march up Argyll Street in the morning which the public have missed in recent years.¹¹⁰

He also stressed that this change would allow focus to shift from the needs of the major championship to the overall improvement of the facilities and grounds that will benefit all competitors, participants and spectators and make the future of the Cowal Gathering more secure and stable. The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association has agreed to work with the organizers of the Cowal Gathering to ensure that the solo piping and massed bands would continue to be judged at the highest quality and traditions. They have also agreed not to schedule any other pipe band competitions during the dates of the annual Cowal Gathering celebration. The main traditional events that are a standard part of the Highland Games remain a featured element of the Cowal Gathering, yet they have also adapted to the current issues and needs of the event and expanded their brand worldwide through technology.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

The Aboyne Highland Games - "The Traditional Highland Games – since 1867"

The Aboyne Highland Games take place on the Aboyne Green in Aberdeenshire in the north east of Scotland on the first Saturday in August of each year. They trace their heritage back to 1703 when the local Clan chief, the Laird of Grant, "sent a summons to 600 of his people to be ready to go to a gathering in August."¹¹¹ They substantiate this claim on their website writing that,

The records of the summons are preserved in the court books of the regality of Grant, and among other details, it is recorded that those who summoned the Laird of Grant for his 'hoisting and hunting' shall provide themselves with 'Highland coates, trewes and short hose of tartane of red and greine sett broad springed, also with gun, sword, pistol and dirk.'¹¹²

Under the patronage of The Marquis of Huntly, Highland chief to the Clan Gordon, the Aboyne Highland Games stresses its ties to the past and the traditions that were part of the early history of the event and of the clans of the northeast of Scotland. In 2013, he opened the Games by saying,

We try very hard to be traditional at the games and do things the way they have always been done and I said in my notes in the program this year that the games will remain as they used to be and that little Cosmo (the Marquess' three year old son) will see and find exactly the same sight when he comes to run the games himself in many years time.¹¹³

Aboyne Games Chairman Iain Scott echoed this focus on tradition at the event, but he also emphasized the need to attract new generations of competitors, participants and spectators as well. He commented, "The whole ethos of the Aboyne games is to

¹¹¹ "History," The Aboyne Highland Games, accessed on September 21, 2013, <http://www.aboynegames.com/information/history/>.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ "Aboyne Enjoys a Highland Fling," Deeside Piper, August 7, 2013, <http://www.deesidepiper.co.uk/news/local-headlines/aboyne-enjoys-a-highland-fling-1-3033684> (accessed on January 28, 2014).

replicate the historic games of the past but also to re-invent it for a new generation. Hence this year we have tried to combine the old and the new and it's been the balance we've had to strike.”¹¹⁴ This focus on the traditional aspects of the Highland Games is apparent in all of the events that are held and in how they describe the day on their website and in the media. Their motto is “The Traditional Highland Games – since 1867.”¹¹⁵ This declaration is on everything from the web site to banners to the event program. They write on their history page that, “A great deal of ceremonial and colourful pageantry always accompanied clan proceedings, and at the Games an attempt is made to recover and revive this.”¹¹⁶ This focus on the traditions of the past is also seen in how they organize the events and the desire to keep local people involved in the competitions and ceremonies. They stress that, “It is the object of the Games Committee to encourage local talent, particularly in the heavy events. Time unfortunately does not permit the running of a parallel series of open and local events, but to encourage local men to enter the open events, prizes are given to any of them who in the competition break a standard laid down.”¹¹⁷ This focus on keeping the locals as an active participant in the Games also includes the addition of events for children to introduce them to the different events at a young age in the hopes that they will continue to pursue an interest in the traditional events, as they get older.

Similar to Braemar and Cowal, the Aboyne Highland Games feature heavy athletics, dance, bagpipe and drum competitions, tug-of-war, long and short distance running events and the six-mile hill run. They state on their web site that they proudly

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ “Home,” The Aboyne Highland Games, accessed on September 21, 2013, <http://www.aboynegames.com/>.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

feature over ninety events as part of their event day. However, at Aboyne there is also a new competition that was first introduced in 2009: the International Fiddle Championship. With this new competition, the Aboyne Highland Games became the first Games to have an official fiddle competition as part of its event lineup that now draws players from across the country and the world.

Smaller in scale than the Braemar or Cowal Gathering, the Aboyne Highland Games still proves to be a popular draw annually. Aboyne Games chairman Ian Scott commented, “In 2010 over 9,000 visitors attended our games and witnessed 96 arena events, a fabulous display of goods and produce in our trade stand area, and a fantastic traditional fun fair for kids of all ages.”¹¹⁸ In 2013 there were over 8,000 spectators in attendance in 2013.¹¹⁹ Another way they are unique is that they charge everyone one fee for admittance. Everyone including the competitors pay £10 for adults and £3 for children aged 5-15 to enter the event grounds. Usually the competitors are allowed free admittance but they have to pay a registration fee to compete in their event. At Aboyne there are never any registration fees and seating in the grandstand and at other event areas is free. This is to ensure that everyone can take part and that locals and visitors alike are treated fairly.

The other area where they are different from the Braemar and Cowal events is in their focus on the clans and clan history. The clans of the northeast are a bigger

¹¹⁸ Danny Law, “Thousands expected at Aboyne Games,” *STV News*, August 5, 2011, accessed on January 25, 2014 <http://news.stv.tv/north/22178-thousands-expected-at-aboyne-games/>.

¹¹⁹ Francis Brebner, “Scott Rider Wins the Aboyne Highland Games,” *Ironmind*, August 6, 2013, accessed on January 26, 2014, http://www.ironmind.com/ironmind/opencms/Articles/2013/Aug/Scott_Rider_Wins_the_Aboyne_Highland_Games.html.

part of the atmosphere at the Aboyne Games with designated area for individual clan tents and information areas available for visitors to track their own genealogy and clan history. This focus on the clans is much more present at Aboyne than it is at the Braemar or Cowal Gatherings.

As they get ready to host their 147th Aboyne Highland Games in 2014, the focus remains on the traditional as well as the future of Scottish culture. Through the celebration of the traditional elements of the Highland Games such as the emphasis on the local clans, the heavy events, Highland dance, music and the running competitions they also add in the new with the fiddle competition, a 5k fun run new events that are held for the children. Once again we see evidence of how the event is adapting to the changing needs of the event and the local community.

An exploration of the Braemar, Cowal and Aboyne Highland Games and Gatherings illustrate that although each has a different focus and featured competitions and performances, they have become destination events for locals and tourists alike. The Massed Bands may be the main draw at Braemar, the ‘Salute to the Chieftain’ a signature event at Cowal, and the focus on the clans and local participation the featured aspect at Aboyne, they all claim to be expressions of Scottish culture. Attendance numbers show each year that the Highland Games are a popular part of the local economy as well as a very recognized aspect of Scotland and Scottish culture worldwide.

This popularity has led to “uniquely” Scottish events expanding beyond the borders of Scotland and we now have Scottish Highland Games held throughout the world from the United States and Canada to Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South

Korea, France, and Germany, among others. Nowhere, however, did the Scottish Highland Games take hold and flourish more than they have in the United States from the mid nineteenth century to today. Currently there are over one hundred and fifty Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings that are held from Maine to California and Alaska to Florida. The archive shows that the first Scottish Highland Games in the United States were held in New York in 1836 and by the early 1900s there were over two hundred Highland Games being held throughout the country. In the next section I explore several of the reasons that they were able to become established and thrive so far from their land of origin and what has stayed the same and what has changed as they adapted to the different culture, heritage and landscape of the United States.

A Brief History of the Scottish Highland Games in the United States

As many scholars such as Celeste Ray, T.M. Devine, and Paul Basu have documented, the Scots have always been a wandering people. The population of Scotland hovers around five million annually the diverse group of people that claim Scottish ancestry is over forty million worldwide. From Eastern Europe to the Caribbean to Asia, there are a multitude of Scottish surnames and place names that reflect the long history of Scottish migration throughout the world. The densest area of Scottish settlement outside of Scotland can be found in the United States, Canada and Australia. There is a long history of Scottish settlement along the east coast of the United States that then spread inwards. Celeste Ray has documented their arrival in North Carolina and throughout the south, while T.M. Devine explores their arrival in the urban areas of New York City and Boston. The reasons for this migration are

manifold and can be traced back to many sources and decades of change in Scotland. The Jacobite Wars, the Industrial Revolution and English landowning laws of the eighteenth and nineteenth century dramatically changed the way that Scottish Highlanders farmed, fished and raised livestock resulting in famines, the spread of disease, loss of land all leading to the need to emigrate to find a better way of life.¹²⁰ T.M. Devine writes that, “Between 1825 and 1938, over 2.3 million people left Scotland for overseas destinations...at its peak in the 1920s, over 363,000 Scots left for the USA and Canada in a single decade.”¹²¹ This mass migration would affect not only Scotland through the loss of population, but also the places that they settled throughout the nineteenth century as many Scots traveled as clan groups. It was not unusual for groups of twenty to thirty clan members from the same village regions to travel as a unit and settle as a group. This group migration allowed for mutually shared history, culture and heritage to travel intact with the group.

The United States became a favored destination area due to its growing economy, available land, language familiarity, and the fact that many of the emigrants already had family members settled in the region. T.M. Devine writes that, “more than half of all emigrating Scots embarked for the USA between 1853 and 1914.”¹²² The Scots emigrants settled in various regions along the east coast of the United States with major concentrations in the Cape Fear area of North Carolina, the Mid Atlantic region and around the New York City and Boston areas.

Once they were settled they quickly introduced their cultural heritage and symbols into the region through the sharing of their traditions, history and cultural

¹²⁰ R. Celeste Ray, *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 20-24.

¹²¹ T.M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 85.

¹²² Devine, 125.

identity with their new neighbors. One of the ways this was accomplished was through the creation of Scottish Friendly Societies such as the St. Andrew's Societies, Caledonia, Burns, Thistle and Scottish Clubs, as well as the development of Highland Games and Gatherings in these new locations. Devine writes that, "By the 1850s there were some 100,000 first generation Scots in the United States, a number which increased between 1890 and 1920 to a quarter of a million...between the 1850s and the Great War they founded over 1,200 local societies."¹²³ One of the more popular Scottish groups was the Caledonian Societies. According to the *Scottish Register*, their purpose was "to unite more closely Scottish people and their descendents in this country. To advance there interests by friendly methods and in frequent social meetings. The cultivation of a taste for Scottish music, history, and poetry and the encouragement of Scottish games, costumes and customs."¹²⁴ Interestingly, it was the Highland traditions that were the ones that were most honored by these groups. People from all areas of Scotland emigrated, yet it is a distinct Highland heritage that traveled with them to their new destinations. Celeste Ray writes,

Despite the diverse regional identities of their Scottish ancestors, today's Scottish Americans claim a Highland Scot's identity constructed in the nineteenth century through romanticism, militarism, and tourism long after many of their forebears had immigrated from Scotland.¹²⁵

Various Caledonian Clubs in New York, Boston, San Francisco, and Washington DC organized Scottish Highland Games throughout the late nineteenth century as a way

¹²³Devine, 274-275.

¹²⁴*The Scottish Register* quoted in Emily Ann Donaldson, *Scottish Highland Games in America* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 1986), 26.

¹²⁵Ray, 3.

to encourage “culture and sport from their native land”¹²⁶ By the 1920s over one hundred twenty five Highland Games were in place throughout the United States.

The Games would continue to draw thousands of participants and spectators annually. The symbols that the Scottish emigrants brought to the United States were in full view at the Scottish Highland Games and allowed for them to establish a tie to their cultural past as they settled in these new regions. The tartan, kilt, music and dance traveled with the Scottish emigrants to these settlements and allowed them to establish familiar cultural symbols in a new land.

World War II brought a stop to many of the Games and by the time the war ended many of the organizations that had operated the Games had dissolved leaving the future of the Games in the United States in danger.¹²⁷ Threatened with the loss of events that recognized their Scottish heritage, various Scottish clubs and societies recommitted to establishing the Games as a way to reconnect the younger generation with their heritage and pledged a return to the original purpose of the Games: “Scottish Events for the enjoyment of Scots and their Descendents.”¹²⁸ Where the Games of the 1930s and 1940s had expanded to include track and field events, boxing and other “non-authentic” Scottish competitions in order to draw a wider audience, the 1950s saw the rebirth of the Highland Games traditional competitions that highlighted the events that were still conducted in Scotland.

Once the Games were reestablished, the competitions became the main draw and sponsors started awarding prize money to the top finishers. This added incentive

¹²⁶ Emily Ann Donaldson, *Scottish Highland Games in America* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 1986), 27-29.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 41.

drew both professional and amateur competitors to the Games and new uniform rules and guidelines for the heavy events, dance and music competitions were established and standardized. By the mid 1970s the Association of Scottish Games and Festivals (ASGF) was established to ensure that all Games were run according to specific rules and guidelines. Their Statement of Purpose says. “All member organizations must have as their general purpose the furthering of the culture, heritage, and traditions of Scotland. To this end, they must present a Scottish games or festival that includes some aspects of Scottish culture, heritage, of traditions through offering competitions or demonstrations.”¹²⁹ Through this organization Scottish Highland Games must adhere to their heritage and culture in approved ways. This search for and expectation of finding “authentic” Scottish culture at the Games echoes Bella Dicks concept that “culture is something that 'belongs' to a place and a people, that it marks them out as special and distinct and that it can be discovered, described, documented, and displayed.”¹³⁰ It is this cultural heritage that is on display at the Games throughout the United States.

An Examination of Three Highland Games and Gatherings in the United States

In the course of my research I have attended many different Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland and the United States. There are several similarities such as the heavy events, Great Highland bagpipe and Highland dance competitions, yet there are also several differences that can be found at each location, as each Games will have its own personality and focus. In the following section I will

¹²⁹ “Home,” Association of Scottish Games and Festivals, accessed on May 1, 2013, <http://www.asgf.org/1.html>.

¹³⁰ Dicks, 27.

briefly explore the history and makeup of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans in Linville, NC, the Virginia Scottish Games and Festival in The Plains, VA and the New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival in Lincoln, NH. Exploring these three different sized Games in three different locations provides a more detailed understanding of the Scottish Highland Games on the east coast of the United States.

Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans

The first Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans was held on August 19, 1956 and 10,000 attendees were drawn to the inaugural event at Grandfather Mountain. Nicholas Graham writes that,

The date chosen for the first games marked the 211th anniversary of the Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, when the clans gathered to prepare for a fight for Scottish independence from England. The defeat of the Scots and subsequent laws banning displays of Scottish heritage led many to emigrate, a large number of whom settled in North Carolina.¹³¹

This reverence for the history of Scotland and generations deep Scottish-American heritage in North Carolina became the driving force for the founders of the first Grandfather Games. Founders Donald Francis MacDonald, a writer for the *Charlotte News*, and Agnes MacRae Morton “shared a deep love of their Scottish heritage...and had the desire to make others aware of and rejoice in their common bond.”¹³²

MacDonald and Morton were both very active in local Scottish heritage organizations

¹³¹ Nicholas Graham, "August 1956: Grandfather Mountain Highland Games." *This Month in North Carolina History*, August 2007. Available at <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-postwar/6011> (accessed on January 20, 2014).

¹³² “Home,” Association of Scottish Games and Festivals, <http://www.asgf.org/1.html>. (accessed on May 1, 2013).

and wanted to utilize the Games as a way to preserve and promote the rich Scottish culture, heritage and traditions that were still prevalent in North Carolina.¹³³

MacDonald attended the 1954 Braemar Royal Highland Society Gathering and utilized that souvenir program as a guide for their new Highland Games in North Carolina. They selected MacRae Meadow on Grandfather Mountain as the location for their new event due to its similarity to the geography of the Highlands area of Scotland.¹³⁴ The event website states that,

The site of the GMHG is MacRae Meadows, high on the slopes of mile-high Grandfather Mountain. The setting closely resembles Kintail in Scotland's Wester Ross. The rugged terrain, the wild flowers and even the weather are all similar. Rhododendrons and mountain ash (rowan trees) grow in profusion, the Allegheny sand myrtle is a member of the heather family, thistles bloom in August and occasional "scotch mists" swirl through the gaps and around the mountain tops."¹³⁵

This focus on location and the shared geography and flora with Scotland became a foundation to grow from as they set out to create a truly Scottish Highland Games in North Carolina that was anchored to their shared Scottish past but also provided a link with Scottish culture, heritage and traditions in the twentieth century.

These first Games included many events that would have been seen in Scotland and at any other Highland Games events in the United States at this time. They included the heavy and light (running) athletic events, Highland dance and bagpipe competitions and areas to sample Scottish food and drink. Graham writes that,

...the highlights of the day were the traditional Scottish music, dancing, and the caber toss. The "Fighting Scots" brass band from

¹³³ Graham, "August 1956: Grandfather Mountain Highland Games."

¹³⁴ "History," Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, <http://www.gmhg.org/history.htm>. (accessed on May 6, 2013).

¹³⁵ "History," Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans, accessed on May 6, 2013, <http://www.gmhg.org/history.htm>.

Scotland County High School played, and there were bagpipe bands from around the country. The winner of the dance competition was described in the next day's newspaper as "An Asheville lassie, little red-haired Margaret Fletcher," while the caber toss was won by a student from Appalachian State Teachers College, who tossed a 200-pound log more than thirty-six feet.¹³⁶

The success of this first Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in 1956 continued in successive years and resulted in several changes being made that included expanding to a four-day event, building permanent grandstands and event areas, improving the logging road up to the MacRea Meadow and adding a campground area. In July of 2014 the Games will celebrate its 59th consecutive year and it is now recognized as one of the premiere Highland Games in the United States in status and reputation. Nicholas Graham writes that, "the Games regularly attract more than 30,000 visitors a year and have made not just the event but the region synonymous with Scottish heritage." The Grandfather Games continue to grow each year and has become a heritage destination for Scottish- American and Scottish tourists alike. Due to its international reputation, focus on traditional events and continued success it is often referred to as "America's Braemar."

Today the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, Inc., a non-profit organization made up of a board of directors, advisors and elected officers, organizes the Games. Their mission is,

To carry on and promote the annual Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans, to foster and restore interest in traditional dancing, piping, drumming, athletic achievement, music and Gaelic culture, and to establish scholarship funds to assist students from Avery County High School to study at American colleges and universities.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Graham, "August 1956: Grandfather Mountain Highland Games."

¹³⁷ "Home," Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans accessed on May 1, 2013, <http://www.gmhg.org/>

Their goal to “foster and restore interest in traditional dancing, piping, drumming, athletic achievement, music and Gaelic culture” has continued to drive the Grandfather Mountain Games and led to its being at the forefront of the continued growth and spread of the Games in the United States. Celeste Ray writes that, “Grandfather is the site for the annual meetings of many national clan societies, and the model for the explosion of new Scottish Games from the 1970s to the present.”¹³⁸

Set around a track in MacRae Meadow the location allows for a very organized and structured Highland Games layout. The track area for the running events rings the parade grounds where the Massed Bands perform and the solo bagpipe, fiddle, drum, Highland dance, wrestling and tug-of-war competitions are held. On the outside of the track are the numerous and colorful one hundred and sixty plus tents of the Clan Village that encircles the entire track. Around the outside of the Clan Village are the food, drink and merchandise tents and the Gaelic music groves and tents. Signage is plentiful and all events and activities are easily found and enjoyed with Grandfather Mountain as a backdrop.

¹³⁸ Ray, *Highland Heritage, Scottish American in the American South*, 105.



Figure # 11: Overview of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games with the Clan Tents in the Background

At first glance the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games could easily be set in Scotland, as many of the events, activities, ceremonies, food and drink are the same in both countries. There are heavy and light athletic events, dance and music competitions and many of the food (haggis, fish and chips, meat pies, bridies, shortbread, and neeps and tatties), drink (Irn Bru, beer and whisky) and merchandise (tartans, kilts, sporrans, St. Andrews Cross flags, swords, and sgian-dubhs) offerings are the same. The accent of the attendees and the number of tartans on display may change the event itself is very similar to the events that are seen at the Games in Braemar, Cowal and Aboyne.

The Grandfather Games have succeeded where many others have failed by claiming to remain true to the traditional elements of the Highland Games, yet also infusing the games with a sense of family, fun and a shared reverence for Scottish heritage and history that is present throughout the event. This has been accomplished in several ways from the focus on the historical activities (heavy events, bagpipe and dancing competitions) to the inclusion of many new activities such as the Gaelic language and genealogy tents, living history areas and the campground that allow families, as well as locals and tourist alike to immerse themselves in various aspects of Scottish heritage and culture for the four-day event.

There are also a few adaptations that are found at these Games. New ceremonies include the Torchlight Ceremony and the “Raise the Clans” event that opens the Games on Thursday evening, the Parade of Tartans, Gaelic Mods, the Kirkin’ of the Tartan and the areas that focus on Scottish genealogy, the Gaelic language and the Gàidhlig Céilidh Tent where traditional Scottish music, stories, legends and myths are played and told throughout the day. Through all of these activities the Games have remained traditional in many aspects but have also adapted to changing locations, heritage and culture.

Grandfather Mountain also has a very unique aspect as part of their Gathering: the clan campground. Set up along both sides of the path leading up the main event grounds, the campground is packed with over thirty RVs, endless lines of tents, hammocks and other types of shelters in a wild mix of tartan and clan signage. This campground allows for the Clan gathering to take on an added level of interaction and celebration as hundreds of people camp for the week leading up to the four-day event.

Since many have been coming to Grandfather for years they have their areas reserved by clan, family and long-standing friendship affiliations. Featuring nightly campfires, sing-alongs, story-telling and general camaraderie, the campground allows for the multiple generations of clans and families to interact on a much closer and extended level that most Highland Games provide and encourage. Some clans book the same spot next to the same people year after year so that the Gathering takes on a much deeper feeling of family and shared history. Many clans use this opportunity for an extended Clan reunion that builds upon itself in membership and myth from year to year. Celeste Ray writes, “A sense of community develops within the campgrounds over and above that achieved through the games events.”¹³⁹

This unique feature continues to grow each year and takes on the true personality of a clan gathering similar to the early history of the Highland Games in Scotland. Many clan campsites take on the personality and mythic histories of a mini and more stylized clan village with clan mottos and tartan displayed from their tent and RV awnings or attached to one of the many trees in the area. Some campers get very inventive with their decorations and their campsites take on a distinct look of a Scottish castle or historical battleground area with claymores, broadswords, targes, and various pieces of armor prominently displayed and the inhabitants in full tartan uniform of a specific period. Other campsites are more relaxed with just the clan name and mottos displayed with people wearing their kilts and tartans. Centered around the campfire the campsite is a less formal clan village that encourages a more laid back opportunity for social interaction with each other and the visitors making their way to the entrance gates.

¹³⁹ Ray, *Highland Homecomings*, 121.



Figure # 12: Grandfather Mountain Walk to the Entrance Through the Campground

This walk thru the campground area allows for an interesting welcome to the Grandfather Mountain Gathering, as everyone has to pass through the campsite to get to the event entrance gate location. It provides an interesting “show before the show” experience as it is not unusual for campers to welcome someone to their area with a clan motto shout out due to the visitor wearing the same clan tartan or crest t-shirt or hat. There is an immediate bond forged before the person even arrives at the entrance gate.

In addition, the bonfires, food and drink are shared generously and the feeling of community is immediately established. In the words of Celeste Ray, “the campgrounds symbolize the annual appearance of an otherwise imagined community, a community of diverse members from across the nation claiming a common identity and a shared heritage.”¹⁴⁰ This sense of community, imagined and realized, is a very special and unique aspect of the Grandfather Mountain Gathering experience for those that take part in this annual occurrence.

Through location, a familiar Games atmosphere, the campground and a focus on the past, present and future of a shared Scottish culture and heritage, the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans, provides a place for people of all ages to take part in various aspects of Scotland, its people and their shared ties to its history. The Avery County Chamber of Commerce website draws on these themes of the importance of the location and the ties to the past when describing the games on their website. They write,

The Grandfather Games are considered Americas grandest Games because of the spectacular mountain setting that is so reminiscent of Scotland. The deep blue peaks of 6,000-foot Grandfather Mountain tower above a grassy green meadow ringed by 172 red, blue, yellow and green striped tents. The color is augmented by thousands of Scots luxuriously costumed in tartan plaids, and the energy is amplified by the sounds of bagpipes and kettledrums echoing across the moor.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 122.

¹⁴¹ “Grandfather Mountain Highland Games.” Avery County Chamber of Commerce website, accessed March 12, 2013 and January 30, 2014, <http://averycounty.com/upcoming-events/grandfather-mountain-highland-games>.

This physical tie to Scotland through the landscape and shared cultural past enhances the experience of attending the Grandfather Games for all who travel to MacRae Meadow the second weekend in July each year.

The Virginia Scottish Games and Festival

The Virginia Scottish Games and Festival was established in 1974 “as an annual state-sponsored event held each year to celebrate our state’s rich Scottish heritage.”¹⁴² The Virginia Scottish Games Association, Inc., is the organizing body responsible for producing the event each year and is “committed to bringing the finest presentations of Scottish culture, heritage, crafts and other activities to the general public.”¹⁴³ The Games were originally based in Alexandria, VA as a “unique annual festival that began as a celebration of Alexandria's Scottish Heritage and continues to celebrate the Scottish heritage of the whole Commonwealth.”¹⁴⁴ The city of Alexandria, the Alexandria Tourist Council and the St. Andrew’s Society of Washington, D.C, originally sponsored the Virginia Games, which were held for its first thirty-three years at the Episcopal High School grounds in Alexandria, VA. The VA Games moved to Sky Meadow State Park in 2007 where it has been based for the last seven years.¹⁴⁵ It is now held each year on the Saturday and Sunday of Labor Day weekend and will mark its forty-first consecutive year in September of 2014.

¹⁴² 36th Annual Virginia Scottish Games and Festival program, September 2009, p.1.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Rachel Cooper, “Virginia Scottish Games and Festival 2013,” About.com, accessed on January 12, 2013, <http://dc.abo.ut.com/od/specialevents/a/VAScottishGames.htm>.

¹⁴⁵ “Home,” VA Scottish Games and Festival, accessed on May 1, 2013, <http://www.vascottishgames.org/>.

Reminiscent of the Grandfather Mountain Games, the new location is similar to the landscape that can be found in the Highlands of Scotland and was an important factor in choosing the new location for the Games. In 2007, Thomas Wright, the president of the Virginia Scottish Games Association wrote in his welcome letter in the official program that,

In selecting Sky Meadow State Park as the new venue for the Games, we wanted a location that would provide a scenic backdrop for our Scottish festival. With its rolling pastures, wooded hillsides, and breathtaking views we found at Sky Meadows a landscape very reminiscent of Scotland that so many of Virginia's first families left behind when they traveled to the colonies.¹⁴⁶

This physical tie to the land and people is seen in many aspects of the VA Games including the living history encampments, the Gaelic Language Tent, the Genealogy Tent and the clan village.

¹⁴⁶ "President's, Welcome Letter," 34th Annual Virginia Scottish Games and Festival program, September 15, 2007.



Figure # 13: Overview of the Virginia Highland Games and Festival

For example, the “Living History Encampment” features four different regiments and time periods that represents the long history of Scottish men from the Highlands serving in the British military in various campaigns around the world. The Living History encampment includes *The Appin Regiment* that fought in the Jacobite Uprising of 1745 with “Bonnie” Prince Charlie against English forces. The Appin Regiment encampment features a tent, provisions, tartan dress, and a demonstration of traditional Highland weapons including the broadsword, targe, and lochaber ax. Next to them are the *84th Highland Regiment of Foot* that fought in the American Revolution on the side of the English. Made up of Scottish emigrants wearing their traditional tartan, they served proudly along the Canada –New York border, and in

the Carolinas, Virginia and Georgia. They were honorably disbanded in 1784. This area also features a historic look at the weapons, uniforms, and provisions of the era. The next featured group is the *Soldiers of the Queen*, which were a Victorian regiment that were recruited from the Highland region in the 1880s and served with distinction throughout the British Empire and continued the legacy of Scottish men honorably serving around the world in various conflicts in the service of the English royalty. This encampment also features soldiers in uniform demonstrating their weapons and accouterments of the time. The final group in the encampment is the *Highland Light Infantry* that represents several examples of Scottish Highlanders that served in the military from 1881 to 1945. Their description states that, “this group portrays a monopoly of warriors from different regiments fighting Britain’s wars in every corner of the world. Here you may encounter a Seaforth Highlander in the Sudan (1890s), or a London Scottish gentlemen from World War I, or travel to Burma with the Argyl & Sutherland Regiment (1944).¹⁴⁷ Each of these Living History encampments acknowledges the long and celebrated history of Scottish Highlanders serving in the British military and many of the people that are part of this demonstration are direct descendants of those that served in the represented regiments and can provide a detailed account of the Scottish history and people that are on display. Many Scottish soldiers and sailors would emigrate after their service ended and bring their families to the areas that they had served. This history is shared at the Games by the enactors as well as visitors that share the same family history of military service and with their ancestors that immigrated to the area many generations

¹⁴⁷ “Living History,” 34th Annual Virginia Scottish Games and Festival program, September 2007, P. 12.

before them. The northern Virginia areas still has a very deep and rich military history and this tie in to the living history encampments is a popular feature of the Virginia Highland Games and Festival.

The Gaelic language and genealogy tents are popular attractions at the VA Games. Several organizations work together to provide classes and workshops in the Gaelic language and how to research one's family heritage and history. The Gaelic Language tent is organized by *An Comunn Gaidhealach, America* (The Highland Society, America) and is "dedicated to promoting and maintaining the Scots Gaelic language and culture in the US and to encouraging such efforts in Scotland and Nova Scotia."¹⁴⁸ They teach several classes in Scots Gaelic through Scottish poem readings and storytelling workshops throughout the weekend. The genealogy area is sponsored by the Clans of Scotland USA organization and they staff the table with several books of Scottish names and clan research as well as computers that can quickly help to search data bases and provide a starting place for people to begin to create their Scottish family tree. These areas are near the Clan Village so it is easy for participants to go from the workshops and classes right to the clans that they may be affiliated with themselves and further explore their newfound knowledge and tie to Scotland.

Unlike the Games in Scotland and at Grandfather Mountain, the VA Games do not include the Light (running) events, wrestling or tug-of-war as part of their official competitions. The cornerstone of the Games at Great Meadow is the heavy event competition. The top ranked male and female athletes from across the region compete in seven heavy events including the Braemar stone toss, open stone toss,

¹⁴⁸ "The Gaelic Language," 34th Annual Virginia Scottish Games and Festival program, September 2007, P. 30.

heavyweight toss, light weight toss, heavy hammer throw, sheaf toss, weight over bar and the tossing of the caber. Featuring two full days of heavy event competitions, on Saturday the men compete in the Professional Men's Athletics and the Open Men's Amateur Athletics. Sunday's competitions feature the East Coast Championships – Men's Athletics, Masters Men's Athletics and the Open Women's Amateur Athletics. The VA Games is one of the few Highland Games that features an official women's heavy athletics competition. A new event in 2013 was the Professional & Wounded Warrior Athletic Competitions that featured veterans from the area competing in various events and showcasing their competition equipment. Centered in the middle of the Great Meadow the Heavy Athletic event area is the central focus for both days of the Games.

Other attractions include the Clan Village with over thirty clans and Scottish heritage organizations represented each year, a pub tent with live music featuring international Gaelic bands such as the Rathkeltair, whisky tastings, a British and Scottish antique car and motorcycle show, a Dogs of Scotland area and Scottish country dancing and sheepdog herding demonstrations. One of the more popular events for families is the Mid Atlantic Scots-4-Tots area that introduces young children to several of the individual heavy events and features the “tossing the caber” with hollow cardboard carpet tubes, sword fighting with balloon swords, among others. Ceremonial events include the Massed Bands, Clan Parade, Kirkin' of the Tartan, and the Dogs of Scotland Parade.

Since its origins in 1974 as a small community based Scottish culture and heritage celebration based in the suburbs of Washington, D.C., the Virginia Scottish

Games and Festival has grown into a major regional event that annually attracts over fifteen thousand competitors, participants and spectators. Celebrating the wealth of Scottish heritage and culture that is found in the Mid Atlantic region, the Virginia Scottish Games and Festival has become a destination and gathering place for athletes, dancers, musicians and clan members from the tri-state area.

The New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival

Established one year after the VA Highland Games, the New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival began in the fall of 1975 and is produced by The New Hampshire Gathering of Scottish Clans (NHSCOT), a non-profit organization that is “dedicated to the furtherance of the music, dance, athletics and customs of the Scottish people and to the continuance of the Gaelic culture.”¹⁴⁹ They promote the Games as the “largest and most diverse Scottish cultural festival in the Northeast” that draws over 25,000 visitors to Loon Mountain in the New Hampshire White Mountain region and contributes over ten million dollars to the local community each year.¹⁵⁰ Held annually on the third Friday, Saturday and Sunday of September, the Games features three days of competition events, activities, seminars and workshops that focus on Scottish heritage, history and culture.

Similar to the Grandfather Mountain and Virginia Highland Games, activities at Loon Mountain include the traditional heavy event, dance and music competitions, food, drink and merchandize area as well as live Gaelic music tents, whisky and beer

¹⁴⁹ The 38th New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival program, September 2013, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Governor Margaret Wood Hassan, *Scottish Heritage Month Proclamation*, The 38th New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival program, September 2013, p. 2.

tastings, living history encampments, sheep dog trials, seminars on Scottish history, workshops and demonstrations in traditional Scottish dancing and music. The New Hampshire Games also features the New England Regional and Novice Scottish Fiddle Championships, New England Highland Dance Championships, and the New England Solo Piping and Drumming Championships, New England Pipe Band Championships, and the New England Disabled Sports Highland Athletics Event.

The Grandfather Mountain Games main focus is on the Clans and the Virginia Highland Games focuses on the heavy event competitions. The New Hampshire Highland Games most popular attraction is the multiple Massed Bands and the Drum Majors events that are featured over the three-day festival. The Massed Bands and the International Drum Majors competition are the main draw to the over 25,000 in attendance each year. In 2013, thirty-one Pipe and Drum Bands from the United States and Canada competed for the top prizes in four different graded competitions. In addition, the Games features the International School of Scottish Drum Majors' Display Team and competitions that are made up of Drum Majors from Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, and Australia. In 2010 there were sixty Drum Majors competing. By 2013 this number grew to over one hundred in competition in the slow and quick march style of marching while conducting a pipe and drum band in correct formation, step and timing and change of music signals and commands.¹⁵¹ The Massed Bands and the Drum Majors competitions are the cornerstone events of the New Hampshire Games and Festival that annually draws competitors, participants and spectators from around the world.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 38.



Figure # 14: Massed Bands Marching at the New Hampshire Highland Games

In contrast to the VA and the Grandfather Mountain Games, the heavy events were relegated to a supporting role at these Games. Rather than being located in the main parade area like Grandfather and the Virginia Games, at the NH Games they were located behind and to the right the main area. The NH Games had a full compliment of competitions, but the heavy events did not have the large numbers of spectators seen at the other Games. Instead they were located behind several buildings without the benefit of any signage to direct spectators to the location. In addition, where the Clan Village was very clearly and centrally located in VA and Grandfather, the Clan Village in New Hampshire was split into two areas and wedged into tight spaces that were too small to allow for easy mingling and inspection.

Overall, the New Hampshire Highland Games provides a different focus and personality than at the Grandfather Mountain or VA Highland Games. With its layout and focus on the Massed bands and Drum Majors the other elements of the Highland Games were relegated to the periphery of the Games experience. With several beer, food and music tents, the main draw for the thousands of visitors to Loon Mountain was on drinking, eating and listening to Gaelic bands. The music tents featured top entertainment from the US, Canada and Scotland including the world famous Red Hot Chili Pipers, The Brigadoons, Albannach, and Alasdair Fraser, among others. This focus on the music, food and drink was clear in the way that the event was laid out and in how the space was allocated for each event. After the Opening Ceremony concluded, the event became more of a music festival than a traditional and recognizable Highland Games event.

When attending a Scottish Highland Games celebration in Scotland or in the United States, there are many similar and familiar activities for all to take part in and witness. Yet, there are also changes and adaptations as the Games adjust to the changes in focus and location. In the table below, I lay out the similarities and differences that are found in the Games in the United States and in Scotland.

Table 1.

Comparison of Scottish Highland Games in Scotland and the United States

	<u><i>Braemar</i></u>	<u><i>Cowal</i></u>	<u><i>Aboyne</i></u>	<u><i>Grandfather Mountain</i></u>	<u><i>Virginia</i></u>	<u><i>New Hampshire</i></u>
<u>EVENT/COMPETITION</u>						
Heavy Events	X	X	X	X	X	X
Light (Running) Events	X	X	X	X		
Hill Run	X	X	X	X		
Highland Dance	X	X	X	X	X	X
Solo Bagpipe	X	X	X	X	X	X
Massed Bands	X	X	X	X	X	X
Massed Band Competition	X	X	X	X	X	X
Drum	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fiddle			X	X	X	X
Drum Major	X	X	X			X
Clan Village			X	X	X	X
Living History				X	X	X
Gaelic Language Area				X	X	
Genealogy Area				X	X	
Whisky Tasting				X	X	X
Scottish Food	X	X	X	X	X	X
Scottish Merchandize				X	X	X
Youth Activities	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kirkin' Of the Tartan				X	X	X
Clan Parade			X	X	X	X
Seminars/Workshops				X	X	X

Table 1 shows how each individual Games focuses on certain elements while leaving others out, yet they all call themselves Scottish Highland Games. Table 1 also allows us to see how the ancillary events such as the genealogy, Gaelic language and the Living History Encampments are important in the United States but they are not a part of the Games in Scotland. In the United States, each of these events allows for the attendees to experience Scottish culture on multiple levels through their exposure to Scottish history, language and heritage in multiple ways. This is not needed in Scotland since they are surrounded by these elements on a daily basis.

Finally, the table allows for the examination of which Games are more “authentic” –or so organizers and participants label the distinct games. For example,

Grandfather Mountain is more similar to the games in Scotland than the New Hampshire and Virginia Highland Games. Since it is based on the program from the 1956 Braemar Gathering, it stands to reason that it includes all of the events, including the Light or running events, that are also staged at Braemar. At Grandfather the running events are structured like the events in Scotland, and events such as “The Bear,” a five-mile hill run and the Mountain Marathon draw competitors and spectators from all over the United States. The other Games put more focus on the “traditional” heavy event, music and dance competitions. Yet, before giving the nod to Grandfather as the United States’ version of the true Scottish Games, we must note that it has also adapted to include the invented and selected traditions such as the Kirkin’ of the Tartan church service that is now standard at Games in the United States. This shows the complications, inconsistencies, and even hypocrisies that exist in producing so-called authentic Scottish Highland Games in either country. I found myself continually questioning what was “essential” to the success of these performances, since they were all deemed successful – profitable, highly attended, repeated over time.

Theatre historian and theorist, Loren Kruger writes, “Place and occasion [...] signify the means and the site on which national prestige—the legitimacy and the renown of the nation in the eyes of its citizens and well as its rivals—is staged, acknowledged, and contested.”¹⁵² The Games provide a way for people of Scottish descent to explore – but also differently interpret and sometimes contest— their heritage, history and culture. During the Highland Games, heritage and culture are

¹⁵² Loren Kruger, *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimazation in England, France and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 12.

used as a way to address and negotiate issues of national identity, globalization, and location, on international stages. Scotland has enthusiastic fans, whether or not they are proven to be part of the bloodline.

Chapter Five: Ceremonies and Ritual: Opening Ceremonies, Massed Bands, and Spectacular Community Building

Surrounded by rolling hills, forest and lush meadows, I listened to the massed band of several hundred pipers and drummers play *Scotland the Brave* and *Flower of Scotland*. The skirl of the bagpipes rolled over the thousands of people standing at attention while waving St. Andrews flags and banners and wearing a rainbow of color in their tartans, trewes, kilts, shawls, sashes, and Glengarry and Tam O' Shanter bonnets. At the conclusion, a loud cheer went up that echoed through the hills...a deep love of Scotland was apparent in every aspect of this moment. The announcer closed the ceremony by shouting out to all of us, "TODAY WE ARE ALL SCOTTISH!" which was met by another loud cheer from all in attendance. Several men near me thrust their claymore swords into the air and shouted out their clan mottos. At this point, I understood why so many people longed to be Scottish. Certainly, anyone with Scottish blood running through their veins would be proud to be a part of this occasion and to take part in this very visible display of shared history, culture and heritage. This experience revealed the intense power of Benedict Anderson's concept of the "unisonance" of crowd, and the force of what Emile Durkheim would call "collective effervescence" in the development of national identity and community allegiance.¹⁵³ At this moment, I physically and emotionally felt Scotland. I was Scottish. And, I was in Scotland, of course, wasn't I? Where was this event happening? Braemar, Aboyne, Lonnach, Cowal, the Isle of Skye?

¹⁵³ Benedict Anderson, 145 and Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (1912, English Translation by Joseph Swain: 1915).

This stirring event was actually part of the Opening Ceremony at the Virginia Highland Games and Festival that was being held at Sky Meadow State Park in The Plains, Virginia in September of 2007. Everywhere one looked, there was a visible representation of Scottish culture on display. There were multiple generations of clan folk in their tartans; blue and white saltire flags and banners were displayed and flying from everywhere; to the athletes in their tartan kilts heaving the Braemar Stone; the sounds of bagpipes drifting on the air; and aromas of haggis and fish and chips coming from the Scottish food pavilion. From the moment when you first arrived to when you exited the area Scottish heritage items, sounds, sights, and smells surrounded you. Your senses could not help but be overloaded on all things Scottish. No matter the location, the Highland Games grounds became a performance space of Scottishness.

In this chapter, I investigate the Opening Ceremonies at Highland Games and Gatherings and explore the rituals and theatrical staging of Scotland. The opening ceremonies, in many ways like an Olympic Opening Ceremony, are to show off the participants and the diversity, but also the community needed to construct a “nation” or national identity. The symbols and rituals that are part of the opening ceremonies provides a united experience of performing as part of a Scottish nation through the singing of *Flower of Scotland* and the saluting of the St. Andrews saltire flag. They all have different tartan patterns, pipe band and clan names, mottos, event/performance specialties and histories, but they march together, and in that act, they become a nation through rites of intensification, unisonance and community.

A Day at the Scottish Highland Games & Gatherings

No matter the location of the Highland Games there are distinct and recognizable similarities to the order and structure of the events. Several ceremonies are held throughout the day, which include opening and closing ceremonies, clan parades and marches, salutes, and competition award presentations. In addition, there are clan events (reunions and meetings), merchandise, food, drink and music throughout the grounds. Each Highland Games provides a full day of programming for the duration of their event. From one to multiple days long, each day is fully booked with numerous activities that are all tied to Scottish history, heritage and culture. While the components may be similar there will also be differences in scale and focus as each Games has its own personality. To better explore these similarities and differences, I will focus on the ceremonial aspect of the Games.

No matter the location each Highland Games has its own unique way of marking and celebrating the opening of their individual event. Each perform their own rituals and ceremonies that are steeped in history and heritage from the “Raising of the Chief’s Standard” in Aboyne, Scotland to the Clan Roll Call and the performance by twenty-six different Pipe and Drum bands that assembled as the Massed Bands in New Hampshire to the “Fiery Cross” and the “Raise the Clans” ceremony at Grandfather Mountain.

Similarities in the various ceremonies include: 1), the clans and bagpipes are central to all of the opening ceremonies; 2), there are several honored guests that talk about their Scottish heritage and their ties to and place in Scottish history; and 3), the tartan will be worn and displayed as part of each step of the ceremony. From the Pipe

Bands to the clans to the honored guests and various games dignitaries, Scotland is constantly being performed. The playing of music, recalling of family histories, wearing of the kilt or sash in their clan tartan –all communicate the message in no uncertain terms. Each participant claims his or her place in this performance of Scottish history and heritage as they play by the rules. Throughout my research, I saw very little (or no) acts of protest against these invented-turned-nationally-sacred rituals that had been accepted, regardless of how recently established.

The Opening Ceremonies

At most Highland Games and Gatherings the first official public event that is held is the Opening Ceremony, which welcomes everyone to the location and officially declares that the Games are open. The sequence is usually: 1) a procession of the Massed Bands, 2) the clan march, and 3) a welcome from the Clan chief, chair or president of the group that is responsible for producing the event. The chosen representative of this last step welcomes the local and regional government dignitaries in attendance, and they then speak briefly. After step three, is 4) a prayer or blessing 5) the playing of the national anthems, and 6) often, the welcoming of an “Honored Guest” who will say a few words and then declare that the Games are open, will follow. The honored guest may be a state or local dignitary or celebrity, or someone flown in from Scotland that has ties to the event and his/her attendance provides an added level of importance to the event. The opening ceremony is a very solemn and serious affair that gathers everyone in attendance to the parade ground and allows for a communal moment of solidarity and celebration of Scottishness

(whether real, imagined, or pretended) before everyone scatters and takes part in other events. In the fifteen Games that I have attended in Scotland and the United States, all but the Braemar Gathering and the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games opened in this way. Each Gathering is unique as it takes on the personality of the location and the people organizing the event. In order to explore this in more depth, I examine the Opening Ceremonies at the Aboyne Highland Games in Scotland, and also the New Hampshire and Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in the United States.

The Aboyne Highland Games focuses on ties to the local community, people and geographic area, in contrast to the more highly publicized games such as Braemar and Cowal Highland Games that are more highly publicized. The opening ceremony begins at noon with several pipe bands, each with dozens of members that feature men and women of all ages playing the bagpipes and drums, marching on to the Aboyne Green from the village. People line the parade route and stand on old walls of stone and brick and hang out of windows in anticipation of the pipe bands passing by the area. The march through the village is a popular event and serves to gather everyone in one area as the crowds watch and then follow the pipe bands as they process into the Aboyne Green area. The clan chief of the games, the Marquess of Huntly, whose family has been the patron of these events since its origins, then enters with the chair of the Aboyne Highland Games organizing committee and other local dignitaries and government officials. Clan representatives of the northeast region of Scotland line the field and include Clans Cameron, Farquharson, Forbes, Fraser, Findlay, Hays, Irvine, Keith, Leask, Leslie, and Clan Gordon. The clan chief of the region wears his Gordon tartan kilt and displays three eagle feathers in the clan crest

badge of his tam o' shanter bonnet that designates that he is the legally recognized clan chief. He welcomes everyone and thanks all of the clan representatives, organizers, competitors, spectators and volunteers for taking part in the Aboyne Highland Games. In 2013, he stressed the ties to the past and how they, "celebrate the games dedication to keeping the old ways alive."¹⁵⁴ His Chief's Standard banner is then raised and that signifies that he is present on the grounds and that the Games are now open and underway. The *Deeside Piper* described this event by writing,

As the standard was raised, to open the games, young singer Pandi Arthur, performed a beautiful, haunting rendition of *Dark Lochnagar*, demonstrating that despite it's ancient routes and traditions, the games have strong support from younger generations, who the games' future lies with.¹⁵⁵

Once the standard is raised the Games are declared to be officially open. The Chief shakes hands with the dignitaries and clan representatives and everyone slowly leaves the green as other events begin to be staged. While the Opening is actually simple and straightforward, performative in its declaration of opening, it is also very traditional as it has been since the origin of the Games in 1867.

In contrast, the Opening Ceremonies at the New Hampshire and Grandfather Mountain Highland Games are much more involved, complex and multi-layered. They are fully scheduled with new rituals and types of performances not seen in Scotland. At Loon Mountain in Lincoln, New Hampshire, the Opening Ceremonies are held at noon on the Saturday of the three-day event. First, the New Hampshire Pipes and Drums band led the Honorary Chieftain of the Games and other dignitaries

¹⁵⁴ "Aboyne Enjoys a Highland Fling," *Deeside Piper*, August 7, 2013. Available at <http://www.deesidepiper.co.uk/news/local-headlines/aboyne-enjoys-a-highland-fling-1-3033684> (Accessed on January 12, 2014).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

onto the parade square to the reviewing stand. Then the Clan Marshall escorts the seventy plus clans, societies and organizations that are in attendance onto the parade square one by one. Each is dressed in their clan tartan and carries a banner that shows which clan they are representing. The clan representatives form a double row in the middle of the parade square facing each other. Once they are all assembled the Clan Roll Call is begun and each clan is announced with the clan representative responding by shouting their Clan Motto and raising their clan tartan banner high in the air, which is then cheered by the rest of the clan. In 2013, there were over seventy clans represented from the United States and Canada as well as international and national clan and service organizations such as the Scots' Charitable Society and the St. Andrews Society's of New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine and Massachusetts, among others. Once the roll call is completed, the Clan Marshall announces to the Honorary Chieftain that all clans are accounted for and the Chieftain welcomes them to the Games. The Pipe and Drum Band then plays in honor of the clans. The clans are then dismissed and they march off and line the edge of the parade square.



Figure # 15: Clan Roll Call at the Opening Ceremony at the New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival

At this time the Honor Guard marches on carrying the flags of the United States, Canada, Scotland and the United Kingdom. This is followed by the event that everyone in the stands is waiting for: the “Massed Bands.” In 2013 there were twenty-six bands from the United States and Canada taking part in the Massed Bands procession ceremony. Each pipe band first assembled on the hill overlooking the parade square. One by one, they marched down the hill and into the arena as they were announced, each playing a short medley of songs as they moved into their designated position. This was followed by the march on of the over one hundred drum majors in attendance from around the world. Once all the participants are

assembled in parade-square, the Massed Bands come together and play the national anthems of the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States in recognition of all the competitors, participants and spectators that are from those three countries. A prayer and blessing followed offered by the Games Chaplain and the introductions of all of the honored guests.

The Massed Bands then played the *unofficial* Scottish national anthem, *Flower of Scotland* that always elicits a huge cheer from everyone in attendance. Since Scotland is not an independent country (yet), the UK national anthem, *God Save the Queen* is the official anthem of England, Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland. However, at events such as the Highland Games, Scotland is represented by one of two songs, *Scotland the Brave* or *Flower of Scotland*. An *official* national anthem has not been identified and established as of the writing of this dissertation. If the Referendum passes in September, then a determination will have to be made since the national anthem is a significant part of national identity and nationhood.

After the entrance of the Massed Bands and the various national anthems, the President of New Hampshire Highland Games offered his opening remarks that stressed the coming together of this community to acknowledge and recognize Scottish heritage and history. He introduced each of the distinguished guests and they each said a few words of welcome and stressed their ties to Scotland either by birth or blood – an important and expected part of their statements. In 2013, officials included the Canadian Consul General representative, the Head of Trade and Investment of the UK Consulate, the Commissioner of the Department Cultural Affairs, and the Governor of New Hampshire, Margaret Wood Hassan. Hassan stressed the

importance of this event to New Hampshire as over 25,000 visitors from around the world attended the event, helping to make travel and tourism the second largest economy in the state. She also proclaimed September as Scottish Heritage Month. Each speaker welcomed everyone to the games and stressed their own ties to Scotland and their Scottish heritage. Once all of the speeches were concluded, the Massed Bands played *Amazing Grace* and the Honorary Chieftain, Helen E. R. Sayles, declared that, “The 2013 New Hampshire Highland Games and Festival are now officially open!” to the cheers from everyone in attendance. The ceremony concluded as the Massed Bands played and marched off one at a time.

The Opening Ceremony of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Clans is the most unique kick off event that I have attended in terms of symbolism and pageantry. Instead of holding their opening on the Saturday of the multi day event when the most people would be in attendance, Grandfather Mountain holds theirs on Thursday evening to kick-start their four-day celebration. The grounds open at 4:30pm on Thursday and features a picnic, piping concerts, sheep herding demonstrations and the running of “The Bear” a five-mile hill race that over eight hundred runners take part in each year that starts in the village of Linville goes to the summit of the mountain and ends in MacRea Meadow. These events provide entertainment for everyone in attendance as they eagerly wait for twilight to descend on Grandfather Mountain and the Torchlight and Raise the Clans ceremonies to begin.

As darkness descends a parade of fire begins to be seen as each Clan lights their torch from one flaming torch that is walked among them and signifies the beginning of the “Torchlight Ceremony.” They gather in groups along the meadow

and one by one announce that they are in attendance in the most dramatic fashion that they can muster as part of the “Raise the Clans” opening ceremony. Clan after clan walks to the microphone and announces their presence and claims their place and ties to Scotland in their own unique way,

Clan Hay:

The hero of the Battle on Luncarty,
The clan of the Lord High Constable of Scotland—
The mighty Clan Hay is here!
A Hay, A Hay, A Hay...

Clan MacLean:

In the days of old,
When the clans were bold
And our women were hotter than fire
With all our resources and our knowledge of Scotch
We became others great desire
They tried the persuasion
And they launched their invasion
And they fought us and fought us in vain
For the clans come together in a fiery cross
We are here!...We are the great Clan MacLean!

Clan Donald:

If you find yourselves in the shadow,
of the valley of Campbell's,
Do not be afraid,
for we are with you,
and our blades are sharp and long...
Clan Donald is here!

Through poems, songs, clan mottos or a battle cry each of the eighty plus clans announce that they are in attendance with each clan concluding their announcement with a forceful, “WE ARE HERE!” This is met each time with a wild cheer from the audience and other clan members. The leader of the Clan then takes his flaming torch over to the fiery saltire cross and adds it to the already assembled flames of the single fire in the form of St. Andrew's Cross. When the last clan adds their torch to the

burning cross a mighty cheer goes up and the bagpipes play again. The night concludes with a welcome to all of the clans and the spectators followed by an impressive fireworks show. Through this shared exultation of “We Are Here!” each clan is very publically claiming their place in the continuing line of Scottish history. They are showing that their bloodlines are still embodied and that they have not been defeated or silenced. The repeated “We Are Here!” after each clan announcement shows the power of their “being here” together in large numbers at this specific time and location. The clans are physically here and they still have a voice and a presence in Scottish heritage, history and culture today and in the future.

The Grandfather Mountain Highland Games program and website describes the raising of the clans ceremony as follows:

"Raise the Clans"

The expression "raise the clans" has a slightly archaic sound to our ears. It is surrounded by an aura of some long forgotten appeal to support noble causes or high ideals. From a historical perspective, it was used to summon the clans for battle. We have chosen to transform the ancient act to symbolize a different kind of call to the clans.

The saltire cross is recognized as Scotland's ancient symbol. A living cross of light is made up of a representative from all the clans and families who have come to participate. They come from all the compass points to indicate the widespread migration of Scots. The Clans give voice to their origins and take their place as part of the gathering on this magnificent mountain.

Together they share remembrances and offer thanks. As the torches burn brightly together in the gathering darkness, the haunting sound of pipes is carried into the night. The clans have come again to celebrate who they are.

On the evening of Thursday, July 11th of 2013, I sat on the hillside and watched this ceremony unfold as clan after clan announced their presence to us and added their

flaming torch to the fiery saltire cross. This evening the meadow was covered in dense fog and as the darkness grew the meadow took on a shadowy and ancient feel as bagpipes and drums played and voices shouted out their clan mottos, legends and history. It was easy to lose sense of time and place and to wonder if you had been transplanted to the Highlands of Scotland in the early 1300s. I almost expected William Wallace or Robert the Bruce to ride into the meadow on their horses and take the clans down the mountain to fight the English. It reminded me of a scene out of *Braveheart* where Wallace (Mel Gibson), rallied the clans to fight by reminding them of their history and heritage. Through this careful staging of the clans, use of fire and powerful speeches, I wondered if the “Braveheart Effect” was also being used here “to rally the clans” and drive home this deep feeling of belonging and being a part of the long history of Scotland. With everyone lit by the fire and wearing their kilts and tartans and with many of the men carrying their claymore swords it was a moment that captured the history and nostalgia of a Scotland of the past. Even though the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games have a relatively short history, this fiery opening ceremony has become part of the legend and lore that acknowledges these Games as a descendent of Braemar.

The Performance of Scotland at the Opening Ceremonies

In the opening ceremonies the participants and spectators are presented with a cultural performance –an interpretation and representation— of Scottish identity. Tartan-clad Massed Bands march in unison and play Scottish songs on their bagpipes, dignitaries claiming their Scottish heritage and their ties to Scotland in their speeches;

national anthems, or rather unofficial “national” anthems are sung; a proclamation of “the Games are open” is made, and Scotland becomes a physical, audible and fully sensed reality. Richard Bauman writes that cultural performances share characteristic features that are “scheduled, temporally and spatially bounded, are programmed and are coordinated public occasions.”¹⁵⁶ The events that are part of the Opening Ceremonies meet these criteria for cultural performance as well as serving as the “most prominent performance context within a community.”¹⁵⁷ Through these cultural performances and statements like “Today We Are all Scottish!” and “We Are Here!” the participants and spectators all take part in this ritual of Scottishness (see also Austin on performativity and the power of ritual declarations, 1962).

These rituals build on deeply felt emotions and memories that transform the participants and the spectators through their taking part in each of the steps that are involved (Turner 1982, Schechner 2002, MacAloon 1995). The rituals in the opening ceremonies are designed for everyone to become a part of and to be engaged rather than to just be complacent and entertained. They are rites of intensification that require focus and attention be paid to them. David I. Kertzer writes, “The power of ritual stems not just from its social matrix, but also from its psychological underpinnings.”¹⁵⁸ This performance of Scottishness at the opening ceremonies allows for psychological, emotional, and physical participation in the ritual by all that are present and in so doing allows all to be part of the historical present as it honors the past. With clans, pipers and drummers gathered; symbols of the Scottish Highlands everywhere through the presence of the tartans, bagpipes and Saltire flags;

¹⁵⁶ Bauman, 46.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Kertzer, 10.

and the Massed Bands playing of *Flower of Scotland* with the audience signing along; Scotland is on full display, but it is also being played. It is serious, but it is also a game. Is it thus, a current reflection of Scotland and Scottish cultural identity of today?

In each of these Opening Ceremonies, a Scotland of the past is being longed for and performed. But, it is not all of Scotland that is being represented. Instead, it is a distinctly idealized *Highland* Scotland of the past that is being honored and performed. The ties to the past through the participation in clans and bagpipe bands, wearing of the tartans and kilts and the playing of the bagpipes are all present as part of their Scottishness. This idyllic past and a sense of nostalgia permeate each step in the opening ceremonies at each games location. From the rituals that are involved in the “Raise the Clan,” the “Clan Roll Call,” the massed bands and the clan march in ceremonies, an imagined Scottish culture is being performed and witnessed by everyone that has become an essential part of this community.

Community Building

Benedict Anderson writes that, “there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs.”¹⁵⁹ He utilizes the examples of the signing of national anthems or the reciting of the same words in prayers or poems as examples of this idea of unisonance. Through this “experience of simultaneity,” people that are unknown to each other can become one through the reciting of the same words, or the signing of the national anthems. This “unisonance” and “experience of simultaneity” can be seen in several

¹⁵⁹ Anderson, 145.

aspects of the Opening Ceremonies at the Highland Games. These elements also allow for the community to unite through rites of intensification that allows for a community to come together through participation in rituals and ceremonies for the benefit of all. By taking part in the opening ceremony events and rituals the community is reaffirmed and strengthened.

The opening ceremonies provide a place for Victor Turner's concepts of *communitas* to be realized. In *From Ritual to Theatre*, Turner defines *communitas* as,

not a structural reversal, a mirror-imaging of the 'profane': workaday socioeconomic structure, or a fantasy-rejection of structural 'necessities,' but the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints incumbent upon occupying a sequence of social statuses, enacting a multiplicity of social roles, and being acutely conscious of membership in some...village, theatre, almost anywhere people can be subverted from their duties and rights into an atmosphere of *communitas*.¹⁶⁰

During the Opening Ceremonies all spectators and participants are removed from their outside lives and the normative constraints, and even if they are not of Scottish descent, they are part of a new created Scottish Gathering that only exists for this one moment. During that moment everyone is enveloped in Scottish culture and heritage and becomes part of a larger community that is separate from the outside world and its social rules or organization. More specifically, the opening ceremony creates a *spontaneous communitas*, where everyone comes together for the Massing of the Bands, singing of the national anthems, marching of the clans and reveling in the display of Scottish culture. Turner writes that spontaneous *communitas* is "a direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities, a deep rather than intense style

¹⁶⁰ Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 44-48.

of personal interaction. It has something magical about it.”¹⁶¹ When *Flower of Scotland* is being played on the bagpipes and drums, or everyone is welcomed with a cry of “Today we are all Scottish,” a spontaneous *communitas* develops with all who are in attendance and part of that moment. By experiencing the many aspects of this ritualized ceremony together, the experience is heightened and enhanced for everyone as they take part in the same rituals, performances and displays. This event can only happen once on this date at this time with this community. Many times I have seen people in tears following the opening ceremonies. This intense deep feeling of *communitas* and unisonance resonates from the first sound of the bagpipe as the Massed Bands march onto to the field to the moment when the last clan members leaves the area. This is the strongest presentation and performance of cultural identity in the sheer massing of the most powerful Scottish symbols, artifacts and Scottish bodies. There is a fierce pride in declaring their Scottish heritage through the material items of their culture. They may be businessmen and women, moms and dads in the outside world, today they are members of a new community that has a proud history and heritage that is on display for all to see. Each of their clan symbols serves to establish them as something culturally significant and unique in a public way. Here, at this location on this day, they are defined by a different means- through the performance of their Scottish heritage and the belief that for this moment: “Today we are all Scottish!”

¹⁶¹ Turner, (1982), 47-48.



Figure #16: Opening Ceremony Massing of the Bands at the VA Highland Games

Chapter Six: Homecoming Scotland, the Gathering and the Marketing of a Popular Cultural Homeland

I am a Scot.
I speak from the heart.
I know the value of friendship.
I drink my whisky from my great-grandfather's Quaich.
I wear my tartan with pride.
I fight back tears at the skirl of the pipes.
I long to walk in the footsteps of my ancestors.
I'm a New Yorker, but I have Scottish roots.
In 2009, I am going home.

- Advertisement text for the Homecoming Scotland 2009 marketing campaign
in *Scottish Life* Magazine (Spring 2009)

Perhaps no other country has marketed themselves and their culture as effectively as Scotland did in the build up to its *Homecoming 2009* initiative that featured more than two hundred events that were held throughout the country, from Burns Night on January 25 through St. Andrew's Day on November 30, 2009. The ten-month calendar of events featured a series of activities throughout the country that ranged from Highland Games and Gatherings, to Tartan Day celebrations, to Wallace Remembrance ceremonies, music, dance and theatre performances, whisky tastings, golf outings, among others, all with a focus on celebrating the culture, history and heritage of Scotland. The keystone event of the Homecoming Scotland 2009 calendar was "The Gathering," held from July 24th to 26th in Edinburgh that encouraged people of Scottish descent to "Come Home" and take part in the largest Highland Games in history.

With this one major marketing initiative, the cultural identity of and nostalgia for Scotland was sold to a worldwide audience. The "I am a Scot...I am going home"

advertisement was the main campaign that was launched worldwide in print, on TV, and online media, and it clearly stated what made Scotland such a special place to live and perhaps more importantly, *to be from*. The advertisement effectively mentions all of the cultural symbols and qualities of Scotland that are to be recognized and honored. The most well-known cultural symbols are all mentioned: the tartan, kilt and bagpipes as well as the deeper emotional pull and effect that ties one to the past with the phrases “I drink my whisky from my *great-grandfather’s* Quaich... I long to walk in the *footsteps of my ancestors*.” According to the Visit Scotland final report on their Homecoming 2009 marketing plan, the “I am a Scot” advertising campaign reached “95 million potential visitors across Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US.”¹⁶² They may be just a few simple lines of advertising copy, but they were and are very effective when it comes to explaining the emotional and physical cultural symbols of a Scottish homeland. “I am a Scot” has incredibly deep meaning, as does the call to go back home where the cultural symbols can be worn, seen and consumed in their land of origin.

John MacAloon writes that large national performances can be seen and understood as a “paradigm: participants (actors and audience) enter the performance system through festival, ritual or game: in play the ‘truth’ is revealed; once the truth is revealed, it is consecrated by ritual, then it is enjoyed by festival.”¹⁶³ Through this paradigm the performance is made “real” and “authentic.” In this chapter, I explore several ways that “authentic” cultural identity has been produced and promoted by the tourist organizations in Scotland and how the media campaign allowed a particular

¹⁶² “The Story,” Visit Scotland: Homecoming Scotland 2009, accessed on March 10, 2014, http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/homecoming_scotland_2009_-_the_story.pdf

¹⁶³ MacAloon, 261.

representation of the culture to be seen and recognized by native and non-native Scots worldwide. To better understand what is being produced and for whom, I investigate the tourist-based initiative Homecoming Scotland 2009 and its featured event, “The Gathering,” to examine how Scottishness is sold, consumed, and used as a tool to encourage the scattered Scottish Diaspora of over forty million people to “come home.” Questions I explore include: What do tourists expect Scotland to be? Is that expectation achievable? How do organizers construct and depict this so-called home? How do native born and resident Scots understand the tourist expectations and how do they respond before, during and after? What role does tartanry play in the tourist industry and the tourist experience? And, finally, how does The Gathering Highland Games compare to the events in Scotland and the United States?

My first experience as a tourist in Edinburgh was in December of 1999 and it was completely saturated with tartans, kilts and bagpipes. I arrived by train from London and was immediately immersed in what I now know as symbols of tartanry. There was a bagpiper standing at the Waverly Steps playing “Scotland the Brave,” Edinburgh Castle was on the horizon and several men in tartan kilts were ahead of me on the street as I walked towards the Royal Mile. Even though I had never been there before, this was exactly what I had expected and wanted Scotland to be. I have since visited Scotland four more times and have spent the equivalent of four and a half months in the country during my research visits. Each time I arrive I listen for the bagpipes and when I see Edinburgh Castle I feel that I am “home.” Certainly, the marketing campaign is working. I was hooked. Several of my colleagues who accompanied me on a trip to Edinburgh in August of 2011 expressed similar

sentiments. Dr. Robert Thompson shared with me that the first thing he saw that made him realize and feel that he was in Scotland was seeing and hearing the bagpipes. “We’d just taken the bus from the airport to downtown. Seeing and hearing the lone piper in full regalia playing outside the park really made me feel as though I had arrived in a new uniquely Scottish cultural environment.” When I asked him what three cultural elements came to mind when he thought about Scotland he replied, “The kilts, the bagpipes and the castles.”¹⁶⁴ These were also the items that were represented and sold on the cultural market, and that is what an outsider consumed and believed to be stereotypical Scottish. Every country has these cultural markers – they are “theatrical,” they can be commercialized, people like and enjoy them, they can buy them, and they are accepted, to some degree, by both locals and tourists. Dr. Thompson’s comments echoed what my other colleagues shared in response to my questions. Although the residents of Scotland would rather focus on the upcoming vote for independence and images of Scotland based on technology, energy and scientific advances (like the cloning of Dolly the Sheep and advances in green energy), there is also the understanding that tartanry is still an essential part of the cultural identity of Scotland for the rest of the world and that is what they expect to experience when they arrive in the region.

This understanding is key in the development of the second largest growing industry in Scotland – tourism, -- which brings in over £11 billion annually. With the support and funding of the Scottish government, the tourism industry in Scotland relies deeply on the popularity of tartanry. The Homecoming 2009 initiative was produced by Visit Scotland, a national tourism organization, and reached out to all

¹⁶⁴Personal communication, March 7, 2013

people of Scottish heritage abroad with a plea to “Come Home” to Scotland for a series of events throughout the year. Scotland has a population of just over five million, but the Scottish Diaspora is estimated to be over forty million worldwide.¹⁶⁵ The Scottish Government and the tourism industry realized that there was an opportunity to harness the power of the Diaspora at a time that Scotland was also fighting for the right to hold a vote on Scottish independence, and thus, needed tangible ways to excite and mobilize all people of Scottish descent. The same cultural symbols of tartanry that were honored during the visit of King George IV and during Queen Victoria’s reign were again in evidence throughout Edinburgh and Scotland as tartans, kilts and clans once again took center stage.

Going “Home” to Scotland in 2009¹⁶⁶

“The Gathering” was the signature event of Homecoming Scotland 2009 and took over two years to plan and execute. Overall, Homecoming Scotland 2009 featured more than two hundred official events held throughout the country with The Gathering serving as the keystone event. Events held during The Gathering included: a meeting of 124 Clan Lairds (chiefs) at the Scottish Parliament, the Clan March up the Royal Mile, and a sold-out pageant (*Aisling’s Children: Tales of the Homecoming*) that recognized the history of the McLean family, held on the Edinburgh Castle Esplanade. There were also various meetings and reunions of Scottish Clans and associations. In

¹⁶⁵ *Diaspora Engagement Plan – Reaching Out to Scotland’s International Family*. Available at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/09/14081131/1>. Accessed on February 12, 2013.

¹⁶⁶ An earlier version of this material appeared in, “Tartans, Kilts and Clans On Tour: Exploring Issues of Mobility, Heritage and Cultural Homecomings at The Gathering 2009” in *Exploring Travel and Tourism: Essays on Journeys and Destinations*, Ed. Sweda, Jennifer Erica. (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), 2012.

each of these events, the material heritage of Scotland was proudly on display, including the ever-present wearing of clan tartans and kilts, clan mottos crest t-shirts and hats, posters and banners of family trees, maps of clan lands, and items such as claymore swords, pictures, paintings, leather-bound books, and ancient pieces of tartans. All of these items were also on sale in various stores and outdoor stands, some authentically “made in Scotland,” but others were mass produces in China, such as the very popular tea towels that featured screen print images of castles, lochs, heather and thistle covered Highlands, and bagpipers, among others. The Gathering brochures proclaimed that you could “be a part of history” and “join thousands of people from around the world in the historic surroundings of Edinburgh’s Holyrood Park for the world’s greatest international gathering of the clans and families of this unique Scottish event.” The Homecoming Scotland 2009 website stated that,

The two-day event in the capital’s Holyrood Park includes the Deuchars World Highland Games Heavy Events Championship, as well as Highland dancing, piping, traditional storytelling and music. There will also be a hill race and fun run, a children’s area, genealogy zone and a clan village. The best of contemporary Scotland will also be on show, with top quality textiles, arts and crafts, and food and drink.¹⁶⁷

The clan village featured over one hundred and twenty-five Scottish clans, Scottish military history and Gaelic language tents and a merchandise area where the signature items included hats, t-shirts, polo shirts, backpacks, and banners emblazoned with The Gathering logo and event motto: “I’m Going Home!” It was this idea of home and homecoming that was the central theme throughout the weekend. Whether it was in material form and visible on the multitude of t-shirts that

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

could be seen throughout Edinburgh, overheard in conversation, or personally delivered in the way of a welcome upon entering a tent in the clan village, the concept of going or coming home was central to the experience for the forty-seven thousand visitors that traveled to Edinburgh for The Gathering.



Figure # 17: A Section of the Clan Village at The Gathering

The concept and search for this physical and/or metaphorical home was central to my research in Edinburgh at The Gathering. The theory of home takes on many definitions and forms. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, “home” refers to “the place of one's dwelling or nurturing; a place, region, or state to which one properly belongs, in which one's affections centre, or where one finds refuge, rest,

or satisfaction; one's own country, one's native land; the seat, centre, or native habitat; the place or region where a thing is native, indigenous, or most common, among others.”¹⁶⁸ “Home” is a multilayered and complicated term that has very different meanings to each person throughout his or her lifetime. Home can mean a concrete place or an emotional attachment to a specific place that does not have a locked-in location. However, home does not automatically mean the place where a person is born or lives. Cultural Studies and Sociology scholars Mechthild Hart and Miriam Ben-Yoseph write that the meaning of home is a “complex, paradoxical notion and reality”¹⁶⁹ and I certainly found this to be true of the people with whom I spoke over the weekend. This search for a cultural home or a feeling of belonging to a specific place came up repeatedly in my interviews and in the conversations I had with participants and spectators. Some people considered the thought of home as a very private issue while others spoke of it in a very public, yet abstract, way. “The very notion of ‘home,’” writes Hart and Ben-Yoseph, ‘calls forth deeply lodged feelings in almost everyone. While it seems to be attached to a universal yearning to be grounded, for being safe, for belonging, it cannot be fenced in by a single definition or approach.”¹⁷⁰ Normally, home is nostalgic. Normally, home is full of memories, good and bad. So what does home mean for those who have never been there? This search for home and/or a homeland and the coming together of this massive community in a place that was almost sacred in the visitor’s minds, made The Gathering, so it was said, a more important location than Virginia or New Hampshire would ever be. For

¹⁶⁸ “Home” [search term], *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed on May 2, 2010, http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy&result_place=1&search_id=55Th-9T5i41-14244&hilite=50107348.

¹⁶⁹ Mechthild Hart and Miriam Ben-Yoseph, eds., *Psychological, Political, and Cultural Meanings of Home* (New York: Haworth, 2005), 2.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

one weekend, everyone taking part in The Gathering was considered to be “home” in their ancestral homeland and this was embraced in a very public way.

Various manifestations of home could be found in Edinburgh during The Gathering. The image and physical landmarks of the attendees’ Scottish homeland could be easily witnessed throughout the celebration, from touring the Royal Mile and Edinburgh Castle to taking part in historical walks and performances. In addition, the image of home was also for sale everywhere: from images of the Highlands, castles, and lochs on everything from calendars and chef’s aprons to wall hangings, t-shirts and paintings, to shops where store employees would help people trace their family histories so that they could purchase the proper clan tartans for their full kilt outfits, to guided tours to the actual land of their ancestors. Once one’s clan association was established it was easy to find endless items to purchase that featured the proper clan crest, motto, and tartan. Whether it was a kilt, a t-shirt, or a hat, Edinburgh became a place where everyone was encouraged to show his or her connection to a specific clan and the land in a very public way.

This sense of belonging and coming home to their ancestral land was the main catalyst for many people, as was the need to connect, in particular, with their Scottish clan lineage. Ideally, it was not just “Scotland” that you were going home to, but to your family, your bloodline, your land. This communal idea of sharing the same bloodlines with other members of the clan was the common bond for many visitors. This was reflected in my interviews and in the press coverage of the event. Journalist Ben McConville of the *Associated Press* reported on July 25, 2009,

Dick Boyd from Stratham, New Hampshire, said the meeting provoked strong emotion. "This is a coming home for me, as I can

trace my family back to the Clan Macintosh in the 1100s," said Boyd, his eyes welling with tears. "I am a direct descendent of the Seventh Earl of Kilmarnock and we Scots Americans are fiercely proud of our roots."

Carrying a South African flag, Andrew Macgregor from Durban cheered on the Canadian Massed Pipes and Drums from Ontario. "We are one huge family; here I feel I belong," said Macgregor, who claims to be a descendent of the famous Scottish bandit Rob Roy Macgregor.¹⁷¹

Peter Ross in *Scotland on Sunday* wrote about one visitor:

Dorothy Claro, 56, whose maiden name was MacGregor, is from the Philippines but lives in Singapore. Her grandfather Ian was Scottish. She has met up in Edinburgh with some cousins from South Africa and together they are going to visit the old family home on Lewis. 'This is very important to me,' she says. 'I never got to meet my grandfather. But Scottish culture was embedded in our family in the Philippines. Our children played the bagpipes.'¹⁷²

Visitors were not all Scottish in appearance (Caucasian), but were physically, culturally, and linguistically, very diverse. The visitors came from over forty countries, although Canada, the United States and Australia had the largest presence. No matter where their journey began, they came "home" to Scotland in search of an "authentic" and "real" experience.

David Munro of North Carolina told me, "This is where I belong. I live in North Carolina but this is home. Walking the Royal Mile today I felt like this is where I need to be. Can you imagine? I just walked the same road that my ancestors walked for hundreds of years. I don't have that same feeling

¹⁷¹ Ben McConville, "Kilts and Controversy as Scottish Clans Gather," *San Diego Union-Tribune* (July 25, 2009), accessed March 24, 2010 <http://web.signonsandiego.com/news/2009/jul/25/eu-britain-clan-gathering-072509/>.

¹⁷² Peter Ross, "Gathering Place for More than Tartan and Tunnock's Teacakes," *Scotland on Sunday* (July 26, 2009), accessed August 21, 2009, <http://scotlandonsunday.scotsman.com/14684/Gathering-place-for-more-than.5494198.jp>.

in North Carolina even though I have generations of family history there.”¹⁷³

As we talked further, he said he had been in Scotland for ten days and was going to his ancestral clan land the following week and meet up with other Munros for a clan gathering event. He was also very proud to tell me that he had bought his Munro clan tartan kilt on the Royal Mile and was thrilled to be able to wear it today, since he had never worn a kilt in North Carolina. He said he planned to wear it as much as he could while he was in Scotland. For Munro, the clan tartan kilt was a physical way to show his Scottish heritage and that he belonged to a specific place and people. In addition, because he had purchased the kilt in Scotland it had taken on added significance for him.

Journalist Peter Ross, of *Scotland on Sunday*, wrote about Andrew Ross Thibodeau, Clan Ross Association of Canada President, that he describes himself as "one 64th Ross" but nevertheless feels at home in the ancestral pile Balnagowan Castle, Tain, even though Mohammed Al Fayed currently owns it. Andrew Thibodeau said that, “There's a real sense of pride connected with being part of something bigger than yourself. It might be 'wishful linking' but I certainly feel a sense of kinship with the clan chief. His family is from the same part of the world as mine.” Thibodeau, 39, believes that the point of clans these days is as “extended social networks, a way of meeting neat people. A sort of McTwitter.”¹⁷⁴

This feeling of “belonging” or “being part of something bigger than yourself,” was often repeated by the foreign attendees. Beth Smith of New York said, “I spent the morning in the Clan Grant tent and traced my mother’s side of the family back to

¹⁷³ David Munro, interview with the author, July 26, 2009.

¹⁷⁴ Ross, “Gathering Place for More than Tartan and Tunnock's Teacakes.”

the Inverness area and that means so much to me. They were able to help me find more places to look online and how to trace it back even further. They also just invited me to walk with them in the Clan March tonight. I am so excited!”¹⁷⁵ By identifying and acknowledging clan membership, the visitor was welcomed home and given a concrete place to belong to and to be from that was recognized and shared by others in attendance.

“Passports” to the Gathering

The idea of a created nation was taken a step further by the ways the visitors gained admission to The Gathering events. In order to attend the various events and to be allowed access to the fenced in grounds, each individual had to purchase a Gathering “passport.” This passport identified the visitor as a full member of this event and of a special community. Upon showing the Gathering passport the visitor was allowed entry into a gated world that was intent on celebrating all things Scottish. The passport was modeled on the information page found on regular government-issued United States passports and showed the visitor’s picture and name. Visitors were asked to wear it during all of the events, which allowed everyone to easily know each other’s names, and also established the wearer as a member of this newly created community. The passport marked the visitor as a traveler and opened up many doors throughout the weekend; whether an easy entry into conversation and a question of “where are you from?” to a special welcome in the hotels and pubs, the passport gave the feeling of being a member of something unique and special.

¹⁷⁵ Beth Smith, interview with the author, July 25, 2009.

Upon entering The Gathering event gates, the traveler entered a sort of Scottish Disneyland and was immediately surrounded by a mass of people in various brightly colored tartans, kilts, Tam O 'Shanters, saltire flags, and banners. Gone were the conservative brown and blacks of most western-style attire. People here were in full tartan costume. The travelers were met with the smell of haggis and meat pies, and the wail of bagpipes, fiddles, and drums from all directions. To the right were the bagpipe, fiddle, drum, and Highland dancing competition tents, as well as the "Flavour of Scotland" food and beverage area that featured whisky tastings, beer, haggis, meat pies, lamb, and Highland beef, as well as beer and whisky tents. There were also several stages set up that featured traditional as well as contemporary Scottish music.

To the left was the Clan Village that encompassed over one hundred and twenty-five bright white tents with the clan name in large letters at each entrance. Set up in a neat village, with rows upon rows of tents with wide walkways, the Clan Village was a central meeting place for thousands of people as they researched their clan history and heritage. Each clan's tent was unique in its setup, but most were similar to the Clan Villages I had seen in the United States and included a map of historical clan lands, a chart that traced the genealogy of the clan, and various clan artifacts, including pictures, military medals, tartans, and often, swords or dirks that had special significance to the clan. Pictures and/or paintings of the clan lairds, lands, and castles were also on display. This display and selected (celebratory) representations of history and heritage were repeated throughout the clan village, no matter which clan one was visiting. I spoke with people from Brazil, South Korea,

Australia, Jamaica, France, Iceland, Finland, South Africa, among many others.

Edinburgh was a magnet that used the sharing of Scottish culture as a mechanism to pull the Scottish Diaspora home from all corners of the globe.



Figure # 18: A Section of The Clan Village at The Gathering in Edinburgh



Figure #19: Massed Bands Lining Up to Perform at The Gathering

Stepping into Brigadoon

No matter where you went during the weekend, all things “Scottish” were being participated in, bought, consumed, and re-displayed during this highly theatrical play and also “play frame” (see Bateson 1972; Huizinga 1950). Journalist Peter Ross wrote in *Scotland on Sunday* that one visitor said,

I feel like I've wandered into Brigadoon," says Gillian Kyle, 31, from Glasgow. She has a point. The first day of The Gathering, the centrepiece of the Scottish Government's Homecoming year, is hoaching [teeming with] with men and women dressed in tartan from their bunnet to their brogues.

Tens of thousands have come to Holyrood Park, Edinburgh, from as far away as San Francisco and Singapore, and as near at hand as Prestonpans and Penicuik. Foreign visitors vastly outnumber the home

team and are more passionate and knowledgeable about their heritage. Kyle, here selling T-shirts and bags decorated with her own drawings of Tunnock's Tea Cakes and other Scottish kitsch, admits, "Wee old Canadian ladies keep asking me what clan I'm in. They are shocked when I don't know."¹⁷⁶

I spoke with Mary Stone, an Edinburgh local, as she sat on the Salisbury Crags outside of the main gate of Holyrood Park. "I can't believe all of these people have come to Edinburgh for this," she said. "I've been hearing for months that thousands of people would show up for this but I never dreamed they actually would. I've never seen so many people wearing tartans and in colors I would never dream of as well." She seemed a bit shocked when I told her I was from Washington, DC: "Why would you come here for this? This is not the real Edinburgh. I would never pay to enter this thing."¹⁷⁷ However, other people were quick to say that although kilts, tartans, bagpipes, and clans have changed in meaning and importance throughout the years, they are still a vibrant part of Scottish heritage. Another native born Scot, Gus Noble, quoted in the *Edinburgh News*, said,

We, as Scots-born people, may cringe when it comes to the Breeks, Burns and Brigadoon, but it is an important part of Scottish identity in North America. We have to be big enough to accept that identity as being as valid as our own. These are the types of things, which will bring people to Scotland. They want to see the tartans and hear about the clans, but being in Scotland will be a much wider experience than that. Why not use Breeks, Burns and Brigadoon to bring people here – and then get the real message across?¹⁷⁸

Through press coverage and the people that I interviewed during The Gathering, it was clear with that there were multiple views on what was understood as Scottish. In

¹⁷⁶ Ross, "Gathering Place for More than Tartan and Tunnock's Teacakes."

¹⁷⁷ Mary Stone, interview with the author, Sunday, July 26, 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Ian Swanson, "The Gathering: Charge On to Mix Old and New Traditions," *Edinburgh News* (July 24, 2009), accessed July 28, 2009, <http://edinburghnews.scotsman.com/features/The-Gathering-Charge-on-to.5491163.jp>.

a local newspaper called *Fife Today*, an article covered the Scottish Parliament meeting attended by over one hundred clan leaders. The article quoted Robert McWilliam, president of the Caledonian Foundation USA, who said that, “Scots would be amazed by the love and affection that the diaspora has for the country and its institutions. It's always said that there are none so Scottish as the Scots abroad... We carry the flag and show the tartan everywhere.”¹⁷⁹ For the “Scots abroad,” the purchase of Scottish heritage items and taking part in the ceremonies and rituals intensified the experience of being in Scotland. For the locals, The Gathering was something to witness as well, but more as spectacle and entertainment – not a serious need or decision to mark their Scottishness by playing the bagpipes and wearing the tartan. Journalist Peter Ross comments that,

All in all, The Gathering seems to have been an event experienced differently by two different groups. For the foreigners it's a heart-stirring homecoming that has them weeping into their wee drams. The Scots are more likely to cry at the price of the drink. Tony Bell, 45, from Edinburgh is enjoying the sunshine in a kilt and sleeveless Rolling Stones T-shirt. His girlfriend, Sarah MacPhail, 21, is in a red mini-kilt. Why did they come? Bell shrugs, not quite sure. "Well, it was either this or the East Fortune air show.”¹⁸⁰

This dual experience was seen throughout the weekend in Edinburgh. Within the grounds of the Gathering, the people that had traveled to take part were treated to a Scottish “theme-park” of Scottishness that was being performed and displayed everywhere. Inside the grounds they could eat Scottish bridies and meat pies, listen to traditional Scottish music, learn Gaelic,

¹⁷⁹ “Homecoming: Flinging in the Rain, But Riled by the Rubbish,” *Fife Today* (July 24, 2009), accessed on July 29, 2009, http://www.fifetoday.co.uk/lifestyle/entertainment/homecoming_flinging_in_the_rain_but_riled_by_the_rubbish_1_761753.

¹⁸⁰ Ross, “Gathering Place for More than Tartan and Tunnock's Teacakes.”

and trace their family lineages. Many of the travelers were searching for the same sense of nostalgia, membership, belonging and cultural homecoming that the Gathering provided. They were there to see the clans, hear the bagpipes and wear the tartan. The Gathering was a “picture” and the performance was constructed for them by the tourist industry “to achieve tourist realism, an ambience of authenticity, the appearance of the “real” and a perfect display and expectation of Scottishness.¹⁸¹

Each of these events created the illusion that there was one *Highland* Scottish culture that was being created, sold and consumed. For many, this was all accepted as a reflection of Scottish culture without question. They may have known it to be a show, a festival and carnival, but they were not disturbed by its relative fabrication and theatricality. They expected it. They had been taught for many years that this was, in fact, the real Scotland (See Bruner, “The Maasai and Lion King,” p. 71-100, 2005). If they had flown over the ocean and found something else, they would have been disappointed and heartbroken. For some, these performances were seen with, in Bruner’s term, a *questioning gaze*.¹⁸² Each of the events was “produced” for the tourists even if they had authentic elements as part of their production. Yet, each of the events presented one unified picture of Scottish culture: the 1800s version of the Highland clan members in their kilts and tartan. This image was accepted and expected by many of the tourist travelers. But, to those with a questioning gaze, they realize that there is not just one example of Scottish culture that exists...it is constantly evolving. Just as there is not one tourist experience that everyone shares in,

¹⁸¹ Bruner, 77.

¹⁸² Bruner, 95

there is not a single performance of Scottish culture. Everyone has agency and the ability to impact their experience through the choices that they make.

The Gathering allowed me to explore the performances of identity from the point of view of the native born Scots as well, since I had more knowledge about the culture and the country than most travelers who had already proven their membership, and as a researcher (instead of a wannabe Scot), the locals were eager to discuss The Gathering and the phenomenon as a whole. Since the Games in Scotland are local events only certain clans take part depending on the location of the games. In the United States, all clans gather at the games regardless of past affiliations or traditional locations in Scotland. Their adamant association with, and the claiming of their place in the clan in Scotland is seen as a strange phenomenon by native-born Scots. While this freedom to claim membership in the clan was encouraged at *The Gathering*, it was not always that way outside of that setting.

Outside of the gates, Edinburgh was an area where that display and performance was not so blindly accepted. The Royal Mile in the Old Town section of Edinburgh, still features cobblestones and fourteenth century stone buildings and a castle that meets their expectations of the old, ancient Scotland, but it is also a modern city that is the heart of the political and economic center of Scotland. Many of the Edinburgh locals left the city that week and rented out their flats to the eager travelers for the duration of the Gathering. The ones that remained in the city looked at the travelers as a necessary evil and part of the summer influx of tourists that happens each year. They appreciate the economic boost that the tourists bring to the area, but they do not always

embrace the portrayal of Scottishness that they bring with them. Many locals I spoke with said that they never expected that so many thousands of people would arrive all at once and flood the city in tartan. Edinburgh in the summer is always full of foreigners from around the world due to the many festivals and events that are held from June to September. The Gathering was a different experience for the locals. This spectacle took on the carnivalesque as every part of the everyday, even the mundane, took on a heightened emphasis in meaning and portrayal. As Laurie Frederik writes about in, *Trumpets in the Mountains*, (2012), this phenomenon has been called “pseudo-culture” by some Cubans, especially those working in the art and culture-making industry. It is a manufactured culture that is, in part, based upon the wants and needs of the tourists and the tourist industry, supported and promoted by the state, while other connected elements of what is perceived as “true” or “real” culture are recognized ambivalently and based upon social context. Similarly, the travelers to Scotland sought out a past culture and performance of Scotland that no longer existed and was not (or ever was) really existent. The travelers wanted the Highland Scotland of Sir Walter Scott, not a modern city of banking and commerce. They wanted *Braveheart*, and to be part of a society that fought for Scottish freedom, not the current condition where the Scots-born are being asked if they *want* to be free and independent of England.

I stayed in Scotland for three weeks after *The Gathering* had concluded and traveled around the region. Throughout my travels, it was clear that not everyone appreciated the influx of people to all areas of Scotland claiming their supposed home

and heritage. Some people appreciated the boost to the local economy that the tourists brought to the area, while others were not so happy about this invasion into their way of life and felt like they were part of a “zoo exhibit.” A bed and breakfast owner in Kyleakin, Scotland told me that during that summer, he had set all kinds of records for his establishment. He was booked solid through the end of August. He said that almost everyone staying with him was there to trace their family history and that he had had to become an expert on the clans in the area. While his family did have ties to Clan MacLeod, he had never been active in the clan association or events. So many people had started coming to Kyleakin, that he decided to study up on his own family and the clan history, since he was asked many questions about them and *was expected* to be a knowledgeable source for them. He said this influx had been happening off and on since *Braveheart*, but that this summer had been one like he had never witnessed before. I asked him about the makeup of the groups and he said that most of them were American or Canadian, but he had also just had large groups from France and Japan.

Another comment that I heard during my travels was that the tourists did not respect that the clan castles and land were still owned and operated by families. They were concerned about a common perception that many tourists seemed to share that they would be welcomed with open arms simply because they shared a clan surname from the area. I have heard stories of people knocking on doors late at night and asking to meet the owners and take pictures. This reminded me of a comment I had heard in the Clan Village at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, when a clan member who was helping another person trace their lineage said, “go right up to the

door of the castle and knock...you will be welcomed with open arms and invited right in for tea!” While some clans in Scotland are very welcoming this shows how the concept of a shared family history and heritage can go too far. Nevertheless, this desire to connect with and physically visit the land of their heritage is a deeply felt need for many people of Scottish descent.

The Scottish tourism associations are also very active in pitching this concept to possible travelers to Scotland. Tour groups are to be seen everywhere during the summer months throughout Scotland. I have encountered numerous clan groups in my travels and in talking with them the goal is the same: to see their clan lands and to research and take pictures of themselves in that place. As travel gets easier, cheaper and more specialized, these tours will only continue to grow in popularity. Many times these tours are accomplished as part of a clan association group that organizes a special trip to Scotland that serves the history and heritage of a specific clan.

I asked Debra Davidson about her experiences with the clan in Scotland and she commented,

We attended the International Gathering of Clan Davidson. It was held at Tulloch Castle. The Clan Chief was unable to attend (as he is getting up in years and Scotland is still a far distance from New Zealand), but his son Grant did attend on his behalf. It was wonderful to meet members of the Clan from Spain, Scotland, Ireland, yes, even England, Wales, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. To learn about the history from someone else’s point of view was fascinating.

She also talked about the tours and activities that were set up for the clan members,

We had a guided tour of the area, dinners, workshops, special presentations, the Board meeting for Clan Davidson UK, and the highlight: the dedication of a part of the Castle (now hotel) for the Davidson Museum. School children from Dingwall performed songs in Gaelic. The City Counsel women from Dingwall gave a speech, bagpipers played, and Lord Davidson (President of Clan Davidson

UK) cut the ribbon. Lord Davidson is also a member of Scottish Parliament. His mother was there and was filled with all kinds of interesting history about the area and the Clan.¹⁸³

This trip and the activities that were arranged for them were a very special part of the experience of being a part of Clan Davidson. The ability to speak to Scottish Davidson's also heightened the experience and added a sense of authenticity that could only happen in Scotland.

These types of trips and activities are common occurrences throughout Scotland in the summer. Paul Basu has documented this extensively in his book, *Highland Homecomings*, and he writes about this need to connect and to have their own Highland homecoming that many people of Scottish descent feel. He writes that, "Scotland is at once a notional and a material reality, an imagined place as much as a geographical territory, a symbol, that may yet be seen, touched, photographed, driven across, walked upon."¹⁸⁴ *The Gathering* provided a doorway into this opportunity and served as a catalyst for these other activities to also occur. However, it also provided a way to examine the differences in opinion and the understanding of clans, clan belonging and the meaning of a cultural "home" in both countries.

Coming Home to The Gathering

Of the sixty-four people I spoke with at The Gathering, forty-one said that this was their first trip to Scotland. In my surveys, they listed that genealogy, going to their ancestral land, and taking part in The Gathering were the main reasons they came. However, each person had a clear idea of what he or she expected Scotland to

¹⁸³ Email Conversation, April 25, 2013.

¹⁸⁴ Basu, 1.

be like upon arrival. Over and over I heard the sentiment that not only did they feel like they belonged here, but that the “here” that they were now a part of lived up to their expectations.

Herald newspaper journalist Mark Smith, quotes Rosemary Miles, 66, from Perth, Australia: "This is a journey back in to the past for me," she says. "A lot of us come from countries that were built on immigration so maybe we are all looking for an identity." John Cameron, 66, from Brisbane, Australia said: "I belong to the Cameron clan and we all have a need to belong," he says. "It gives you a confidence knowing you have all that history behind you." His wife Lynette echoed that sentiment when she said, "I wanted to come back because it's home; it's in the blood. The genetic tie is terribly strong. The first time we came across the Scottish border I nearly cried. The parade [Clan March up the Royal Mile] is going to be overwhelming."¹⁸⁵ This genetic or blood tie to the land was a deeply felt emotion that was described in various ways throughout the weekend. I saw several t-shirts that read, “American by Birth–Scottish by Blood” and overheard several conversations in the Clan Village where the ability to prove one’s lineage was a matter of deep discussion and pride. The need to *know* and to see where they were from was an essential part of many of the travelers’ journeys. With new DNA testing technologies that are now available it is becoming easier to get that proof that is sought by so many. In the *London Times*, Mike Wade wrote about Jurgen Schirmer, 37, from Speyer,

¹⁸⁵ Mark Smith, “‘I Wanted to Come Because it's Home - It's in the Blood:’ Ex-Pats Returning to Their Roots Feel a Powerful Connection to Scotland,” *The Herald* (Glasgow) (July 25, 2009), accessed July 29, 2009 and May 11, 2011, <http://www.heraldsotland.com/i-wanted-to-come-because-it-s-home-it-s-in-the-blood-1.915362>.

Germany, that he had arrived in Edinburgh, to prove his MacGregor credentials.

Wade wrote,

Sporting a kilt in the clan tartan, he said he was taking the DNA test to prove a connection through his grandmother to the clan of Rob Roy. It will take five weeks for the American company performing the test to mail him the results. It's important to know my roots, to know who I am, and to have the legitimacy to call myself a Scot. I could never say, 'I am not a German', but I know my roots are in Scotland. It is important not just to feel myself Scottish - I want to know that I am Scottish.¹⁸⁶

This search for proof of one's heritage and homeland was repeated in the various clan and Scotland Lives genealogy tents throughout the weekend. This need for the visitors to *know* that they were Scottish and to be able to either prove their heritage or to trace a known lineage back to the origin was similar to what was happening in the clan organizations in the United States, many of them had paid upwards of \$4,000 for their ritual, but also very playful pilgrimage. By traveling to Scotland, they were given a Gathering "passport." They were on Scottish land with real Scottish people and that was the driving force for many that had traveled thousands of miles to be able to take part and be a recognized member of this event.

Traveling To Go Home

Another interesting aspect of The Gathering was the bond that was formed by those who had travelled great distances to take part in the event. Many had adorned their Gathering passport with their starting points and the various stops they had made to get to Edinburgh. One gentleman had even made a t-shirt that said: "One bus, one

¹⁸⁶ Mike Wade, "The Gathering Clans Make it a Giant Party," *The Times* (London) (July 27, 2009), accessed July 29, 2009 and April 21, 2011, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/scotland/article6728308.ece>.

train, three planes, and a taxi...finally arriving in Edinburgh...Priceless!” Many clan organizations from around the globe had travelled together and this group traveling became part of the event itself. I talked to a group of Clan MacDonald members that had all travelled together from Toronto; they were laughing about lost luggage, messed-up hotel rooms, and a lost Canadian passport that had occurred on their journey. While problematic at times, these shared moments had added to the adventure of getting to The Gathering. They were now a hardy group of eight travelers who were thoroughly enjoying themselves in their MacDonald kilts in their clan tent. It was the journey that was, in some cases perhaps, almost as important as the arrival on Scottish territory (Turner 1982, Basu 2012). However, no matter the miles traveled or the complications they encountered, many said that their time traveling only intensified the feeling of arriving and coming home when they finally arrived at The Gathering.

The Gathering provided the opportunity for a scattered “imagined” community with a shared investment in Scottish culture to become a realized community of members. Many participants in The Gathering shared this feeling of it being a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. By coming to Edinburgh and taking part in the various events that marked their homecoming they had also *become a part of the history* of the event and of Scotland itself. One of the most enduring images for me is that of an older man in his full Clan MacGregor kilt outfit raising his hands to the sky and declaring “I’m Home, I’m Home!” to which the surrounding crowd enthusiastically cheered him, with many going up to shake his hand and pat him on the back. I am sure he was not the only one in attendance who felt that joy of being in

the place where one feels one belongs, and to which one can have a visceral connection. Paul Basu writes, “to be rootless or uprooted is to be unanchored in time and space, to have no purchase on the ground.”¹⁸⁷ This feeling of rootlessness was shared by many of the travelers as they came “home” to the place where they belonged through blood. For many in attendance, that feeling of belonging to a scattered global Scottish community was transformed into a new realized community where membership was guaranteed, shared and performed in a very public way.

The Gathering was a special event that was staged by the tourism councils and marketing firms as a catalyst to bring people of Scottish descent back “home” to take part and reacquaint themselves with their culture and heritage –and of course, to bring in much needed proceeds to the country and its resident population. Although the event was more similar to the Highland Games found in the United States than the events that are held in Scotland, the marketing campaign was emotional and nostalgic and it was very successful. It may have been a strange occurrence to the native born Scots, but it showed the economic and also cultural power of the tourists. It also showed the power that the Scottish homeland – as an image, a Brigadoon-type picture and dream, a not quite real ideal--still had on the people of Scottish descent that have been scattered word wide through the last several hundred years.

As a researcher, I documented the experience of *The Gathering* from the perspective of the travelers, since I also fit this category. I had no material or physical proof of Scottishness, but I wanted to be Scottish, like many others. I wanted to share the culture as an insider and not an objective social scientist. The representations were

¹⁸⁷ Basu, xi.

strong and seemed true, they seemed un-ambivalent, unlike my own American cultural identity. Certainly, the ambiguity of most Caucasian Americans (sometimes called “Euro-Americans”) was one factor that this intense cultural representation was so attractive—more so than places like Japan or Mexico. As Paul Basu writes, “The quest for roots is a quest for origins: a journey to the source.”¹⁸⁸ Many of the travelers came to Scotland searching for their roots and their origin and a concrete place that they can belong. The Gathering provided a location for them to explore these roots and the beginning of their journey to their own origins.

¹⁸⁸ Basu, xi

Concluding Comments: On Performing and Being

In this dissertation, I examine the iconic symbols of Scotland. I analyze the complicated history and markers of cultural identity, as well as the sometimes-diverse performances of Scotland and Scottishness. I have documented that although Scottish symbols carry centuries of meaning, they have not endured without reinventions and struggle. Whether they are seen in Scotland or at Highland Games and Gatherings in the United States, and regardless of the traditions' "inventedness," "selectivity" or contested status, their interaction and dialogism work to represent the unique history and heritage of Scottish national cultural identity in local communities and in the overseas marketing campaigns for a growing and essential tourism industry. Through the examination of clan members and organizations, tartans, kilts, ceremonies and rituals at various Highland Games, I have investigated how markers of identity are understood by the Scottish Diaspora, distant "kin," and also aficionados of Scottish culture in the United States, and I look at how representations sometimes conflict with the beliefs of the native born Scots in Scotland. I have examined the factors that draw together thousands of people who search for and proudly proclaim (if successful) their Scottish heritage in a variety of performances and festivities. I have demonstrated how the practice of popular identifiers of Scottish heritage, such as bagpipe playing, caber tossing, kilt wearing, and clan affiliations transform when they change locations and cross borders, and I have investigated how issues of shared heritage, genealogy, and membership are interpreted and enacted in what is now, more than ever, a global Scottish community.

Cultural identity and the concept of “being” and “becoming” Scottish through performance is a key element of this research. Scottishness is accomplished and often accepted by a public spectatorship by taking part in clan activities, the playing of bagpipes, the claiming, and wearing of clan tartan, and tracing family bloodlines back to their origins. In a culture that does not have identifying ethnic markers such as skin, hair or eye color, or other physically identifying bodily traits other than the often neutrally assigned “Caucasian” or “Western.” I investigate what marks them as Scottish and allows them to claim this identity. Tracing family lineages and heritages and carefully documenting and submitting this information in order to be granted full membership in the appropriate clan often serves this purpose. Recently, DNA testing has taken on added importance as a way to *prove* their cultural identity and their documented place in the clan and in Scottish history and heritage. If publically displayed costuming and artifact ownership is not sufficient, one’s inner genetic composition will scientifically satisfy any doubts.

Once bloodline and kinship history is documented and accepted by the appropriate leaders, the right to wear the clan tartan becomes an accepted part of one’s cultural identity. Individuals are then given permission to *perform* in certain capacities, and what’s more, to perform in an official capacity—at the Games and Gatherings, as well as other official events. This claiming and then showing off of their heritage allows for the public *becoming* of what is considered, authentic Scottishness. Several of my informants admitted that when they put on their tartan kilt that they felt like they were putting on a suit of armor—that they felt like Superman when he put on his cape.

Embodiment

The tartan is much more than a costume piece; it is a way to not only claim and show one's heritage, but it is also a way to take part and share in the clan family and community activities and rituals. By wearing their tartan and participating in the clan parades, marches and opening/closing ceremonies, they become active participants in the clan way of life. People attending the public events accept this fiction as truth, even if they realize that the truth is staged, and that they must be staged to be remembered and recognized.

This embodied and public performance of their Scottishness is an important and essential aspect of their being Scottish. However, one important question in my research was the degree to which the performance of Scotland and Scottishness went beyond the wearing of the tartan, and how, if not Scotland born and bred one was able to prove their membership. As expected, distant kin in the United States must work harder—sometimes even a positive DNA test is not necessarily enough. In Scotland, playing the bagpipes is something that is easy to pursue due to the ease in obtaining bagpipes and lessons. Many times the skill is passed on from father to son or brother to brother; it is part of everyday life, and an expectation that all will learn, at least a little. The actual instruments are also passed down and shared within the family. There are also many professional bagpipers that give lessons throughout the region and there are bagpipe makers and shops in many cities and villages (similar to guitar or piano playing in the United States). Elsewhere, this learning process is much more difficult. First, simply finding a set of bagpipes is complicated and a new player will usually have to go online and purchase a set that can range from \$500 to \$7,500.

Once the bagpipes are acquired, finding someone to give lessons is often very difficult, since many areas of the country do not have bagpipe bands or players that are willing to give lessons. Several beginning players resort to Skype and YouTube to be able to take lessons in the United States. Therefore, in the United States or countries outside of Scotland, pursuing this skill set takes planning, dedication, and opportunity. Being able to play the bagpipes is a time-honored tradition that establishes one as an elite member of Scottish culture, but membership (and bagpipe expertise) is not automatic or guaranteed. And often obtaining membership is expensive and time consuming.

Clans and Returning Home

In this research, I have been able to see how the role of the clans in identity (re) formation and national politics is also adapting and evolving in both countries. The clans and the Clan Village are essential parts of the Games' experience in the United States, but that is not the case in Scotland. This is changing as clan organizations grow and plan their meeting and reunion activities around trips to Scotland in order to connect with the homeland clans. The clans of the Highlands in the 1600s and 1700s were divisive and their infighting and battles over land and cattle ownership prevented a cohesive coming together of a Highland culture and nation. Today the clans are seen as an essential part of the future of the tourism economy and experience. The Act of Proscription of 1747 set out to eliminate the clan culture and way of life, but King George IV's visit in 1822 reclaimed and reinvented the clan structure, and today, the clans are a crucial part of revitalizing the Highland tourism

economy. Clan organizations around the world are increasingly returning—coming home to see and experience the birthplace of their ancestors, and seeking to reunite with current clan members in Scotland. Clan leaders in Scotland realize that they can take ownership of how that representation is constructed and utilized. The Scottish heritage and tourism organizations are partnering with many clans in order to create more *clan tourism* opportunities. Many clans are rebuilding castles and buildings on lands that have been derelict for centuries in order for there to be *places*—cultural destinations, historical monuments—for the tourists to travel to and document (photography, writing, social media) the actual clan lands that are a part of their family history. There has also been an increase in the creation of official clan museums with artifacts and tour guides. Debra Davidson felt that it was very important for her to take part in the official Clan Davidson Museum unveiling at Tulluch Castle. The popular saying “my home is my castle” takes on literal meaning in this scenario. Although “home” is not often a particular geographic location, the clan serves this purpose, however dispersed it may be. Finding one’s clan is often akin to finding one’s home. Finding one’s actual castle is one step better. Destination tours to Scotland are maintained by a partnership between the clan organizations and the tourism industry. As Paul Basu has documented in his work, *Highland Homecomings: Geology and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (2007), this “clan-scaping” of the Highlands has greatly increased in the last ten years and has resulted in a large expansion in the number of tours to specific clan locations and heritage sites in the region. Tourism companies in Scotland have something to sell—the tourist can come home to a physical *representation* of their clan homeland, walk

on the actual land of their clan ancestors, and see and take pictures of the clan artifacts. The native clans can see the economic benefits of these tours that allows for them to maintain and improve the castles, museums, and the surrounding natural environment. The native clans are increasingly claiming ownership and agency in how they are represented, sold and consumed. With tourism numbers steadily increasing year after year, this partnership serves the needs of all parties and allows for a reciprocal relationship—one that had not existed before. Tourist pilgrimages to their clan “home” provides a lasting memory that enhances their connection to the clan origins and deepens their own sense of cultural identity, which they can, in turn, share with their children and other clan members who may not be able to travel to Scotland.

In the United States, tourists “go home” to the Highland Games and Gatherings—staged in a U.S. setting that “could” be Scotland, that is full of what seems like Scottish people, symbols and traditions, and in which they can interact with representatives of their “families” and traditions. They “go home” by going to an elaborately researched and planned out show. The show (and/or home) is mobile, and occurring on a relatively predictable annual schedule, but only if the profits are good can the Games and this “home” continue to exist.

The Highland Games allowed for a unique examination of the aspects of Scottish heritage and culture that can be seen, heard, and experienced. Taking part in clan activities, participating in athletic competitions, playing the bagpipes, or just being at the event among thousands of attendees—all allowed for multiple performances of Scotland and Scottishness for both spectator and actor. By

interviewing participants, competitors and spectators, observing and distributing surveys, I was able to investigate the multiple understandings of how Scotland is represented, commercialized, and consumed as part of the ceremonies and rituals, and competitions. My findings show that while the bagpipes, clans and tartans were the most important visual (and perhaps theatrical) aspects of why many people attend the Games; I also discovered the importance of the community that is constructed around and through the different events. Being able to take part and *be part* of that constructed community is an important motivator for many. Participants recognize that these communities are constructed, but they do not consider them fleeting or ephemeral. When the Games pack up its tents and goes home, the community disperses, but knows that it still exists and will be realized again next year at this same location.

Cultural Performance and Ethnographic Method

I was surprised by the amazing generosity that many of my informants showed as my research progressed. Their willingness to share family histories, pictures, stories and myths of their families and clans, their travels to Scotland and how they pass this information down to the younger generations was invaluable to my understanding of community building. I was able to take part in activities that I did not think would be open to me as a non-Scot outsider, and also a woman. I tossed a caber in Aboyne, Scotland (let me rephrase—I *tried* to toss a caber!); I was given a bagpipe lesson during a ceilidh in St. Leonard, Maryland; I took part in Gaelic language lessons, and was taught how to Scottish Country Dance in Edinburgh,

Scotland and The Plains, Virginia. My quest to better explore and understand Scottish culture and how it is performed and claimed as an essential part of the Highland Games was greatly enhanced by these ethnographic experiences.

Richard Bauman writes that, “cultural performances share characteristic features that are scheduled, temporally and spatially bounded, are programmed and are coordinated public occasions.”¹⁸⁹ While the Highland Games meet these criteria, I discovered that they are a complex cultural performance that has multiple levels of intricacy and meaning that cannot be easily defined. By observing, asking questions and taking part in the creation of Scottish culture at the Games, I have gone beyond an historical analysis and have incorporated contemporary data that explores the creation, maintenance and performance of Scottish cultural identity at the Highland Games and Gatherings in Scotland and the United States. My research contributes to the current scholarship on Scotland and Scottish culture and national identity. An ethnographic methodology allowed me to examine, research and explore in a qualitative and in-depth way, how Scottish cultural identity was and continues to be identified, claimed, and performed on the local level, and also how that then relates to national and international movements. I have examined the cultural and symbolic significance of the Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings as “theatre” and performance, and have shown the importance of these elements in the actualization of a feeling of membership.

For members of the Scottish Diaspora, a key aspect of their Scottishness is the “performance” of that membership. The term “performance,” by definition is very

¹⁸⁹ Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.

broad and wide ranging, but generally means a way of expressing or behaving, usually in public for an audience, but also, it is argued, in private for the self (Schechner 1988, Turner 1982, Goffman 1959). Marvin Carlson writes that there are at least two different concepts of performance: “one involving the display of skills, the other involving display, but less of particular skills than of a recognized and culturally coded pattern of behavior.”¹⁹⁰ These two types of performance are both in evidence in multiple places on the grounds of the Highland Games. Whether through the playing of the bagpipes (displaying a skill), or through the act of wearing a tartan and having a specific role in the clan society (a recognized culturally coded pattern of behavior), they exhibit a pattern of cultural performance for all to witness. This does not mean though that an audience must always be present for a “performance” to occur. Marvin Carlson states that, “Performance is always performance *for* someone, some audience that recognizes and validates it as performance even when, as is occasionally the case, that someone is the self.”¹⁹¹ This perspective speaks to the physical act of putting on and wearing the tartan, for it makes the individual very self-consciously aware and draws forth a deep feeling of connectedness to a place in history and society—even if that individual never wears the tartan in public. Victor Turner writes that, “through the performance process itself, what is normally sealed up, inaccessible to everyday observation and reasoning, is drawn forth.”¹⁹² Drawing forth what is normally sealed up, the individual thus expands his/her daily performance of self (Goffman 1959) to include those cultural markers of their Scottishness. Turner continues: “A performance, then, is the proper finale of an

¹⁹⁰ Carlson, 4.

¹⁹¹ Carlson, 5.

¹⁹² Turner, (1982), 13.

experience.”¹⁹³ The performance of their Scottishness, in public and private, enhances and validates their Scottish identity and solidifies the experience as important and essential.

For David Kertzer (1988), taking part in the social rituals and symbols of the culture allows for one to better understand and navigate their political place in that culture. He writes, “Participation in ritual involves physiological stimuli, the arousal of emotions, ritual works through the senses to structure our sense of reality and our understanding of the world around us.”¹⁹⁴ An individual better understands their place in society and it helps to “give meaning to their world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to the future.”¹⁹⁵ This sense of, and more importantly, the *action* of being part of Scottish culture leads to a new sense of the reality of their Scottishness. The performance leads to the reality. Both Kertzer and Turner write, that one believes through doing. This “doing” and “being” at the Scottish Highland Games and Gathering is an essential aspect of claiming Scottishness. Being “American by Birth—Scottish By Blood” is not just a popular t-shirt slogan and advertising campaign.

The Highland Games in the United States and in Scotland—and the movement between the various locations—provides a way for that identity to be constructed, performed, and maintained. As Scotland moves forward as a territory and a society, the influences of this cultural campaign and increasingly powerful national movement will most certainly make more appearances on political stages.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Kertzer, 10.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Epilogue: The Making of a True Scot

My new husband and I walked across the park to the location for our wedding photos as our bagpiper serenaded the wedding party with “Black Bear,” “Sky Boat Song” and other traditional Scottish songs. Our pastor, piper and wedding party, were resplendent in their MacKay tartan kilts and sashes and clan crest emblems with our motto, “With a Strong Hand” emblazoned on silver and pewter broaches. At this moment, I reflected on the years of research, genealogy and planning that had gone into both my dissertation research, and, rather unexpectedly, this moment. We had spent months making sure that our wedding was as traditional and authentic as was possible from our base in Tucson, Arizona. My tartan wedding dress, his tartan kilt, and our hand-fasting cloth were all made from Scottish wool in the MacKay ancient tartan. Every aspect was as “traditionally” Scottish as we could make it, including our vows, the handfasting ceremony, the songs selected for the piper, and the ritual of being formally introduced as a new member of Clan MacKay.

My research into Scottish Highland Games and Gatherings originally began as an exploration of how the Games and the Scottish cultural symbols that are present at the events changed and adapted as they left their homeland and came to the United States. I had completed four years of research and was in the process of writing my dissertation when I met my future husband, who happened to be Scottish, which changed several things about how I approached my dissertation. While I was writing, he first became an informal informant, but one who was soon to play a more direct role in both my research and life—in the end inviting me into the clan, into the family, and giving me a new home.

Through the planning of our traditional Scottish wedding, I realized how much more complex the issue of “traditional” and “authentic” Scottish cultural symbols are seen, understood and performed – both from the perspective of a blood Scot and an outsider (a non-Scot but an avid participant and aficionado of Scottish history and the Scottish Highland Games, who was soon to “become” Scottish by marriage). Suddenly, the issue of claiming and performing Scottish cultural identity through the wearing of a tartan and membership in a clan took on added importance and resonance for me. I became more personally invested, which added a new layer to my pre-existing academic perspective. I learned the true power of ethnographic “participant observation” more than ever before. I examined every facet of clan life and history that I could find in the archives about the MacKays: documenting family bloodlines and history, researching their cultural “home” and the location of their ancestors in Scotland, researching specific information about the clan, kilt and tartan. My new MacKay research was reminiscent of the serious and painstaking work completed by individual clan members who take part in the Highland Games. The experience provided me with first hand knowledge of the issues faced when one claims membership and seeks to perform their Scottish identity.

Our MacKay Wedding

The act of designing my wedding dress and Cliff’s kilt took on multiple layers of complexity. Since I was going to Scotland prior to our wedding for research, I planned to buy the correct tartan wool for our outfits in Edinburgh. To me, (and to many of my Scottish informants), buying the fabric in Edinburgh made it more

authentic and traditional since the weavers in Edinburgh had been making tartan since the early 1800s. There was an historical line tracing from Cliff's ancestors, and my soon to be in-laws. My feelings were similar to those of a man I interviewed, named David Munro, who had purchased his clan kilt on the Royal Mile during The Gathering. He said he felt it was "more authentic" since he had purchased it *in* Scotland, on actual Scottish ground. In the end, I did not buy the wool while I was there, but I did buy my traditional Luckenbooth necklace and the Clan MacKay crest broaches, kilt pins and toasting glasses that were part of the wedding. I also walked to the top of the Salisbury Crags and picked wild heather and thistle to take back to Tucson with me for our wedding bouquets and boutonnières. I also brought back sand from Loch Lomond and soil from Edinburgh to put in our shoes as we exchanged our vows to provide an added connection to Scotland.



Figure # 20: MacKay Wedding

Through a Scottish store in Highland, New York called The Kiltmaker's Apprentice, I was also able to buy, ironically, more affordable tartan wool imported from Scotland for my dress, Cliff's kilt, our hand-fastening cloth, and the sashes for our wedding party. Other elements that we included in our wedding included Scottish wedding vows from the fourteenth century, the hand-fastening ceremony, and traditional bagpipe music. Our first dance was to "Wild Mountain Thyme" played on the bagpipes and fiddle. We also incorporated the MacKay tartan into our wedding invitations, table runners, and wedding cake, and an instructor came to teach everyone Scottish country dancing at the reception. Cliff also surprised everyone by joining the wedding band for a song and playing "Flower of Scotland" on his bagpipes, publicly and ritually demonstrating the skill that represented his national background.

Claiming Clan MacKay Membership

My first opportunity to claim and perform my Clan MacKay membership following our wedding was at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in Linville, North Carolina in July of 2012. On the first day of my attendance, I went as a neutral participant-observer and conducted my usual research through formal and informal interviews and surveys. On the second day, I went as a Clan MacKay member with my tartan sash and clan crest brooch on full display. This was the first time that I had "shown" my membership in a clan at a Highland Games. I was very interested to find out how my interactions would change in the clan village and on the Games grounds.

It didn't take very long to see that the simple act of wearing a tartan sash changed how people responded and interacted with me. On the bus ride up the mountain to MacRea Meadows, an older man sat down with me and asked me if I was a MacKay or a member of the Black Watch. These two tartans are very similar and thus, this question was often asked. I told him that I was a MacKay and he said that he was a Sutherland on his mother's side. The Sutherlands and the MacKay's had had an interesting history of friendship and animosity -- depending on the century. We began talking about the area that both families were from in the northwest of Scotland. Since meeting Cliff, I had become well versed in the Clan MacKay history. We talked about the location of the Clan MacKay castle and the long line of famous bagpipers that had passed down through the last three centuries. This was the first time that I had taken part in the conversation about clan history as a member, as an insider (or what this man assumed to be an insider). In the last several years of my research, I had been listening to other people's conversations and taking notes. The seemingly "simple" act of "wearing the tartan" had changed the power structure of the researcher-informant relationship, and I became the performer instead of just a spectator or tourist. Anthropologists might say that I had "gone native," although this dissertation has hopefully demonstrated that what is a performance of the "native" and "true" (or "real" or whichever word one chooses) is part of the process of identity construction. I had the knowledge, and I now had the family lineage. Even more important as far as visual proof went, I had the tartan that was assigned to me, that I was officially authorized to "claim." This insider perspective continued as I entered the grounds and began to take part in the various events. At the merchandise tent, a

salesman offered me several different items that featured the MacKay crest on them from glasses to hats to t-shirts to drink coasters to more expensive items such as silver flasks and wall hangings.

Clan MacKay Society of the United States

In the Clan Village and at the Clan MacKay tent, I walked confidently in and perused the items they had featured in their area. Although I was extremely conscious of this act of entering “my” tent and of my tartan symbol, the display was familiar, since this was not the first time I had been in a Clan tent. They had the usual materials including the Clan Crest banner, the map of clan locations in Scotland, photos of the clan lands in Scotland and books specifically on Clan MacKay history. In addition, they had Clan MacKay Society of the United States flyers and membership signup sheets. The lady that was behind the table helped me pay for a membership for Cliff and I. She gave me a copy of the *MacKay Banner*, which is the society newsletter, and explained all of my new membership benefits.



Figure # 21: Clan MacKay Tent at Grandfather Mountain Games

I explained that I was a MacKay by marriage but that my husband had traced his family line back to the 1800s in Carishader, Scotland, located in the Outer Hebrides. One of his most prized possessions is a photo of his grandfather sitting on an outcropping of rock looking at the ocean. She encouraged me to add our family to the databases so that we could see where all of our relatives had been located in Scotland and throughout the world. As I was walking away, the representative invited me to take part in the clan march later in the day. After five years of research, I was now allowed to “step behind the curtain” and take part in the clan activities. To march, to act, to perform, to be Scottish.



Figure # 22: Clan MacKay Crest and Motto “With a Strong Hand”

Cliff MacKay feels that his place of birth is irrelevant. He once commented that his place of birth was a geographical accident. He is Scottish by blood and that is where he always felt he was from -- where he had the strongest ties. When I asked him why he started playing the bagpipes he replied that he was Scottish, he had grown up with pipe music in the house and that the MacKay's had always been pipers, so he became a piper. These conversations have made me question once again the issue of claiming and performing Scottishness. The act of wearing the tartan is distinct for each individual person. When Cliff puts on his kilt, he is not conscious of a choice, since he has been wearing his tartan kilt his entire life. For me, however, the act of putting on my clan tartan sash is a definitive act of claiming my new heritage. I am very conscious of this performance. It is a ritual performance, not an everyday ritual. I am conscious of my audience. In this act, I become Scottish.

###

Appendix A

Scottish Highland Games and Festivals Survey

Name _____ Age (Optional) _____ Email _____

HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES EVENT BEFORE?

_____ YES _____ NO

IF YES, HOW MANY HAVE YOU ATTENDED IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS AND AT WHAT LOCATIONS?

HAVE YOU BEEN TO THIS SPECIFIC HIGHLAND GAMES BEFORE?

_____ YES _____ NO IF YES, HOW MANY TIMES? _____

WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE PART OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES? (PLEASE LIST IN ORDER OF 1-5 WITH 1 BEING YOUR FIRST CHOICE):

_____ CLAN VILLAGE
_____ MERCHANDISE AREA
_____ HEAVY ATHLETIC COMPETITION
_____ MUSIC/DANCING COMPETITIONS
_____ OTHER (PLEASE

LIST _____

WHAT IS YOUR LEAST FAVORITE PART OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES?

WHAT TO YOU IS THE MOST SCOTTISH EVENT AT THE HIGHAND GAMES?

HAVE YOU EVER COMPETED IN ANY EVENT AT THE GAMES?

_____ YES IF YES, WHAT EVENT(S) _____
_____ NO

ARE YOU OF SCOTTISH DESCENT?

_____ YES _____ NO

IF YES, DO YOU BELONG TO ANY SCOTTISH CLAN ORGANIZATIONS? (Please list)

IF YES, HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR SCOTTISH HERITAGE?

_____ VERY IMPORTANT _____ IMPORTANT _____ NOT IMPORTANT
_____ NO FEELING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER

HOW DID YOU LEARN OF YOUR SCOTTISH HERITAGE?

___ PARENTS ___ GRANDPARENTS ___ OTHER _____

DO YOU WEAR YOUR CLAN'S TARTAN?

_____ YES _____ NO

HAVE YOU TRACED YOUR FAMILY ANCESTRY?

_____ YES _____ NO

IF YES, HOW IMPORTANT WAS THIS TO YOU?

_____ VERY IMPORTANT _____ IMPORTANT _____ NOT IMPORTANT
_____ NO FEELING

HAVE YOU OR YOUR FAMILY GONE TO SCOTLAND?

___ YES ___ NO

IF YES, WHAT WAS THE REASON FOR YOUR TRIP?

WHAT SYMBOL MOST REPRESENTS SCOTLAND TO YOU?

WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES & A CELTIC FESTIVAL?

FINAL COMMENTS OR THOUGHTS:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

Appendix B

Scottish Highland Games: Bagpipe Survey

Name _____ Age (Optional) _____ Email _____

At what age did you begin to play the bagpipes? _____

How many years have you played the bagpipes? _____

Did/Does anyone in your family play the bagpipes? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, who played?

When did you first hear the bagpipes being played?

What made you want to learn how to play the bagpipes?

What is your favorite bagpipe song to play?

Do you belong to any Pipe & Drum Organizations? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, which ones:

Have you played the bagpipes at any Scottish Highland Games? ____ Yes ____ No

If yes, which ones and how many times:

Have you competed in the Solo Piping Competitions at any Scottish Highland Games event? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, which ones:

Are you of Scottish Descent? _____ Yes _____ No

-continued-

If yes, how important is your Scottish Heritage?

____VERY IMPORTANT ____IMPORTANT ____NOT IMPORTANT
____NO FEELING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER

How did you learn of your Scottish heritage?

____PARENTS ____GRANDPARENTS ____OTHER _____

Do you ever wear your Clan's Tartan?

____YES ____NO

Do you belong to any clan or Scottish organizations? ____Yes ____NO

If yes, which ones?

Have you traced your family ancestry?

____YES ____NO

If yes, how important was this to you?

____VERY IMPORTANT ____IMPORTANT ____NOT
IMPORTANT____NO FEELING

Have you or your family ever gone to Scotland?

____YES ____NO

If yes, what was the reason for your trip?

Did you play your bagpipes while you were there? ____Yes ____No

If yes, where did you play them? _____

What do you like the best about playing your bagpipes?

What cultural symbol most represents Scotland to you?

Final thoughts or comments:

APPENDIX C

List of Highland Games & Gatherings in Scotland and the United States¹⁹⁶

SCOTLAND

<u>Gordon Castle Highland Games</u>	Sunday 18th May, 2014
<u>Carmunnock Highland Games</u>	Sunday 25th May, 2014
<u>Blackford Highland Games</u>	Saturday 31st May, 2014
<u>Markinch Highland Games</u>	Sunday 1st June, 2014
<u>Cornhill Highland Games</u>	Saturday 7th June, 2014
<u>Helensburgh & Lomond Highland Games</u>	Saturday 7th June, 2014
<u>Strathmore Highland Games</u>	Sunday 8th June, 2014
<u>Cupar Highland Games</u>	Saturday 14th June, 2014
<u>Bearsden & Milngavie Highland Games</u>	Saturday 14th June, 2014
<u>Aberdeen's Highland Games</u>	Sunday 15th June, 2014
<u>Oldmeldrum Sports & Highland Games</u>	Saturday 21st June, 2014
<u>Newburgh Highland Games</u>	Saturday 21st June, 2014
<u>Lorne Highland Games</u>	Sunday 22nd June, 2014
<u>Drumtochty Highland Games</u>	Saturday 28th June, 2014
<u>Ceres Highland Games</u>	Saturday 28th June, 2014
<u>Kenmore Highland Games</u>	Wednesday 2nd July, 2014
<u>Thornton Highland Gathering</u>	Saturday 5th July, 2014
<u>Luss Highland Games</u>	Saturday 5th July, 2014
<u>Braemar Junior Highland Games</u>	Saturday 12th July, 2014
<u>Alva Games</u>	Saturday 12th July, 2014
<u>Tomintoul Highland Games</u>	Saturday 19th July, 2014
<u>Lochcarron Highland Games</u>	Saturday 19th July, 2014
<u>Loch Lomond Highland Games</u>	Saturday 19th July, 2014
<u>Rosneath Peninsula Highland Games</u>	Sunday 20th July, 2014
<u>Stonehaven Highland Games</u>	Sunday 20th July, 2014
<u>Burntisland Highland Games</u>	Monday 21st July, 2014
<u>Inveraray Highland Games</u>	Tuesday 22nd July, 2014
<u>Mull Highland Games</u>	Thursday 24th July, 2014
<u>Durness Highland Gathering</u>	Friday 25th July, 2014

¹⁹⁶ Compiled from sources including the Scottish Highland Games Association, The Association of Highland Games and Festivals and various Clan Society websites.

<u>Halkirk Highland Games</u>	Saturday 26th July, 2014
<u>Balquhidder, Lochearnhead & Strathyre Highland Games</u>	
	Saturday 26th July, 2014
<u>Airth Highland Games</u>	Saturday 26th July, 2014
<u>Dufftown Highland Games</u>	Saturday 26th July, 2014
<u>St. Andrews Highland Games</u>	Sunday 27th July, 2014
<u>Dornoch Highland Gathering</u>	Friday 1st August, 2014
<u>Aberlour Strathspey Highland Games</u>	Saturday 2nd August, 2014
<u>Aboyne Highland Games</u>	Saturday 2nd August, 2014
<u>Inverkeithing Highland Games</u>	Saturday 2nd August, 2014
<u>Newtonmore Highland Games</u>	Saturday 2nd August, 2014
<u>Bridge Of Allan Highland Games</u>	Sunday 3rd August, 2014
<u>Killin Highland Games</u>	Wednesday 6th August, 2014
<u>Isle Of Skye Highland Games</u>	Wednesday 6th August, 2014
<u>Assynt Highland Games</u>	Friday 8th August, 2014
<u>North Berwick Highland Games</u>	Saturday 9th August, 2014
<u>Strathpeffer Highland Gathering</u>	Saturday 9th August, 2014
<u>Atholl & Breadalbane Highland Gathering</u>	Saturday 9th August, 2014
<u>Perth Highland Games</u>	Sunday 10th August, 2014
<u>Tain Highland Gathering</u>	Thursday 14th August, 2014
<u>Ballater Highland Games</u>	Thursday 14th August, 2014
<u>Helmsdale Highland Games</u>	Saturday 16th August, 2014
<u>Stirling Highland Games</u>	Saturday 16th August, 2014
<u>Crieff Highland Gathering</u>	Sunday 17th August, 2014
<u>Strathardle Highland Gathering</u>	Saturday 23rd August, 2014
<u>Invergordon Highland Games</u>	Saturday 23rd August, 2014
<u>Lonach Highland Gathering & Games</u>	Saturday 23rd August, 2014
<u>Grantown On Spey Highland Games</u>	Sunday 24th August, 2014
<u>Argyllshire Gathering (Oban)</u>	Thursday 28th August, 2014
<u>Birnam Highland Games</u>	Saturday 30th August, 2014
<u>Braemar Highland Gathering</u>	Saturday 6th September, 2014
<u>Blairgowrie & Rattray Highland Games</u>	Sunday 7th September, 2014
<u>Pitlochry Highland Games</u>	Saturday 13th September, 2014
<u>Invercharron Highland Games</u>	Saturday 20th September, 2014
<u>New Year Sprint</u>	Wednesday 31st December, 2014

United States

Scottsboro, Alabama - Scottish Festival & Highland Games - October
Eagle River, Alaska - Alaskan Scottish Highland Games - June
Tucson, Arizona - Tucson Celtic Festival and Highland Games - November
Santa Cruz, California - Scottish Renaissance Festival - June
Fresno, California - Fresno Highland Games - September
Pleasanton, California - Caledonian Club of San Francisco Highland Gathering - September
Salinas, California - Monterey Highland Games and Celtic Festival – August
Vista, California San Diego - Scottish Highland Games and Gathering - June
Elizabeth, Colorado - Elizabeth Celtic Festival - July
Estes Park, Colorado - Long's Peak Scottish/Irish Highland Festival - September
Highlands Ranch, Colorado - Colorado Scottish Festival - August
Norwalk, Connecticut - Round Hill Highland Games - July
Scotland, Connecticut - Scotland Highland Festival - October
Dunedin, Florida - Dunedin Celtic Festival - November
Ocala, Florida - Ocala Scottish Highland Games and Celtic Festival – October
Blairsville, Georgia - Blairsville Scottish Festival and Highland Games - June
Chickamauga, Georgia - Appalachian Celtic Festival - September
Stone Mountain, Georgia - Stone Mountain Highland Games - October
Itasca, Illinois - Scottish Festival and Highland Games - June
Columbus, Indiana - Scottish Festival - September
South Bend, Indiana - Michiana Celtic Society Highland Games - September
Davenport, Iowa - Celtic Festival and Highland Games of the Quad-Cities -
McPherson, Kansas - McPherson Scottish Festival and Highland Games –
September Glasgow, Kentucky - Glasgow Highland Games - June
Murray, Kentucky - Western Kentucky Highlands Festival – October
Belfast, Maine - Maine Celtic Celebration - July
Havre De Grace, Maryland - Stepping Stone Museum Celtic Festival - June
Snow Hill, Maryland - Chesapeake Celtic Festival - October
Florence, Massachusetts - Glasgow Lands Scottish Festival – July
Kalamazoo, Michigan - Kalamazoo Highland Games - August
Livonia, Michigan - St. Andrews Society of Detroit Highland Games – August
Saline, Michigan - Saline Highland Games - July
Buffalo, Missouri - Southwest Missouri Celtic Heritage Festival – September
Riverside, Missouri - Kansas City Highland Games - June
Hamilton, Montana - Bitterroot Scottish Irish Festival - August
Reno, Nevada - Reno Celtic Celebration - October
Lincoln, New Hampshire - New Hampshire Highland Games – September
Hendersonville, North Carolina - Foothills Highland Games and Festival – June
Laurinburg, North Carolina - Scotland County Highland Games – October
Linville, North Carolina - Grandfather Mountain Highland Games – July
Athena, Oregon - Athena Caledonian Games - July
Gresham, Oregon - Portland Highland Games - July
Madras, Oregon - High Desert Celtic Festival and Games – August

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania - **Bethlehem Celtic Classic** – September
 Edinboro, Pennsylvania - **Edinboro Highland Games** - September
 Manheim, Pennsylvania - **Celtic Fling and Highland Games** – June
 Richmond, Rhode Island - **Rhode Island Scottish Highland Festival** – June
 Clover, South Carolina - **Clover Scottish Games** - June
 Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina - **Charleston Scottish Games and Highland Gathering** - September
 Lehi, Utah - **Utah Highland Games** - June
 Payson, Utah - **Payson Scottish Festival** - July
 Delaplane, Virginia - **Virginia Scottish Games and Festival** – September
 Lanexa, Virginia - **Williamsburg Scottish Festival** – October
 Mechanicsville, Virginia - **Meadow Highland Games and Celtic Festival** – October
 Radford, Virginia - **Radford Highlander Festival** - October
 Greenbank, Washington - **Whidbey Island Highland Games** - August
 Kelso, Washington - **Kelso Highlander Festival and Games**- September
 Mount Vernon, Washington - **Skagit Valley Highland Games and Celtic Festival** -
 July
 Prosser, Washington - **Prosser Scottish Festival** - June
 Spokane, Washington - **Spokane Highland Games** - August
 Waukesha, Wisconsin - **Wisconsin Highland Games** – August/September
 Jackson, Wyoming - **Jackson Hole Scottish Festival** - August

###

Appendix D

Aboyne Highland Games Program of Events¹⁹⁷

Special Events

11:15-11:45	Pipe Bands Will March Through The Village
12:00PM	Raising Of Chieftain's Banner Entry Of Chieftain March Of Pipe Bands
2:30PM	Massed Bands Play For The Entry Of The Lord Lieutenant
3:45PM	Massed Pipe Bands March Around The Arena
5:00-5:30PM	Beating Retreat (Closing Ceremony)

Piping

10:30AM	Piobaireachd Junior Open Competition (under 18) March Open Competition Strathspey and Reel Open Piobaireachd Open
11:00AM	March Under 14 years Open Competition
11:30AM	Marches Local Competition Strathspey and Reel Local Competition
1:15PM	March, Strathspey and Reel Pipers (under 18 years) Open competition March, Strathspey and Reel Pipers (under 18 years)
4:00PM	Hornpipe and Jig Open Competition Mace Over the Bar Competition

Heavy Events

10:30AM	Glenfiddich Qualifying Event* (Age 18-25) Light Stone 16lbs.
10:50AM	Glenfiddich Qualifying Event (Age 18-25) Weight by ring 28lbs
11:10AM	Glenfiddich Qualifying Event Age (18-25) Light Hammer 16lbs
11:40AM	Glenfiddich Qualifying Event Age (18-25) Caber
12:00PM	Glenfiddich Qualifying Event Age (18-25) Weight over Bar 40lbs

* Glenfiddich Qualifying Event for the Glenfiddich Open Heavy Championship League and The Glenfiddich Qualifying Championship League Competition Standings

10:30AM	Putting Light Stone Local Event
10:50AM	28lbs Weight by Ring Local Event
11:10AM	Throwing Light Hammer Local Event
11:40AM	Throwing Caber Local Event
12:45PM	Putting Heavy Stone – Open Competition

¹⁹⁷ "Full Program of Events," Aboyne Highland Games,
<http://www.aboynegames.com/information/events/>. Accessed on February 6, 2014.

1:10PM	Putting Light Stone – 16lbs Open
1:45PM	Throwing Heavy Hammer – 22lbs Open
2:20PM	Throwing Weight by Ring Open
2:50PM	Throwing Light Hammer Open
3:15PM	Tug O' War – Open Competition Weight Limit 114.5 stones
3:30PM	Throwing 28lbs Weight by Ring – Open
4:00PM	56lb Weight over Bar – Open Competition
4:30PM	Tossing the Caber – Open Competition

Light Events

11:00AM	Aboyne Local Youth Championship 220 Yards Race Boys (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
11:00AM	Aboyne Local Youth Championship 220 Yards Race Girls (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
11:00AM	220 Yards Race – Local Competition
11:30AM	Aboyne Local Youth Championship Half-Mile Race Boys (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
11:30AM	Aboyne Local Youth Championship Half-Mile Race Girls (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
11:30AM	Half Mile Race – Local Competition 3 Laps
12:30PM	100 Yards Race – Open Heats Aboyne Local Youth Championships 100 yards Race Boys (ages 13, 14, 15 years) Aboyne Local Youth Championships 100 yards Race Girls (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
12:45PM	100 Yards Race – Open Competition – FINAL Children's Races – Open Boys and Girls (ages 4, 5, 6 years) Children's Races – Open Boys and Girls (ages 7, 8, 9 years) Children's Races – Open Boys and Girls (ages 10, 11, 12 years) Children's Races – Open Boys and Girls (ages 13, 14, 15 years)
1:00PM	Long Leap – Local Competition Long Leap – Open Competition
1:30PM	One Mile Race – Open 6 laps
2:00PM	Hop, Step and Leap Open Competition
2:15PM	220 Yards Open – Open Competition
2:30PM	Running High Leap Open, Men and Women (best female £20, if more than two competing)
3:00PM	Half Mile Race Open 3 Laps
3:30PM	Hill Race – Open Competition Hill Race – Open Women Inter Academy Relay Race
3:45PM	440 Yards Race – Open Competition
4:30PM	Sack Race – Open Competition

Dancing

11:30AM	Highland Fling Local Boys and Girls (9 years and under) Highland Fling Local Boys and Girls (10,11,12 years) Highland Fling Local Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years)
11:30AM	Sword Dance Local Boys and Girls (9 years and under) Sword Dance Local Boys and Girls (10, 11,12 years) Sword Dance Local Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years)
12:00PM	Seann Triubhas – Local Boys and Girls (9 years and under) Seann Triubhas – Local Boys and Girls (10, 11, 12 years) Seann Triubhas – Local Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years)
12:45PM	Highland Fling Local (16 years and over) Seann Triubhas – Local (16 years and over) Sword Dance Local (16 years and over) Flora MacDonald's Fancy – Local (16 years and over)
1:15PM	Half Reel of Tulloch – Local Boys and Girls (10, 11,12 years) Flora MacDonald's Fancy – Local Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Sailors Hornpipe – Local Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Irish Jig – Local Boys and girls (13, 14, 15 years)
2:00PM	Highland Reels Men and Women (16 and over) Highland Fling Men and Women (16 and over) Sword Dance Men and Women (16 and over) Flora MacDonald's Fancy Men and Women (16 years and over)

Dancing Finals

2:15PM	Highland Fling Boys and Girls (9 and under) Highland Fling Boys and Girls (10, 11, 12 years)
2:30PM	Highland Fling Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Sword Dance Boys and Girls (9 years and under) Sword Dance Boys and Girls (10, 11, 12 years) Sword Dance Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years)
3:00PM	Seann Triubhas Boys and Girls (9 years and under) Seann Triubhas Boys and girls (10, 11, 12 years) Seann Triubhas Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Irish Jig Local (16 years and over) Hornpipe Local (16 years and over)
3:15PM	Half Reel of Tulloch – Boys and Girls (10, 11,12 years) Half Reel of Tulloch Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Flora Macdonald's Fancy Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years)
3:30PM	Seann Triubhas – Men and Women (16 years and over) Sailors Hornpipe – Boys and Girls 13, 14, 15 years Irish Jig – Boys and Girls (13, 14, 15 years) Sailors Hornpipe – Men and Women (16 years and over) Irish Jig – Men and Women (16 years and over)

Fiddle

11:00AM	Two Scottish Tunes, own choice, Local Competition (12 years and under)
12:00PM	Any Three Scottish Tunes - Open Competition (15 years and under)
	March Strathspey and Reel - Local Competition (any age)
2:00PM	Slow Air, March, Strathspey and Reel -Open Competition (16 years and over)

#

Appendix E

Competitive Events at the Highland Games

At any Highland Games, depending on the scale of the event, there will be between sixty and one hundred individual events that are scheduled and encompass everything from individual event qualifying to final competitions. Each competition will have its own standards, rules and regulations that must be adhered to in order for a successful attempt to be made and judged. It takes careful organization, communication and numerous officials, judges and volunteers to ensure that all of the above events and competitions are held on time and according to the established standards, rules and regulations of the Scottish Highland Games Association and the Grampian Games Association. Various league championships are held at Aboyne so additional organizations are represented and have their own standards that must be followed. Leagues that are represented at Aboyne include: Glenfiddich Open Heavy Championship League, The Glenfiddich Qualifying Championship League, Williamson & Dunn Light Events Championship League, Trinity International Tug O' War Championship League, Walkers Shortbread Dancing League, John Milne Fine Art Auctioneers Piping League. All of these organizations and events require multiple layers of organization and structure on the national, regional and local levels to ensure that all standards, rules and regulations are followed and that all expectations are met at each Highland Games event.

Many of these competitions have evolved since the first Games were held in the early nineteenth century and they have become standardized since the formation of national governing bodies in the mid twentieth century due to the continuing

popularity and growth of the Games, the increasing role of international competitors and the level of monetary prizes that were being awarded. In Scotland, the national organization is the Scottish Highland Games Association (SHGA).¹⁹⁸ Their website states that:

The Scottish Highland Games Association is the sports governing body for Scottish Highland Games. The organization was established in 1947 as the Scottish Games Association, with the general aim to further the cause of Highland Games, a goal we still work to today. We are recognized by the UK & Scottish Governments as the official sports governing body and we work at a strategic level on behalf of Highland Games.¹⁹⁹

The SHGA website states that they have over sixty member organizations in Scotland as well as associate members from around the world and they govern the Games season that runs from May to September each year. They serve as a clearinghouse for information about the various games from event listings and information, to recent winners, records and current standings in the various competitions, to interactive maps of Scotland to encourage people to attend the various events throughout the country. They write on their website that:

All our games are traditional highland games with a full range of activities in and around the arena. These events range from the heavy events (tossing the caber, throwing the hammer, the shot) through to the light events (running, cycling, tug o war, highland dancing, solo piping). All these events ensure a wonderful sound and atmosphere with each of the Games offering a slightly different mix of events keeping the Games uniqueness.

These events range from small community events to larger events for example in Braemar with over 10,000 spectators. Some Games are relative newcomers while many of the events have traditionally been held for well over 100 years. Many of the Games are held to a

¹⁹⁸ "About Us," Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed in June 21, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/aboutus.php>.

¹⁹⁹ "Home," Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on May 17, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk>.

backdrop of some marvelous scenery and the variety of activities going on in and around the arena makes for a great family day out.²⁰⁰

Governed by “elected representatives of Highland Games from each region of Scotland” the SHGA builds on the history, traditions, and the uniqueness of the Highland Games and serves as a central place for information for competitors, organizers and tourists alike to ensure that all member Games are accredited so that everyone maintains the same level of professionalism, sportsmanship and that they are following the same rules of competition.²⁰¹ With the increase in international competitors taking part in Scottish Highland Games events it is increasingly important that all events are held to the same standards, rules and regulations. Finally, with a global audience that travels to Scotland and usually makes a Highland Games a part of their Scottish experience, it is vital that the various Games understand and provide a place for the iconic images and activities of Scotland to be witnessed.

The SHGA also provides a place to see the impact that the Games have on Scotland by tracking statistics for each local, regional and on the national level. Their website gives us the following statistics:

- Over 500 athletes compete at our events throughout the year
- We stage well over 1,000 competitions at events across the season
- Our members provide quality entertainment and suspense for over 150,000 spectators
- Our members' events pay out prize funds in excess of £1¼ million annually
- We service tens of thousands of visits to our website
- We handle enquiries from around the world about Highland Games and members' events

²⁰⁰ “Visitor Events,” Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on October 18, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/visitor-events.php>.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

- Highland Games contribute over £20million annually to local economies (*Scottish Executive*, Feb'07)²⁰²

With an average Highland Games offering between sixty and one hundred different events at various scales and grades it is imperative that there is a national organization that can ensure the quality and standards of each event. In addition, the SHGA is focusing on developing and ensuring the future of the Highland Games by:

- We run ten sets of leagues throughout the season to encourage excellence in athletes and participation at members' events
- We're pioneering new national youth relay events; encouraging young people into sport whilst bringing new competitors and audiences into Highland Games
- Partnering with the Schools Highland Games training that is happening in some regions
- We target specific athletic clubs and associated sporting bodies to increase awareness of the opportunities Games provide and boost participation.²⁰³

Through all of these activities the Scottish Highland Games Association ensures that the traditional elements of the Highland Games are preserved and that all Games follow the same standards, rules and regulations.

The SHGA has also begun to address a complication that has arisen due to the lucrative prize money that is now awarded in the Heavy Event competitions that are held throughout Scotland. Over the last several years, the event champions have increasingly been from outside of Scotland. The United States, Canada, Australia and European Union athletes have begun to have great success at the competitions in Scotland. With some Games handing out over £400 to the winners of each event and with over £250,000 given out annually in prize money by SHGA members, the

²⁰² "About Us," Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on October 18, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/about-us.php>.

²⁰³ Ibid.

heavy events have become an attractive option for athletes worldwide.²⁰⁴ This shows the growing popularity of the events and it has caused concern as one of the traditionally Scottish events is in danger of losing its native athletes. An article in *The Scotsman* in February of 2008 first wrote about this concern and stated that,

New estimates reveal that up to 50% of the athletes who take part in the 'heavies' events at the traditional games come from overseas, attracted by the increasingly lucrative rewards on offer as well as the chance to display their strength to appreciative audiences.

But games officials, worried by the dilution of the iconic Scottish activity, are now behind a move to persuade a new generation of young Scots to take up the sports to prevent them from dying out in their own country.²⁰⁵

The SHGA in partnership with local high schools and athletic clubs has instituted several initiatives that will hopefully allow for more Scottish champions to be crowned. They have partnered with local high schools and created several youth (ages 12-17) events to increase awareness of the sport and to recruit promising heavy event athletes. They have partnered them with mentor coaches and given them equipment and support to train at their schools year round. In addition they are creating more youth classes and grades of competition at establish Highland Games so that they can begin competing at a younger age and hopefully continue with the sport as they grow older.

Finally, they have also instituted new rules for the twelve Grampian Highland Games that are part of the Glenfiddich heavyweight Championship. The new rules state that,

²⁰⁴ "About Us," Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on October 18, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/aboutus.php>.

²⁰⁵ "Caber of Love in Battle to Save Highland Games, *The Scotsman*, February 16, 2008. Available at <http://www.scotsman.com/news/caber-of-love-in-battle-to-save-highland-games-1-1429917>. Accessed on April 21, 2013.

The Heavyweight Events at the 12 Grampian Highland Games will be Open to all athletes who have been accepted as members of the SHGA.

Cumulative points for the Glenfiddich Heavyweight Championship will, however, only be allocated to athletes who have either been born in Scotland or can prove principal, permanent residency in Scotland for a period not less than 3 years.²⁰⁶

These SHGA initiatives show how outside events are impacting the Highland Games and how national organizations are responsible for not only maintaining the quality of the events but must also look to the future to maintain their viability and integrity as well as protect the cultural history and heritage of the events in Scotland. Through the SHGA the legacy and future of the Highland Games in Scotland is maintained and competitors, participants and spectators are ensured that the Highland Games that they are attending will meet expectations.

The Highland Games in the United States has a similar organization ensuring the same measures. The Association of Highland Games and Festivals (ASGF) was established in 1981 and “provides its member organizations with a clearinghouse of ideas, resources, and information to assist them in the production of Highland Games throughout the United States.”²⁰⁷ Through these organizations the competitions became more standardized and allowed for competitors and audiences alike to know what events would be featured which allowed for a familiarity to be shared and understood at each of the competitions. In order to be a member in good standing with the ASGF they “must have as their general purpose the furthering of the culture, heritage, and traditions of Scotland. To this end, they must present a Scottish games

²⁰⁶ “Latest News,” Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on February 1, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/news.php?a=272>.

²⁰⁷ “Home,” Association of Highland Games and Festivals, accessed on June 21, 2013, <http://www.asgf.org/index.html>.

or festival that includes some aspects of Scottish culture, heritage, of traditions through offering competitions or demonstrations.”²⁰⁸ Similar to the SHGA, the ASGF provides a schedule of Highland Games by region, the results of all member competition events and any rules changes that occur from year to year. They also publish the Competition Events Rule Book that is available online to all member Highland Games.

The national associations are assisted in their endeavors by regional organizations that focus specifically on the members in the areas. For example, the Aboyne Highland Games are members of the SHGA and the Grampian Games Association that organizes the annual Champions League Series that determines the Glenfiddich Championship that is sponsored by the Glenfiddich Distillery The Grampian Games Association oversees twelve Highland Games that are held in the Grampian area in the northeast of Scotland. The other Grampian Champions League Highland Games events in 2013 were: the Tomintoul Highland Games; Dufftown Highland Games, Cornhill Highland Games; Oldmeldrum Sports and Highland Games; Aberdeen’s Highland Games; Drumtochty Highland Games; Stonehaven Highland Games; Aboyne Highland Games; Ballater Highland Games; Grantown-on-Spey Highland Games; Lonach Highland Gathering and Games; and the Braemar Gathering. The Grampian League Champion is determined by the final point total that each competitor has earned while competing at all twelve of above listed Highland Games. The Scottish Highland Games Association and the Grampian Games Association work together to ensure that all results are official and that all

²⁰⁸ “Mission Statement,” Association of Highland Games and Festivals, accessed on June 21, 2013, http://www.asgf.org/Mission_Statement.html.

rules and regulations were followed at each Highland Games event. This set up is similar to what also occurs in the United States.

Finally, in conjunction with the national and regional organizations there are official local Highland Games association that are responsible for producing and handling the day-to day needs of each individual Highland Games. The local organization will coordinate all of the activities and events in accordance with the rules, regulations and standards of the national and regional organizations. For example, the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, Inc. organization is responsible for producing and organizing the multiple events and activities that are part of their annual Games. Ensuring that the Games are a success every year, the GMHG, Inc is comprised of a nine member Board of Directors, four Advisors, six officers, a staff of thirty-two and hundreds of volunteers. Through careful organization, communication and scheduling the GMHG, Inc., raises the needed funds, develops a marketing plan, assigns duties and responsibilities, recruits volunteers and coordinates with the regional and national associations to ensure that that the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games meets all requirements, expectations and commitments of an official Highland Games event.

The popularity of these components can be seen in several ways: through the photos that are used to advertise the events online and in the media; the way that the Games are referenced and spoken about by participants and observers; and in the way that the culture and tourism departments utilize the Games as a way to show and display Scottish culture and heritage at home and abroad. The Highland Games

whether in the Scotland or the United States have become iconic images and placeholders of tradition and history for people worldwide.

A major draw at all of the Games in Scotland and the United States, the competition events also have multiple levels of organization involved in ensuring that they are held according to accepted standards, rules and expectations. The national, regional and local Highland Games associations are not the only organizations that are involved with producing each competition event. Each event also has its official association that ensures that all judging, qualifying and grade scales are adhered to at all competitions events. To further explore this structure, I investigate the three most popular competitions events at the Highland Games: the Heavy Events, Highland dancing and the Great Highland Bagpipe.

The Scottish Heavy Events (or Heavy Athletics) Competitions

The Scottish heavy event athletic competitions are perhaps the most well-known and popular competition events that are held at most Games. There is a proud heritage that is associated with the heavy events and they are usually located in the center of the Highland Games event area and are surrounded on all sides by audiences that cheer on their favorite competitors and feats of strength. Due to the number of events and the fact that each competitor gets three throws at each weight or height, the heavy events competition take on average six hours to complete with most Games starting the heavy events at 10am and concluding around 4pm. While there are six to eight different events held as part of the competition that include the Braemar stone toss (or put), weight throw (heavy and light), weight over bar,

Scottish hammer throw, and the sheaf toss it is the “Tossing of the Caber” that has become the most iconic image of a Scottish Highland Games heavy Event competition. Each event demands training, strength and technique and has a set of rules and requirements that are set by the Scottish Highland Games Association or the North American Scottish Games Association that must be met in order for the result to count and be official. All competitors must wear a kilt and compete in all events that are held in order for a final result to be achieved. In addition, there are different groups that compete that may include professional, amateur, master and open classes.

In Scotland the Scottish Highland Games Association governs the heavy athletic events, while the North American Scottish Games Association governs the events in the United States (and Canada). Both organizations have an established rulebook for all competitions that is available on their websites for all event managers and competitors to access.²⁰⁹ Both rulebooks are similar in scope and covers all the requirements for each event, competition layout and surface, how each event will be judged, what can be worn to compete, and who qualifies for what class of competition, among other topics.²¹⁰ According to the Scottish Highland Games Association rulebook the heavy athletic competition must include the following events:

Putting the Stone/Ball: Standard Weights 16lbs. and 22lbs.

50. The ball shall be of metal or stone and spherical. Where a stone is

²⁰⁹ “Competition Rules,” Scottish Highland Games Association, accessed on July 19, 2013, <http://www.shga.co.uk/competition-rules.php>.

²¹⁰ All rules associated with the heavy athletic competitions can be found in the Scottish Highland Games Association Rulebook available at <http://www.shga.co.uk/competition-rules.php> or the North American Scottish Games Association available at <http://www.nasgaweb.com/rules.asp>. Accessed on July 19, 2013.

used, the competition should be styled 'Putting the Stone'. The ball shall be putt from the front of the shoulder with one hand only, without follow and shall be delivered into the 34.92 degree sector, from a marked 7ft 6ins winged box area, which is behind the 4' 6" wide wooden trig.

Throwing the Weight: Standard Weights 28lbs. and 56lbs.

51. The weights shall be of metal with or without a chain/ring attached. The total weight being 28lbs or 56lbs. The weight shall measure 18ins overall. The weight shall be delivered with one hand, using any style, into the 34.92 degree sector; from inside a marked 9' winged box area, behind the 4' 6" wooden trig and within a suitable netted safety cage.

Throwing the Hammer: Standard Weights 16lbs. and 22lbs.

52. The hammer head shall be of metal and spherical and the shaft shall be of wood or cane. The overall length of the hammer shall be 4ft. 2ins. The hammer shall be thrown standing style, into the 34.92 degree sector. It shall be delivered from behind a 4' 6" long wooden trig, which is within a suitable netted safety cage.

Throwing the Weight Over the Bar

53. A weight with ring attached, weighing 56lbs in all, is used for this event. Each competitor may commence at any height he desires, but having once commenced, he must continue throwing. A competitor may use either hand, but only one hand may be used in making a throw. All measurements shall be made from the ground to the top of the bar, at the point midway between the two uprights. The height to which the bar is raised, shall be decided after consulting the wishes of the competitors. Where all competitors except one, have retired or failed three consecutive times, the remaining competitor is entitled to continue throwing, until he either fails three times at each new height, or retires.

Tossing the Caber

54. There is no standard size or weight of caber, but the caber should be a length and weight beyond the powers of all but the best athletes to turn. The practice of throwing a light caber for distance is not tossing the caber and should be discontinued. Each competitor has three attempts, the best of those to count. He may take any length of run he wishes and toss from where he chooses. For Safety, where the ground is uneven, a mark should be made from near which, and beyond which, the toss must be made. On no account must a fixed trig or stance be used. The caber shall be set up for the athlete, by placing it upright, with the heavy end on top. An attempt shall commence once the caber has been so set up. If the athlete allows the caber to fall, then this shall count as one of his attempts. It is recommended that a back judge and

a side judge be used. It is essential to have competent judges, who thoroughly understand the rules of this sport. In Championship Caber Events - two different weights of caber must be provided. Only the competitors, who were able to toss the lighter caber, can proceed to try and toss the heavier caber.²¹¹

The stone and weight events are straight forward and are scored when a competitor makes a successful and legal throw for height or distance, the Tossing of the Caber is a highly technical and difficult event that requires two and a half pages of explanations and diagrams to explain how the event must be judged. These rules include the handling of the caber, the direction of run, establishing control of the caber, and what makes a valid turn and how the turn will be scored. A score in the caber event will be awarded only when a turn has been determined to be valid and must meet the following criteria,

A valid turn is when the small end of the caber passes through the vertical position and falls away from the athlete, to land within the 180 degree radius, between 9 o' clock and 3 o' clock. The vertical position is 90 degrees and side judges determine if the caber has passed through it. The "clock face method" of judging shall be used.²¹²

Each of these events requires strength, skill, and technique that can only be attained during months if not years of training. As Emily Ann Donaldson writes, "None of the events competed at the Games allows for walk-on participation. Contestants study hard and spend long hours of practice time preparing to compete at the Games. Tradition demands it."²¹³ These traditional feats of strength provide entertainment as well as a tie to the warrior traditions of the Scottish Highlands.

²¹¹ Scottish Highland Games Association Rulebook (July 2013), p. 6-7.

²¹² Ibid., p. 8.

²¹³ Donaldson, p. 8.

Highland Dancing

The early history of Highland dancing is murky and subject to interpretation by scholars of various fields. Emily Ann Donaldson writes that, “the facts surrounding their origin have been passed down verbally, making them subject to the inventiveness or forgetfulness of those whose versions survived.”²¹⁴ Various regional and national dances were originally included as art of Highland Games of the nineteenth century. Slowly these became standardized and in 1950 the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing (SOBHD) was formed to serve as a governing body to establish standards of dress and dance for competitions. Through the work of this organization the different levels of competition classes that include Primary (under 7 years only) Beginner, Novice, Intermediate and Premier levels have been created and allows for dancers to compete in all SOBHD sanctioned events around the world. All dancers, judges and event organizers follow these accepted standards of dance and dress. Through the points won at different competitions the dancers can rise in certification level at the end of each competition year.

The Federation of United States Teachers and Adjudicators (FUSTA) was founded in 1980 and sanctions the Highland dancing competitions at the Games in the United States. The mission of FUSTA is to “promote Scottish Highland Dancing and culture in the United States and to provide a "community" system for teachers and judges of Highland dancing.”²¹⁵ FUSTA is the official United States member of

²¹⁴ Donaldson, 139.

²¹⁵ “About Us,” The Federation of United States Teachers and Adjudicators (FUSTA) website, Accessed on January 12, 2014, <http://fusta.us/aboutus.aspx>.

the SOBHD and operates according to their rules and regulations. Their web site states that,

Scottish Highland Dancing is a celebration of the Scottish spirit. The dances are a spectacular combination of strength, agility, movement, music, and costume. Unlike other dance mediums, Highland dances are generally danced solo and in competition. Dancers typically dance to traditional Scottish music such as Strathspeys, Reels, Hornpipes and Jigs all played by an accompanying bagpiper. The dances are made up of different parts, called steps and there are usually four or six steps to a dance.²¹⁶

The Highland dances that we see in competition at today's Games include the Highland fling, the sword dance, the seann triubhas, and the Strathspey & Highland reel. While the fling, sword dance and seann triubhas are solos dances the reel is a group dance that usually includes four dancers. Dancers must show proficiency in all four styles of dance in order to compete and be graded. While traditionally performed by men in the nineteenth century, women greatly outnumber the men in the dance competitions today.²¹⁷

The Great Highland Bagpipe

The Great Highland Bagpipe is one of the most recognized, both by sound and shape, of all musical instruments. The bagpipe is an instrument that has an ancient history in many parts of the world it has become an iconic image associated with Scotland. Often the first thing that an attendee hears when driving or walking up to

²¹⁶ "Highland Dancing and the Dance," The Federation of United States Teachers and Adjudicators (FUSTA), accessed May 24, 2013,

http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/turabian/turabian_citationguide.html.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

the entrance of a Games location, the bagpipe is a very popular and driving force at the various Games.

Bagpipe competitions are divided into profession and amateur rankings that are judged by a scale of grades that are set by adjudicated skill sets. Similar to the Heavy Events competitions, the bagpipe competition rules and grades of competition are also governed by national organizations to ensure fairness and quality. Before anyone can compete at a Games event the band or individual must be assigned a grade level for competition. In Scotland the Piping and Drumming Qualifications Board (PDQB) certify the grade or level of competition that each band or soloist will compete in at each Games. Formed in 2006 to ensure a uniform certification process the PDQB and states that its objectives are to:

- set standards for a unified qualifications structure for playing, teaching and assessing the Great Highland Bagpipe, Pipe Band Drumming, Pipe Bands and Drum Majors;
- jointly design, develop, quality assure, assess and certificate qualifications in the unified structure;
- approve centres for awarding qualifications in the unified structure;
- liaise with the Scottish Qualifications Authority regarding national accreditation of some of relevant PDQB qualifications and alignment to the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF); and
- approve PDQB Assessors nationally and internationally.²¹⁸

This organization ensures that all pipers and judges in Scotland are working for the same goals and that all competitions will be judged according to the same requirements and standards.

The Alliance of North American Pipe Band Associations (ANAPBA) is the clearinghouse for information for the pipe bands and solo pipers and drummers in

²¹⁸ “Home,” The Piping and Drumming Qualifications Board, accessed on May 3, 2013, <http://www.pdqb.org/>.

North America. The ANAPBA consists of ten regional member organizations that ensure fair competition and scale certifications at all sanctioned Games. For the Games that I have attended The Eastern United States Pipe Band Association (EUSPBA) is the sanctioning body for the solo and pipe band competitions to provide “competitors a measure of uniformity in terms of rules, standards, and judging.”²¹⁹ This ensures that all sanctioned Games are using the same criteria and that all pipers and pipe bands are judged according to the same rules.

At all sanctioned piping events there will be six grade competitions that include: Amateur Grades 5 (practice chanter), Grade 4 Junior (17 and under), Grade 4 Senior (18 and older), Grade 3, Grade 2, Grade 1 and Professional. The competition pipers must play a 2/4 and 6/8 March, Strathspey, Reel, Jig, Slow March and Piobaireachd selection for grading. Depending on the grade that they are competing in they may be required to play more than one of each of the above selections. According to the EUSPBA rulebook, each piper will be judged on the following criteria:

- 1) Time, including tempos and breaks between tunes
- 2) Tuning and tone of chanter and drones
- 3) Execution
- 4) Expression²²⁰

After the piper has played, s/he will be scored and the score will be recorded and submitted to the EUSPBA and certifying organizations. Finally, according to the EUSPBA all competitors must wear the appropriate Highland dress attire during the competition that includes: “a kilt, dress shirt, tie if you choose, kilt hose, flashes,

²¹⁹ “About EUSPBA,” The Eastern United States Pipe Band Association, Accessed on May 3, 2013, <http://www.euspba.org/about.aspx>.

²²⁰ The Eastern United States Pipe Band Association “Want to Compete” download, p. 5.

ghillie brogues or dress shoes, jacket or vest (optional if it is very hot), rain cape or coat if raining, and Balmoral or Glengarry [cap].²²¹ The Scottish piper playing the bagpipe in their Highland dress is one of the most iconic images that is associated with Scotland that is found at the Games.

Through each of these competitions Scottish culture is on public display. Whether they are tossing the caber, dancing the sword dance or playing the Strathepey, each competitor is taking part in a tradition that is centuries old. Many of the competitors are following in their families' footsteps and kilts, shoes and bagpipes are often passed down generation to generation. Through the various organizations that are responsible for the different Games and events, the competitions are ensured of meeting all expectations and standards for the competitor, judges and spectators.

²²¹ The Eastern United States Pipe Band Association "Rules Competition" download, (March 2013) p. 19.

Glossary

Braemar Stone: large smooth, round stone that is used in the heavy events

Bonnets:

Glengarry— modern military style cap with two black ribbons down the back.
May have a diced or checked band at the bottom
Balmoral –older style beanie with a red yarn ball on the crown and two black ribbons down the back

Breacan: the old style of kilt

Breacan feile: the big kilt

Ceilidh (Kay'-lee): a social gathering that involves music and dance.

Clan: A Highland family organization. Gaelic term “clan”, meaning 'children'.

Clan Badge or Crest: contains a clan symbol and motto, worn on the bonnet.

Clan Motto: each clan has their own war cry or phrase that is popular to shout out at Highland Games

Claymore: long, two-handed sword made famous by *Braveheart*. Also known as the Great Sword or a Highland Broadsword

Feileadh-beag: the small kilt, with no tartan cloth above the waist.

Feileadh-mor: the big kilt

Ghillie Brogues: a style of men's dress shoes, commonly worn with a modern kilt.

Haggis: a traditional Scottish dish made of sheep's stomach, heart and livers with oatmeal, onion, spices, salt and stock.

Honorary Chieftain: an honored guest that assists with the Opening ceremonies at Highland Games, often times a local government dignitary or celebrity or someone that had traveled from Scotland. Usually Scottish born or of Scottish descent

Kirk: a church.

Kirkin: a church service

Pibroch (pea-brock): “pipe music”

-continued-

Quaich: an ancient drinking cup that has two handles and is used with both hands.

“Raise the Clans:” Opening ceremony event at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games

Saltire: Scottish flag with a blue background and a white cross from corner to corner

Sept: a subsidiary or associate clan or family of a larger clan that is not related by blood or marriage.

Sett: the color and pattern of a tartan

Sgian Dubh (Skeen- Duv): the “Black Knife,” short ceremonial dirk, worn with a kilt inserted into the top of the stocking

Skirl: refers to the musical sounds from a bagpipe.

Sporran: worn around the waist in front of the kilt suspended on a chain belt.

Targe: a Scottish shield, with spikes on the outside

Thistle: the national flower of Scotland that features a purple flower

Trewes: tartan trousers

Bibliography

Newspapers

- Devine, Jane. "Tartan as Worldwide Mark of Scotland," *The Scotsman*, 28 January 2013. Accessed on February 1, 2013, <http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/opinion/comment/jane-devine-tartan-worldwide-mark-of-scottishness-1-27621691>.
- Ferguson, Brian. "Cowal Highland Gathering Future in Doubt," *The Scotsman*, January 23, 2013, accessed January 21, 2014, <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/music/news-and-features/cowal-highland-gathering-future-in-doubt-1-2754439>.
- Kelly, Jon. "The Formula for Scottishness," *BBC News Magazine*, 25 October 2012, accessed on January 10, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20048521>.
- Law, Danny. "Thousands expected at Aboyne Games," *STV News*, August 5, 2011, accessed on January 25, 2014, <http://news.stv.tv/north/22178-thousands-expected-at-aboyne-games/>.
- Ross, Peter. "Gathering Place for More than Tartan and Tunnock's Teacakes," *Scotland on Sunday*, 26 July 2009, accessed July 30, 2009, <http://scotlandonsunday.scotsman.com/14684/Gathering-place-for-more-than.5494198.jp>
- Smith, Mark. "'I wanted to come because it's home - it's in the blood'; Ex-pats returning to their roots feel a powerful connection to Scotland, finds Mark Smith," *The Herald* (Glasgow), July 25, 2009, accessed July 29, 2009 and May 11, 2011, <http://www.heraldscotland.com/i-wanted-to-come-because-it-s-home-it-s-in-the-blood-1.915362>
- Swanson, Ian. "The Gathering: Charge on to Mix Old and New Traditions," *Edinburgh News*, 24 July 2009. Accessed July 28, 2009, <http://edinburghnews.scotsman.com/features/The-Gathering-Charge-on-to.5491163.jp>
- Wade, Mike. "The Gathering Clans Make it a Giant Party," *The Times* (London), July 27, 2009, accessed July 29, 2009 and April 21, 2011, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/scotland/article6728308.ece>

References

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Bauman, Richard. *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Berthoff, Rowland. "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1982), pp. 5-34.
- Bial, Henry. *Acting Jewish: Negotiating Ethnicity on the American Stage & Screen*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- Brown, Ian. *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- Bruner, Edward M. and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. "Massai on the Lawn: Tourism Realism in East Africa." In *Culture on Tour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004.
- Carlson, Marvin. *Performance: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge. 1996.
- Chambers, Erve. *Native Tours: Culture, Travel & Tourism*. Second Edition. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2010.
- Coleman, Simon, and John Eade. *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Davidson, Neil. *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*. London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Desmond, Jane. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Dicks, Bella. *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability*. Issues in Cultural and Media Studies. Maidenhead, Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2003.
- Donaldson, Emily Ann. *The Scottish Highland Games in America*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 1986.
- Donaldson, William. *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.

- Ferguson, William. *The Identity of the Scottish Nation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.
- Gardiner, Michael. *Modern Scottish Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- _____. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998.
- Goertzen, Chris. "Powwows and Identity on the Piedmont and Coastal Plains of North Carolina." *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology* 45 (2001): 58-88.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- Hart, Mechthild and Miriam Ben-Yoseph, eds., *Psychological, Political, and Cultural Meanings of Home*. New York: Haworth, 2005.
- Harvie, Christopher. *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics: 1707 to the Present*. 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Harvie, Christopher and Peter Jones. *The Road to Home Rule*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000.
- Hearn, Jonathan. *Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000.
- Hearn, Jonathan. "National identity: banal, personal and embedded." *Nations & Nationalism* 13, no. 4 (October 2007): 657-674. (accessed April 5, 2013).
- Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950.
- Jarvie, Grant. *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.
- Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics and Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

- Kiely, R., Bechhofer, F. and McCrone, D. "Birth, Blood and Belonging: Identity Claims in Post-devolution Scotland." *The Sociological Review*, (2005) 53: 150–171
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.
- Kruger, Loren. *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992
- Leith, Murray Stewart. "Scottish National Party Representations of Scottishness and Scotland." *Politics* 28, no. 2 (May 2008): 83-92.
- MacAloon, John J. *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984.
- MacCormick, Neil. Ed. *The Scottish Debate; Essays on Scottish Nationalism*. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- McCrone, David, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely. *Scotland—The Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.
- McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*. 2nd Edition. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- _____. *Scottish Nationality*. Edinburgh: Palgrave, 2001.
- McIlvanney, Liam, and Ray Ryan, eds. *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005.
- Meer, Laurie Frederik. *Trumpets in the Mountains: Theatre and the Politics of National Culture in Cuba*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Pittock, Murray G. H. *Celtic Identity and the British Image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Scottish Nationality*. Edinburgh: Palgrave, 2001.
- Ray, R. Celeste. *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- _____. *Transatlantic Scots*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Riach, Alan. *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Schechner, Richard. *Between Theatre and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

_____. *Performance Theory*. London: Routledge, 1988.

_____. *Public Domain*. New York: Avon Books, 1969.

_____ and M. Schuman. *Ritual, Play and Performance*. New York: Seabury Press, 1976.

Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.

Wood, Nichola. 2012. "Playing with 'Scottishness': Musical Performance, Non-representational Thinking and the 'Doings' of National Identity." *Cultural Geographies* 19, no. 2: 195-215.

Zumkhawala-Cook, Richard. "The Mark of Scottish America: Heritage Identity and the Tartan Monster." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, Volume 14, Number 1. Spring 2005, pp. 109-136.