

**Re-Presenting Scotland:
Scottish History and Identity Amongst the Diaspora
and on the Internet**

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Ph.D. Thesis

December 2002

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Acknowledgements

There are a number of people I would like to thank for their help in the preparation of this thesis. Firstly there is my supervisor, Richard Finlay, for his guidance and advice. Other academics whose help and comments I have benefited from are Celeste Ray and Euan Hague in the US, as well as contacts and information from Fiona Watson, Keith Dinnie, Richard Kiely and St John Skilton.

In terms of the research process, I would like to express my gratitude to: Alan Scott from Rampant Scotland; Elaine Fulton from SLIC; all the respondents who took part in the three stages of the research; all my correspondents who promptly answered queries on everything from copyright permissions to book sales data; to Fiona Brown for proofing and asking useful questions and also to Lynn Williams for her help at work which allowed me the time to write up.

My greatest debt of gratitude is to my family: particularly to my father for his helpful comments on drafts of the manuscript; to my mother for making sure I took a break now and again, and to my sister Fiona for access to her well-stocked library of archaeological and historical material. Finally thanks are due to my husband Cameron, for his love, support, and endless patience.

Abstract

This thesis charts the perception of Scottish identity through history, with particular reference to the construction of a new, Highland stereotype of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century, and the dissemination of this identity around the world. The destruction of Scotland's origin myths and the collapse of traditional institutions of identity prior to the eighteenth century are charted, and the role of Scottish societies, Empire, the media and Scottish commercial agencies in spreading and legitimising this stereotype are analysed. It is shown that there was a fundamental shift from consumer to customer, from history to heritage at just the time a new, "tartan" confection of Scottish identity was created, which helped ingrain this image in the popular consciousness. Traditional markers of "Scottishness" are discussed, but found wanting when applied to the diaspora, and other markers for Scottish identity applicable to Scots outwith Scotland's borders are suggested.

The Internet is introduced as a new medium which will have a particular impact on Scottish history and identity in the future. By allowing the democratisation of presentations of history online, the Internet enables a multiplicity of Scotlands to be presented to a massive global audience. Current initiatives concerning Scottish history online are assessed, and Scotland is found to be lagging behind contemporary countries in presenting her history, and consequently her identity, online.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Throughout Scotland's past, history, or what has been thought of as history by each generation, has shaped perceptions of Scottish identity. This thesis will look at how this tradition has developed, and culminated in the stereotypical perceptions of identity which prevail today. Definitions of nation and identity shall be discussed, and related to the modern experience of Scottishness, and the idea of 'consumer history' will be addressed.

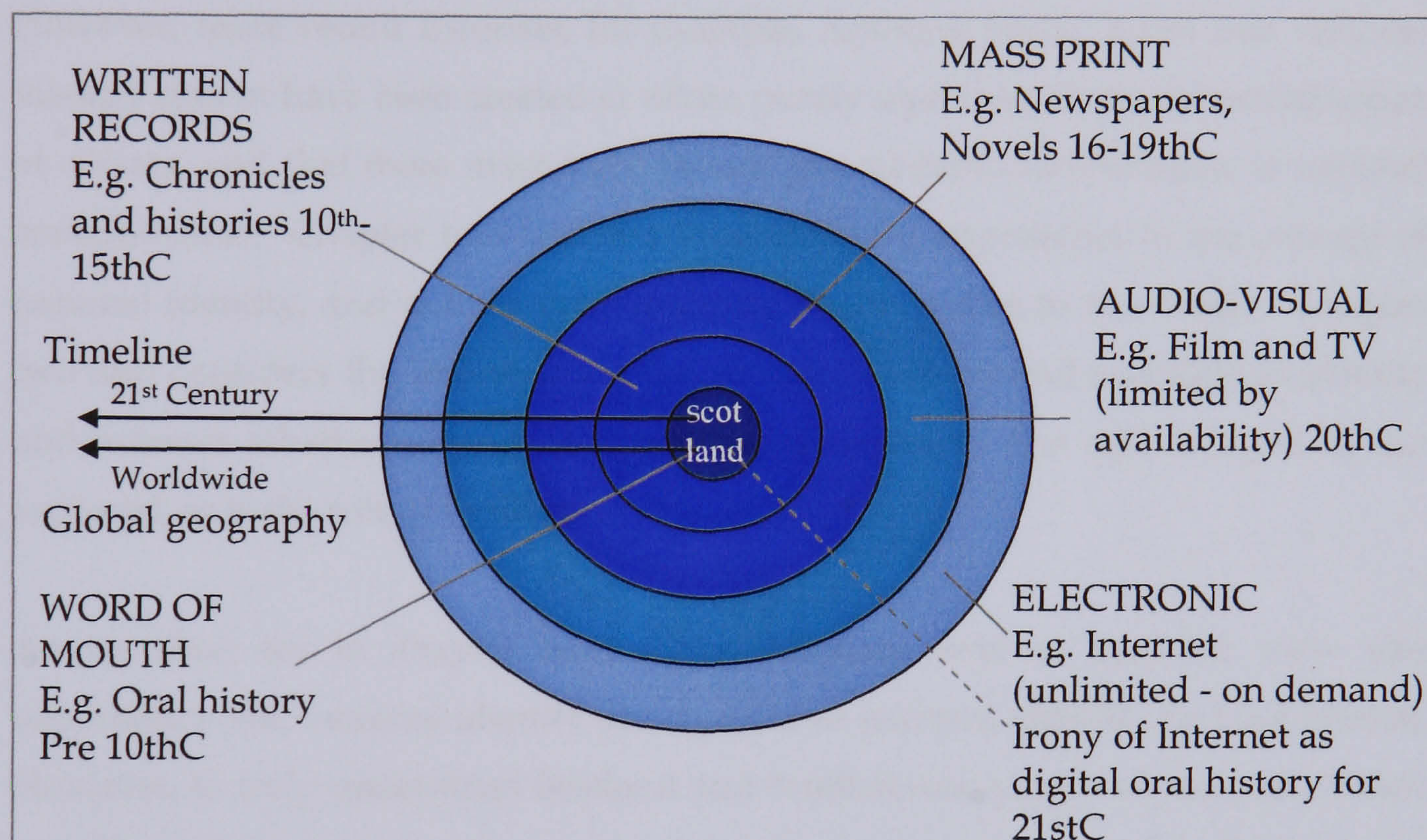


Figure 1. Ripples in a Pond: Spreading Perceptions of Scottish Identity

I propose a model of Scottish identity based on history, which emanates like ripples in a pond to a wider and wider global audience with each new medium and its impact upon this perceived identity. In particular, I posit that the most recent, and potentially the most influential 'ripple' in spreading a particular perception of Scottish identity and history is the electronic medium represented by the Internet.

What is National Identity?

There is much debate about what constitutes the terms "nation" and "national identity". There are two very important factors in this debate which concern

historians in particular. Firstly, current definitions are from disciplines outside history, mainly sociology and political science, and secondly, there is disagreement in these fields as to how pertinent these modern definitions are to historical representations of identity. Modern definitions of nation and nationalism are by the nature of their definers politicised and consequently bound by the concept of the political embodiment of identity, the nation-state. As such, these definitions tend to dismiss expressions of identity prior to the late eighteenth century as “ethnie”. Theorists such as Gellner argue that there can be no such thing as pre-modern nationalism.

However, more recent theorists, for example, Anthony Smith, agree that national identity cannot have been created *ex nihilo*, purely a product of the industrialisation of society, and that there must have been a pre-modern manifestation of national consciousness. Chapter two analyses these different approaches to the concept of national identity, and defines their meaning as they relate to this thesis. Chapter two also considers the importance of perception, memory and nostalgia in identity and assesses whether identity is essentially a construct. The role of myth is also explored, as is the role of heritage.

As we shall see in chapter two, some historians tend to take the view that nationalism and national identity are equated to political identity, or high culture. However, to truly understand Scotland and Scottishness, surely we must try ‘to see ourselves as others see us’.¹ The postmodern approach has a lot to offer this analysis, and is also explored in this chapter.

Historical Perceptions of Scottish Identity

Chapters three and four chart how Scottish identity has developed over time. The earliest records of Scotland are analysed for clues as to whether Scotland or indeed a Scottish identity existed, and when the first signs of this existence appear. Particularly important in these formative years was the importance of myth. Of course, Scotland is not alone in having an identity with mythic foundations, and this

¹ R. Burns, *To a Louse: On Seeing One On A Lady's Bonnet, At Church* (Kilmarnock, 1786)

thesis will draw comparisons with other countries throughout.²

Furthermore, these chapters will show how Scottish identity came to have a particularly symbiotic relationship with the Kingship of Scotland, and that when the Kingship along with the institutions of the Church and Education underwent changes, this had an impact on Scotland's national identity. This caused a break in the identity which had been gathering momentum, and a gap into which a new "Highland" Scottish identity grew.

It will be shown that "Highlandism" came to represent the whole of Scotland. This representation was, as Withers and Prebble suggest, sealed with the events surrounding George IV's visit to Scotland of 1822: 'Scotland could not be the same again once it was over. A bogus tartan caricature of itself had been drawn and accepted, even by those who mocked it, and it would develop in perspective and colour'.³ It is important to note that the identity had been accepted by 'those who mocked it'. Today, academics and cultural commentators lament the cult of tartanry which exists - as the authors of *Scotland - the Brand* state 'What Tom Nairn called the "cultural sub-nationalism of tartanry" has to be exorcised from our culture and from our conception of what it is to be Scottish'.⁴ Admittedly, the sociologist David McCrone, in *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, has highlighted that myth history is vital to any country's story. He cites Marinell Ash and Neal Ascherson, who have argued that although there is forgery at work in the Scottish nation, it is a conscious forgery, a conscious search for legitimacy, and the emotions aroused are genuine.⁵ Strong words, but how can you change the perceptions of the world? Research shows the Highland image to be a geographically pervasive one.

² For example, Tony Curtis, editor of the book *Wales: the imagined nation*, discusses '... the greatest irony: to preserve one's sense of a discrete identity one may construct a set of national characteristics which, in fact, caricature those underlying qualities which one hopes to secure'. T. Curtis (ed), *Wales: the imagined nation. Essays in cultural and national identity* (Bridgend, 1986), p.11

³ J. Prebble, *The Kings Jaunt: George IV in Scotland 1822*, (London, 1988), quoted by C. J. Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 143-156, quote p.153

⁴ D. McCrone, A. Morris and R. Kiely, *Scotland - the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.54

⁵ D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London, 1992), pp.19-20

Ripples in a Pond

Scottish identity may have developed into the stereotype we recognise today by the early nineteenth century, but how did this spread to a wider audience, an audience outside Scotland? Chapters three and four highlight the increasing references to Scotland as a national entity from sources outside Britain, but it is the nineteenth century when the spread of consciousness about Scotland and her stereotypes really began in earnest. Chapter four discusses how emigrants and military regiments began to spread an identity of Scotland to the greater world. However, this identity became firmly entrenched with the advent of mass communications. In particular, historical novels abounded, and at the same time, a few enterprising Scots began to make a name for themselves internationally, all factors which attributed to an awareness of Scotland and Scottishness which grew throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Tartan Cringe

The popular identity of Scotland abroad, as highlighted in many tourist board studies, is that of tartan and Highland soldier. The Scots themselves, and particularly Scottish academics, view this popular opinion with a degree of intellectual snobbery, and sneer at the kitsch which results. The cultural commentator Neal Ascherson is cited by McCrone et al. as representative of general opinion:

the fringe of glaring tartantry on sale along Princes Street and the High Street, the Gaelic gonks like dwarf descendents of the Town Guard, the joke cards about shooting haggis, lifting kilts and tickling sporrans. Nobody selling this stuff would be seen dead with it at home. But the traders solemnly accept that this is Scotland's authentic *typisch*, fragment of itself for the outside world - much as if French shopkeepers in Paris lined their shelves with plastic frogs in beret and striped vest.⁶

Magnus Linklater considers there to be a fine line between an ironic adoption of Scottish symbols, a 'half-mocking, half-affectionate' wearing of kilts at weddings

⁶ N. Ascherson, 'The Lost Capital', *The Observer*, 20 July 1986, p.38, quoted in McCrone et al., *Scotland the Brand*, p.56

and football games by the Scots themselves, and the twee use of such symbols at events like Tartan Day in the USA. However, he then grimaces at the inclusion of a reference to *Monarch of the Glen* on the new Friends of Scotland website, launched to highlight Scotland's devolved constitutional and technical prowess.⁷ The problem is that cultural commentators such as Linklater like to think there is some kind of postmodern, tacitly understood irony about the wearing of tartan by Scots, but that their judgements are clouded by their obvious cultural inferiority complex. Isn't it allowed for people to wear kilts as a symbol of their Scottishness unless it is an ironic, iconic statement? Apparently not, and this is a matter which shall be discussed further in the thesis. However, the general view of Scotland abroad is not in doubt.

In winter 1994/1995, the then Scottish Tourist Board (STB) commissioned the pre-testing of an advertising campaign for France and Germany. Respondents remarked again and again how tartan, kilts, Highlanders, castles and romantic scenery were what they thought of when they imagined Scotland. The first stage of the report stated that:

If Scotland has any ikon [sic] in France and Germany, it is a very stereotyped one: a kilted Highlander, complete with bagpipes. Other images which are universally Scottish include tartans, whisky, ruined baronial castles and the Loch Ness Monster.⁸

Although modern perceptions of Scottish identity tend to stem from the work of the Victorian era, based in particular around the works of Sir Walter Scott, there is in fact a long tradition of using history to justify and represent national identity in Scotland. Furthermore, many of the facets of Scotland popularised by Scott can be found to have a basis in Scottish history, rather than just being eighteenth century inventions, as some such as Hugh Trevor-Roper would suggest.

This is important because, in a search for Scottish identity, we must look back

⁷ M. Linklater, 'The tartan monster sinks into a Celtic tweelight', *The Times*, July 25 2002

through history to the beginnings of Scotland itself. Here we have a problem - history as a profession has only been a product of the last few centuries, and the further back we go, the fewer and less reliable are the sources. Many of the earliest records are the "hard copy" of centuries of handed down information - memories. As will be looked at later, memories and handed down tales were to form many of the myths of the origins of Scotland.

But memory is also important because of its relationship with perception. Perception is what people actually think Scotland is like, and how these opinions are formed and remembered. The STB research quoted earlier gave an indication to what current perceptions of Scotland are, but just how these perceptions were formed is a question at the heart of this thesis, and one which can only be answered by taking a broad look at Scottish history. The thesis will show how historical perceptions have always been used to shape identity in Scotland, charting the construction of the identity which research has shown to be that perceived abroad. It will also look at how this Highland identity persisted from its main incarnation in the early nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, and the role of the mass media in the perpetuation of this historic identity. It is important to clarify the role of history in the construction of identity, which, it will be shown, has been a continuing process throughout Scotland's past.

Donnachie and Whatley point out that the works of Nigel Tranter are possibly as influential today as the works of Sir Walter Scott in the nineteenth century,⁹ a fact reiterated more recently by Finlay:

although there has been an prodigious out-pouring from Scottish academics in the field of Scottish history, the truth of the matter is that most Scots will have had their historical consciousness shaped more by writers such as John Prebble and Nigel Tranter, by television plays and by the film 'Braveheart' than by the

⁸ Travel and Tourism Research Limited, 'France and Germany Market Studies 1994-1995 Stage 2: Qualitative Campaign Pre-testing research Report Winter 1994/5' prepared for the Scottish Tourist Board, quote from p.5 of report, from para. 2.17 of the first stage report

⁹ I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, 'Introduction, in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp.1-15, p.7

work of professional historians.¹⁰

'To See Ourselves ...'

That this, tartanry, is the view the rest of the world has of Scotland is not in dispute. However, the sneering of cultural commentators and academics in Scotland does not appear to be reflected in perceptions abroad.

The Herald of the 6 March 1996 carried a letter from Mr. Harry McAlister of Seattle, USA:

I am a visitor to Scotland, and therefore somewhat hesitant to remark publicly on things I may see or hear. Nevertheless I feel I must comment on a statement I hear daily, which strikes in a derogatory way at the heart of being Scottish. I refer to the term "tartan tax".

The introduction to a book I own, *Scotland and her Tartans*, states, as best I remember: "Highland dress is the most recognised national costume, and Tartan the most powerful symbol of kinship in the world". Whether or not this statement is strictly correct I don't know. But surely it must be a point of great pride to Scots. ...

Scots are recognised and held in high esteem around the world and this situation exists not only because of the gifts of Scotland's great sons and daughters, but also because of the generosity, friendliness, and honesty other people perceive in the Scot.

Whether we may like it or not, the kilt, the pipes and most certainly the tartan are solidly entrenched in that global perception - and why not?

Therefore, if someone includes the word tartan in a derogatory phrase, then that someone degrades and casts a stigma on our national icon, something fundamental to our enviable culture, so long and dearly loved by our ancestors....

I cannot speak for the Scots in Scotland, but I believe I am correct in saying that if the people in America and Canada and other far distant lands, who wear their tartan with great pride, were to know that their kin in Scotland allowed the Government to mock this cherished symbol, they would be crushed - and they

¹⁰ R. J. Finlay, "Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland", *Scottish Affairs*, no. 18, (Winter, 1997), pp.108-125, p.108

would wonder. ...¹¹

Strong sentiments indeed, but representative of feelings about Scotland abroad. The largest Highland games in the world, the Celtic Classic Highland Games and Festival, is held in Pennsylvania, USA, with a record attendance of 150,000.¹² This apparent tartan fervour manifested itself in the results of the 2000 USA Census. Of a total of 281,421,906 Americans on 1 April 2000, a staggering 5.4 million (nearly 2%) claimed to be of Scottish descent (rising to 11 million if 'Scotch-Irish' were included.) This is an increase of 2.1 million on the 1990 census.¹³ Numerous other figures abound of Americans who could claim Scots descent – Henry McLeish, in his 2000 Tartan Day message addressed the '15 million Scots-Americans living in the United States'¹⁴ and the ancestral Scotland website claims there are 28 million people worldwide of Scottish descent.¹⁵ How these figures have been estimated is discussed in chapter four.

However, what is it that makes these millions of people consider themselves to be Scottish? This is one of the questions this thesis aims to investigate.

Presenting History

A large part of how Scottishness is perceived rests on the presentation of Scotland and her history. Chris Harvie gives the example of a teacher from Castlemilk, a poor area of Glasgow, who found the only way to interest his students in Scottish history was a project on Mary Queen of Scots, rather than any contemporary project. Harvie says:

At first, the sort of thing to make one clutch one's brow, but then one saw that the sheer unusualness of sixteenth-century Scotland, its distance from the reality of Castlemilk, took hold of the kids in a way that working class politics or

¹¹ H. McAlister, *The Herald*, 6 March 1996

¹² U.S. Scots Magazine On-line, Top Ten Lists of Largest Highland Games or Scottish Festivals, at <http://www.usscots.com/games/lists/topten.html> visited 9 October 2001

¹³ US Census 2000, reported in *The Scotsman*, 8 September 2001, with additional figures from the US government census home page at <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/BasicFactsServlet>, visited 9 October 2001

¹⁴ Henry McLeish, speech of 7 April 2001, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/news/2000/04/se1013.asp> visited 23 September 2001

industrial history, at that stage, could not.¹⁶

Harvie's first reaction is one typical of many academic historians. However, he redeems himself by seeing the children's position from that of his teacher friend. When he looks at the project *not as a historian*, he sees its benefits. This example has parallels - distant history having more of a sense of identity than any modern situation. One could compare this with the urban migrants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who turned to Highlandism in a search for identity. With no state structures to give a cohesive anchor point, both eighteenth century migrant workers and twentieth century children from Castlemilk looked to history to give that stability. And the basic building blocks of history, the facts and dates, are stable. Events of a hundred years ago cannot be changed - only the interpretation can be challenged. Although the story of Mary Queen of Scots may be one of the more salacious in Scotland's past, this does not matter. It is this which gets people interested in the first place. Historians may scorn such ritzy history, but through interest in these events comes an impetus to find out more, and an introduction to Scottish history begins. Is it any wonder that teachers choose these episodes in our history as an introduction, when they appear so interesting, and so exciting? Learning about nineteenth century Scottish politics is not going to capture the imagination of an ordinary person, particularly a child, in the way that Robert the Bruce or William Wallace can. This is the point historians seem to be missing when they condemn media representations of Scotland and Scottish history such as that in *Braveheart*, as sensationalism. Instead, they should be seeing such representations as an ideal opportunity to get people interested in the real story, and the historical truth.

History as an academic subject has to learn to manipulate such representations to its advantage rather than condemning them and turning its back. Many historians lament the demise of the teaching of Scottish history in the school curriculum, yet here is an ideal opportunity to attract millions of people to the history of Scotland. Such populist sentiments may not find favour in the academic community, yet they

¹⁵ <http://www.ancestralscotland.com> visited 1 April 2002

¹⁶ C. Harvie, 'Modern Scotland: Remembering the People' in R. Mitchison (ed), *Why Scottish History Matters*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.77-87

are vital if history as a subject is to survive. Already the effects of *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* are evident in increased numbers wishing to learn about Scotland and Scottish history. STB research has shown that 'The films *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*, far from filling people's heads with romantic notions, appear to have whetted their appetites for the real story'.¹⁷ Indeed, press articles claim that the trio of "kilt movies", *Rob Roy*, *Braveheart* and *Loch Ness*, have generated an estimated £11.45million worth of advertising for Scotland. Visitor numbers between April and mid August 1995 at the Wallace Monument rose 147%.¹⁸ Also importantly this reflects a new change in direction for mythic Highland identity for Scotland. The somewhat couthy kailyard image is giving way to a new, more dynamic identity, using the same basic symbolism. As Allan Schiach, Chairman of Scottish Screen said 'We will eventually run out of historical films, but at least to the world we do not look way they thought we did when they saw *Brigadoon*'.¹⁹

George Rosie claims that 'the intelligentsia fear that historical illusion is replacing modern reality, and that the trippers are leaving Scotland with a thin, paltry and bowdlerised view of Scottish culture and history'.²⁰ As will be shown throughout this thesis, history has always been relied upon to give Scotland its identity, and this history has been manipulated by every generation to fulfil their own national and cultural ambitions. Of the modern day this is certainly true, but the problem is far greater - tourists come to Scotland expecting this kind of culture and history in the first place. By peddling 'glaring tartanry' Scotland is only fulfilling prior expectations - but expectations, moulded by films, literature, and the activities of emigrant societies abroad, for which the Scots themselves are ultimately also responsible.

Scottish societies flourish throughout the world, all lauding the icons of tartanry, images which appear to be legitimised by their adoption by Scottish commercial agencies. The STB (now VisitScotland) produces two versions of its brochure in English. The home version is filled with environmental concerns and pictures of

¹⁷ E. Buie, *The Herald*, 26 August 1996

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ A. Schiach, *The Herald*, 26 August 1996

²⁰ G. Rosie, 'Museumry and the Heritage Industry', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 157-170, p.169

landscape, but the version for foreign consumption has a tartan cover, with thistles and Highlandism abounding.²¹ These representations are based on careful research.

Consumer History

What is important to note is that there has always been a gap between historical identity and historical reality, for example, the Ossian controversy, the Highlandism of the Victorian era, the belief in witchcraft or fairies. This kind of history can be seen from a postmodern perspective as “consumer history”, that is, history and identity as they are perceived by contemporaries. Although it has been acknowledged that history has a huge role in shaping the experience of the present, for example in the recent book *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*,²² this has not been articulated in terms of consumerism. I think this is a particularly important point. Whilst it is difficult to imagine medieval peasants as consumers of history, chapters three and four will highlight this interpretation, and shall also comment on the motives of the “providers” of history in this period.

Consumer history is also a strikingly modern phenomenon - a factor which any study of identity should consider is the increasing consumerism of society, and history is not immune to this. The main difference between this and earlier “consumer history” is that current consumers have a far more active role in their history - they are not just consumers, they are customers, and they are also providers. Increasingly, perceptions of Scottish history and identity are driven by demand, and this brings the role of “heritage” as opposed to “history” into the equation. VisitScotland and Scotland the Brand are two of the greatest exponents of this, as chapter five shall discuss in more detail. Definitions of these terms will be discussed in chapter two.

The Impact of New Media

Furthermore, the beginning of the twenty-first century has seen another revolution in Scottish History as a basis for identity. This revolution, which expounds a deeply historic image of Scotland, is, ironically, a technological advance. The Internet may be creating a ‘global village’ but it is also opening doors for people to investigate

²¹ For example, the 1997 brochures reflect this.

²² E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002)

their history and identity. The massive growth in this area is a core part of the new “Scottishness”, the personal affirmation of identity through genealogy. Descendants of migrants are showing a new fascination with their roots, partly because of the increased access to records which the Internet provides, allowing everyone to become their own historian.

However, the Internet brings wider implications for Scottish history and identity. Where previously books, then film and television, provided our historical knowledge, these have always had a moderated content, and have been governed to an extent by availability. The Internet changes all that at a stroke. Any “lay” person wanting to find out anything about anything is unlikely to wade through dusty tomes in a library when they can type one word into a search engine and find more information than they could ever require to answer their question in less than a second. Of course, there are many issues with the Internet and accessibility, but chapter six will discuss these in depth.

The important factors to note are that anyone can set up a website about Scotland. This website can discuss history and traditions and manifestations of Scottishness, and is available for all the world to see and use. However, there is absolutely no quality control here, no moderator as to the veracity of the content of the site. An experienced researcher would spot such a thing, but would a lay person? There is an inherent catch-22 that you need to know about what you are looking for, so you know if what you find is reliable.

So, this thesis will draw together work from the field of politics, sociology, and psychology and apply these to the development of the relationship of Scotland’s history and identity. Specific attention will be paid to modern developments in perceptions of Scotland’s identity, and in particular to the impact of the electronic age on how Scotland’s history and identity are presented to a worldwide audience, and how the postmodern concept of consumerism can help us to understand this phenomenon.

Aims of the Thesis

So, what does this thesis set out to do? In summary:

Chapter two will take a look at the theoretical underpinnings of the study of perceptions of identity. This includes a discussion of the meaning of national identity, and the role of myth, memory and perception in perceiving identity. The difference between history and heritage will be explored, and a commercial taxonomy adopted to help us discuss the “customerisation” of history and identity, and how this is affecting current perceptions of Scottish identity.

Chapter three gives a brief history of the development of pre modern Scottish identity. This is important in highlighting that Scottish identity was founded in a number of institutions, including the Church and the Legal and Educational systems. However, the most important factor in this development of a pre modern national identity was the Kingship, the personal role of the King / Queen and the fact that this authority was grounded in a perceived genealogical antiquity created by the use of history. The fact that history is used as a tool in creating identities is explored, as is the concept of the existence of “consumer” history.

Chapter four shows how the structure of pre modern Scottish national identity was destroyed by a number of factors during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Union of the Crowns, the Union of the Parliaments, and the demise of other traditionally independent Scottish institutions is discussed, and it is against this background, and the simultaneous social upheaval experienced in Scotland, that Scottish national identity faced a crisis. Whilst the institutions of identity were in upheaval, the facts of Scotland’s history became increasingly important as symbols of a Scottish national identity, and popular Scottish identity and history develop a symbiotic relationship as cultural and political nationalism begin to diverge into their modern incarnations. Importantly a growing interest in heritage, and in particular the creation of a tourism industry, leads to the commercialisation of Scottish history and her identity, and within this process, new mass media begin to solidify the resulting identity in the minds of the wider world. At the same time, Scots themselves are involved in expanding a perceived “Highland” identity through the exploits of the Highland regiments and “great Scots” as well as through the more ordinary channels of emigrant societies and their activities overseas. All of these aspects in the wider dissemination of a stereotypical Scottish identity are discussed.

Chapter five discusses how the twentieth century has impacted on this perceived Scottish identity. The role of popular entertainment, firstly through the theatre and then the media of film and television are discussed, and the growing Scottish diaspora is identified. The commercialisation of Scotland's history and identity begun in the preceding century is formalised with the construction of agencies which actively "brand" Scotland and spread and legitimise this image worldwide. At the same time, within Scotland, the use of stereotypical images of identity help to further ingrain a popular historic Scottish identity.

Chapter six discusses the methodology of the fieldwork of the thesis, and clear objectives are set out about what this thesis wants to investigate. The first two stages of the research are discussed and results analysed to enable the construction of a third, more comprehensive survey. The idea that members of the diaspora "enact" their Scottishness through the appropriation of certain markers and rituals is raised.

Chapter seven discusses the findings of the third stage survey. Basic findings confirm the existence on the World Wide Web of a stereotypical representation of Scottish history and identity, and this stereotypical identity is also reflected in the favoured media presentations of Scotland. Furthermore, the concept of 'Scottishness' is discussed in greater detail, and traditional markers of Scottish identity are challenged with reference to the diaspora.

Chapter eight discusses why this situation has arisen. The general role of the Internet in the study of Scottish history is assessed, and the role of the "National Cultural Strategy" of Scotland is discussed. The online presence of Scottish history from academic sources is quantified, and other countries are analysed to see how their history is presented online in comparison. Differences in international perceptions of Scottish history are raised, and web rankings are analysed to determine the popular presentation of Scotland and Scottishness online.

Chapter nine concludes that Scotland's national identity has always been tied to her history. The commercialisation of Scotland's culture and history has led to the stereotypical Highland image of Scotland being spread worldwide. The newest

form of mass media, the Internet, provides an opportunity for academic Scottish history to make itself available to a wider audience to help redress the perceived imbalance in presentations of Scottish identity to the wider world. However, in comparison to other similar countries, Scotland's presence on the Internet is amateur and underfunded, leaving a large gap in her cultural ambitions.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Considerations

Definitions of Nationalism and National Identity

There are several areas in which theoretical approaches can help in the understanding of this thesis. It is necessary in any study to define the terms of the research before starting, and thus it is important to define the meaning of "identity". This in itself is a philosophical task. Also the terms nationalism and national identity must be clarified, and this is where the realm of political science is useful. A historical approach must also be utilised as the research spans a period when such definitions changed their nature. The role of myth in identity is also addressed, and its importance in the formation of identities of many nations, not just Scotland. Furthermore, consumerism and heritage are discussed and finally, the psychology of perception and memory are used to help us understand how identity is viewed from the outside, and how these views persist on a global scale.

The definition of nationalism is a contentious one in historical circles. Although it became the 'subject of historical enquiry'¹ in the late nineteenth century, it is only since the 1960s that the subject has really been thoroughly investigated. It is very difficult to try and capture the ethereal nature of nation and nationalism and national identity. However, definitions of *nation* and *nationalism* are many, and dictionary definitions are a start:

identity 1. The state of having unique identifying characteristics 2. The individual characteristics by which a person or thing is recognised 3. The state of being the same in nature, quality, etc. (Sixteenth century from Latin *idem*, the same)

nation 1. an aggregation of people or peoples of one or more cultures, races, etc., organized into a single state 2. a community of persons not constituting a state but bound by common descent, language, history, etc. (Thirteenth century from Latin *natio* birth, tribe, *nasci* to be born)

national 1. of or relating to a nation as a whole 2. characteristic of a particular nation 3. a citizen or subject double

nationalism 1. a sentiment based on common cultural characteristics that binds a population and often produces a policy of national independence 2. loyalty to

¹ J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, (Oxford, 1994), p.3

one's country, patriotism 3. exaggerated or fanatical devotion to a national community

state 6. a sovereign political power or community 7. the territory occupied by such a community ²

The International Social Science Council's Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis supported a glossary of terms in the study of ethnicity,³ and these largely reflected the dictionary definitions given above – that a nation has both objective and subjective characteristics, such as territory and language, and awareness and loyalty, and they also distinguish the nation from the state. Note the apparent dichotomy in the definition of identity being “unique” and also “the same”.

So what is modern Scotland in these terms? Certainly it is a nation, but it is not a sovereign nation, and although it has relevantly recently revived the main apparatus of state, a parliament, it is still not an independent entity. The quest for statehood is seen as a driving force of nationalism, according to theorists such as Weber. Ironically, in Scotland's case, there is an argument that the reinstatement of the Parliament does not in fact bring Scotland closer to being a sovereign state, but rather ties it even more closely to the central UK government. Allowing this small measure of independence from the centre can be seen as having the effect of strengthening the overall ties, as there is now less need for independence when much of the apparatus of state is in position within a UK-wide structure.

The important thing to note is that all the definitions above have political rather than cultural overtones. As we shall see, it is political theorists who dominate the field of national identity, and have therefore defined these terms. This “politicising” was a phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the application of rationalism to theorising, and continues today with modern political theorists seeing the phenomenon of this period as being the beginning of modern theorising and thus of modern national identity. These political definitions have shaped the

² *The New Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language*, (London, 1985), p.555, 749, 749-750, 750 and 1135

³ F. W. Riggs (ed), *Ethnicity: INTERCOCTA Glossary. Concepts and Terms used in Ethnicity Research* (pilot edition), (Honolulu, 1985) and summarised in J. G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 2nd edition, (Basingstoke, 1998)

way in which other disciplines address the problem of identity, for example, the sociologist David McCrone described Scotland pre-parliament as a “stateless nation”⁴, a description echoed by most modern theorists across the social sciences. The re-opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 may have reinstated some of the apparatus of state, but this was more a legitimising of Scotland’s ‘*de facto* ... self-government’⁵ practised by the pre-devolution Scottish Office than the recreation of a nation in the most modern interpretation of the word. Indeed, McCrone in his second edition asserts that ‘Scotland was – and remains – of course, stateless in the sense that it is not formally independent’.⁶ To be fair, McCrone does attempt to extrapolate the political from the cultural in the search for nationalism, but he does not go far enough, nor does he apply these ideas with any kind of historical perspective, preferring to claim that ‘the broad and diffuse, the ‘non-political’, appeal of nationalism seems to make it a movement of the twenty-first rather than the nineteenth century’.⁷ As we shall see, the ‘non-political’ culture of nationalism has its roots well before even the nineteenth century.

Geographical Definitions

Defining Scotland then is no easy task. At the most basic level, it is a territory, a country, an area of land. However, even this primitive definition has undertones which can effect the idea of identity, and a national identity at that. Simon Schama, in *Landscape and Memory*, and Denis Cosgrave, in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, explore the idea that the country, and representations of it, can have a hand in shaping its identity. Schama says: ‘National identity ... would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a homeland’⁸. Literature would seem to back up this statement with a Scottish obsession with the essence of the land, for example in the work of Lewis Grassie Gibbon and Neil Gunn. But although we could perhaps define Scotland by its geographic make up, its territorial borders, this does not fully define what it is to be an inhabitant of Scotland, or, indeed, what it is to be Scottish. Geographical boundaries change, and territory in itself is also not a binding concept - the number of Scottish societies abroad show

⁴ D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation*, (London, 1992), p.32

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.22

⁶ D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation*, 2nd edition, (London, 2001), p.1

⁷ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, p.221

⁸ S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, p.15

that territory is no longer necessarily a qualifying factor for membership of a national consciousness. The word landscape derives from the Dutch *landschap* meaning 'a unit of human occupation'⁹, so the term itself is defined by its human inhabitants. Thus what of the people that occupy the land, for it is in them that modern definitions of national identity would seem to reside - the people as the nation.

The People as the Nation

The field of political science in particular has tried to expand on definitions of nation and identity. Stalin offers us a Marxist approach which suggests that: 'A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make up manifested in a common culture'.¹⁰ Interestingly, these ideas of national identity are echoed elsewhere: 'Each national heritage stemmed from a checklist of essentials: a common language, past, future, fate, folk culture, values, tastes, landscape'.¹¹ We shall return to this coincidence later in this chapter.

This definition serves to define the nation as the people who inhabit it. However, there are flaws if we apply this model to the idea of national identity. Language is now no longer held to be vital to a sense of identity on a national scale, Scotland for example having three acknowledged languages - Gaelic, Scots and English, and indeed other derivatives such as Doric. (Conversely, the English language is spoken in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and North America to name but a few). Language in Scotland is seen as a source of a more localised identity, and being unable to speak Gaelic or Scots is not an exclusion to being Scottish. Again here we come back to a central factor in the question of identity - a person may feel that their ability to speak Gaelic gives them Scottish identity, but a person who may speak Scots will feel exactly the same. National identity is a personal experience, not a tangible concept. Max Weber identifies that a 'nation' cannot be defined in such empirical terms. He is careful to emphasise that 'nation is ... not identical with the "people of a state", that is, with the membership of a given polity'.¹² However,

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.10

¹⁰ 'The Nation', in *Marxism and the Natural Question*, from B. Fanklin (ed) *The Essential Stalin: Major Theoretical Writings 1905-1952*, (London, 1973), pp.57-61, quoted J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith, (eds), *Nationalism*, (Oxford, 1994), pp.18-21, quote in italics, p.20

¹¹ D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (Cambridge, 1998), p. 63

¹² M. Weber, 'The Nation', H. H. Gerth and C. Wright-Mills (trans and eds), *From Max Weber:*

Weber also holds that:

One might well define the concept of nation in the following way: a nation is a community of sentiment which could adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own.¹³

This model may fit medieval Scotland, but not the modern emasculated state of today. Can we have a nation without a national identity? We cannot deny that Scotland existed as a nation by its dictionary designation prior to the modern era. Whilst Marxist theorists, most recently Neil Davidson, would argue that nationalism is a recent construct, we shall see that this is not the case in terms of this thesis. Lindsay Paterson, in his *Autonomy of Modern Scotland*, showed that institutions such as welfare and education could form a basis for identity without an independent state apparatus.¹⁴ Furthermore, the idea of the nation-state by which the political theorists place such store is falling out of favour with other theorists. For example, in economic theory Kenichi Ohmae has argued that the nation-state is fast becoming a redundant notion, with the rise of regionalism in a global economy.¹⁵ McCrone also acknowledges that there 'are very few genuine nation-states in which political and cultural boundaries intersect'.¹⁶

Modernism and Theories of Nationalism

Theorists such as Hobsbawm and Hans Kohn agree that the eighteenth century saw the emergence of national identity, with the breakdown of the old feudal social order, and the rise of capitalism with industry and a new social and economic order. Many theories of national identity in the 1950s saw the French Revolution as the birth of nationalism. This Eurocentric approach was expanded into classical modernist theories of nation building. Other theorists, such as Anthony Smith and other ethno-symbolists create a distinction at this point, because, as Roger Mason points out, 'neither nationalism as an ideology nor nations as a focus of collective

Essays in Sociology, (London, 1948), pp.171-7, cited in Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, p.22

¹³ Weber, *From Max Weber*, p.179 quoted by Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, p.25

¹⁴ L. Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1994)

¹⁵ K. Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State: the rise of the regional economies*, (London, 1995)

¹⁶ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, 2nd edn., p.2

identity were created *ex nihilo*'.¹⁷ The problem here is with definition. Attempts to define nationalism have become increasingly politicised, not least because it is political scientists who are offering such definitions. This is the thorny problem of trying empirically to quantify a field which is so subjective. Smith claims that at this point in history rationalism and scientific advance caused a problem in identity (just as rationalism and scientific advance in theorising in the twentieth century has redefined the terms of national identity). Medieval identity was based on spiritual beliefs and faith in a structure of society which could not be rationally sustained. Crucially, faith in all its guises was challenged by new approaches to knowledge.¹⁸ Religion no longer had the relationship with society that it had previously enjoyed, and the traditional institutions of identity became unstable - Kingship, Religion, and a tripartite model of society of King, lord and commoner.

The Reformation had a double edged effect on national identity. On the one hand, the upheaval caused by the Reformation did much to break traditional bonds of religion and identity, but conversely, the adoption of a "national" religion, be it Catholic or Protestant, could be seen as a uniting factor. Indeed, as Benedict Anderson highlights, the breaking down of the great religious communities such as Christendom and Islam also saw the breakdown of the 'sacred script' exclusivity of Latin in the western world, at once an assimilating and divisive force.¹⁹ The vehement opposition of John Knox to a female Catholic line of Monarchy in Scotland under Mary of Guise and her daughter Mary Queen of Scots damaged the power of the Monarchy, whilst at the same time creating a united Protestant Church of Scotland. The balance of power and identity began to shift in sixteenth century Scotland from King (or Queen), to Church. As chapter three will demonstrate, this was an integral part of the collapse of medieval Scottish identity, prior to the rise of a new identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

National Identity and Ethnie

So, if national identity was not created on a *tabula rasa* in the eighteenth century,

¹⁷ R. Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in R. Mason and N. MacDougall (eds), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout*, (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 50-73, p.50

¹⁸ A. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp.93-98, in Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, pp.113-116

¹⁹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edition, (London, 1983), summarised in Smith, *Ibid.*, p.133

where did it originate? Theorists such as Anthony Smith have deemed the period prior to this as one of 'ethnic communities'. This idea of cultural community can easily be applied to Scotland. As Mason highlights, the six criteria of *ethnie* which Smith describes; 'collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity', were all present by at least the twelfth century²⁰. (Whether this should say a shared *heritage* as opposed to history is a matter that will be addressed later in this chapter). Indeed, as will be shown in chapter three, this was definitely the case, as, for example, the Great Cause of the thirteenth century highlights how Scotland exhibited these criteria. It will also attempt to show that these phenomena must be considered a form of nationalism, and not consigned to mere ethnicity prior to the Enlightenment. Some theorists of the perennialist school, for example Joshua Fishman and Walker Connor 'readily accept the modernity of nationalism as a political movement and ideology, but regard[s] nations either as updated versions of immemorial ethnic communities, or as collective cultural identities that have existed, alongside ethnic communities, in all epochs of human history'.²¹

In fact, there are numerous schools of thought on national identity and nationalism. These include the inclusive, "organic" approach of the primordialists such as Hans Kohne, Pierre van den Berghe and Clifford Geertz, who argue that national identity evolves from the basic phenomena of language, territory and kinship. Members are born into a common descent, and by virtue of their shared ancestry, language and religion, are inducted into a common national identity. Then there are the perennialists such as Walker Connor and Joshua Fishman. This school of thought holds that nations are the product of long term historical development, and that nationalism requires that people identify with a perceived shared history. Ethno-symbolism extends these ideas of perceived shared history to the wider range of myths, memories and traditions. The most widely known group, including Hobsbawm and Gellner, are classical modernists, who pursue a politicised definition of nationalism and identity, whilst the most recent group, the postmodernists, represented by for example Homi Bhabha, question the very idea of a "national identity", arguing that every "nation" is now so culturally fragmented that a

²⁰ Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p.51

²¹ A. D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*, (London, 1998), p. 159

homogenous national identity can no longer exist,²² if indeed it ever did.²³

The perennialists have faced criticism on a number of levels. One of these is that their approach is particularly suited to the pre-modern era, but not to the modern world, as the approach does not tackle what happens when external factors impinge on identities, for example, mass migration. Perennialist thinking was overtaken by classical modernism, which argued that these definitions of national identity, being based in time immemorial, as well as being too retrospective, were far too reliant on faith. Breuille dismissed theories of cultural nationalism as atavistic, and driven by an irrational need to belong.²⁴

History has also impacted on theories of national identity. The period around World War II saw theorists such as Kohn distinguishing Western, socio-political identity as superior to Eastern, ethnic identity. Nationalism had taken on dangerous political undertones and the distinction between patriotism and nationalism was accentuated. Nationalism as a concept was redefined in the early 1980s by Gellner when he argued that nationalism did not have to be an explicit expression of identity, but was involved in the actions of everyday life as a citizen of a state.²⁵ However, although nationalism could now be seen as a more passive construct, for example in theories of "civic" and "banal" nationalism, it still retained its link with the apparatus of state, and thus remained a politicised concept.

One very important factor about identity is that it is not exclusive, that is, we can have more than one identity. This is a factor which political theorists in particular tend to miss when they criticise pre-modern ethnics. For example, Neil Davidson, in his recent book *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*,²⁶ claims that there cannot possibly be a national identity pre-Union. His evidence for this is the Highland/Lowland divide, that Lowlanders could not possibly identify with Highlanders. However, he

²² Summary of work found in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*

²³ Interestingly this could be seen to reflect the tripartite model of identity markers identified by social scientists working on perceptions of Scottish identity. One could argue that the primordialists are represented by ancestry as a nationality marker, the perennialists by birth country and the classical modernists by residence.

²⁴ J. Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd edition, (Manchester, 1993), discussed in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 89

²⁵ D. McCrone and R. Kiely, 'Nationalism and Citizenship', *Sociology*, Vol. 34, no. 1, pp.19-34

²⁶ N. Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, (London, 2000), p.70

misses the fundamental point that we have concentric identities,²⁷ each layer more encompassing than the last. Lowlanders may not have identified with Highlanders per se, but that did not mean that they could not also see themselves as Scots. If a person is asked whether they come from England, Scotland, Wales or France, saying 'I'm a Lowlander' is not of much use - it does not fit the frame of reference. Davidson is looking on a purely intra-national level.²⁸ The dimension of space, of geographical standpoint is the problem here.

A question which further vexes scholars is that of *when*. When does a feeling of identity become a national consciousness - if indeed it ever does. Walker Connor has pointed out that whilst it has been the élite that have written history, national consciousness is a mass phenomenon. However, he goes on to assert that the existence of "nations" prior to the late nineteenth century is doubtful. Here there seems to be an inherent paradox - if we only have the history of the élite, how do we know what the masses thought? Therefore can we dismiss the idea that there was national consciousness prior to the nineteenth century? And this also assumes that everyone must identify with the nation for there to be a true sense of national identity, a fact which the idea of concentric identities will show is dependent on where we are looking at identity from - an intra- or inter- national perspective. Here we must be clear. I would argue that on an individual level, each person can identify with the nation and thus have a sense of national identity, but this is different from saying that there is only a "national identity" when there is a homogenous idea of a nation which is shared by all its inhabitants.²⁹ As this thesis will demonstrate, the individual is central to concepts of identity.

Gellner proposed that pre-modern, agroliterate society had no possibility or desire to create a single homogenous culture, that the élite used history to fortify their superiority through descent, and that the clerisy was either indifferent to, or did not

²⁷ The notion of 'concentric loyalties' can be ascribed to Anthony Smith's *The Ethnic Revival* as discussed in T. C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in T. M. Devine (ed) *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde 1987-1988*, (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.1-21, p.2

²⁸ Davidson, *Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, pp.63-74

²⁹ This idea of identity is 'not so much an allegiance to some over-arching collective project, but rather a way of "presenting the self"'. L. Paterson, 'Conclusion: does nationalism matter?', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 17, (Autumn, 1996), pp.112-119, quotation p.115, citing ideas of

have the resources, to spread their influence throughout society.³⁰ This does not seem to fit Scotland. Religion was one of the great uniters of early Scotland, as we shall see in chapter three. Indeed, another of Gellner's arguments, about the importance of education, is particularly pertinent to Scotland, an acknowledged leader in widespread education. He underlines the importance of taught culture, albeit, in his eyes, an artificial one, and the role of mass education in creating loyal subjects.

Furthermore, what of external national consciousness? We may not be able to gauge the personal experience of national identity of every man in the street in Scotland prior to the nineteenth century, but we can get a pretty good overview from commentators outside Scotland. Again, chapter three will endeavour to show that we can not dismiss a pre-nineteenth century national consensus. In the case of Scotland the nineteenth century saw the construction of a "false" national consciousness, after the deconstruction, for a number of reasons, of any realistic sense of identity which may have existed. This "false" national consciousness can be characterised as the beginnings of a customer consciousness - there was a need for an identity from the people, particularly in respect of George IV's visit. Interestingly, this consumer-driven desire for history was matched by a commercial customer desire for the trappings of identity, namely tartans and Highland dress.

Thus it appears there can be a "false" customer national consciousness, that is, the stereotypical perception, and a "true" national consciousness, in terms of political nationalism within Scotland - or at least this is what the terminology of authors such as Nairn would suggest.

One aspect which is interesting in the search for identity is the dimension in which we search. The classical approach is in the dimension of time. Thus, historical perspective can help us research the phenomenon of identity. As Edwin Muir discovered,³¹ looking for identity from within can be a thankless task - it is impossible to analyse identity as a whole concept when looked at from the

Anthony Cohen (see A. P. Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: an alternative anthropology of Identity*, (London, 1994)) and E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (New York, 1973)

³⁰ E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), chapter 2, summarised in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* p.30

³¹ E. Muir, *Scottish Journey*, (Edinburgh, 1979, first edition 1935)

perspective of a personal identity concentric to the whole. There are many localised identities pertaining to, for example, geography, religion and education, to name but a few, and it is often difficult to analyse a national identity from such a position. However, there is another dimension in which national identity can be researched - the dimension of space, of geographical distance. For example, by looking at what people from another country consider to be Scottish national identity, we can put together a fairly homogenous picture of what constitutes this perception. In a modern sense, media representations of Scots and Scotland generated abroad highlight this. This principle is also particularly interesting if it is applied to Scots abroad - for example characterised by emigrant societies, in a historical and a modern sense.

In modern terms, this constructed identity prevails all over the world as a presentation of Scotland. Chapter five will endeavour to show how this is still happening, and how the legacy of Romanticism lives on in the media and the minds of the twentieth century.

How Do Other Approaches Fit into Historical Theory?

Whilst history has embraced the definitions of political science to try and help studies of identity, the differing approaches now being practised in these and other 'social science' subjects have caused some consternation in the students of historical method. Some historical theorists embrace the definitions and approaches of other disciplines, hoping that this culturally postmodern approach will produce particular insights.

The extremes of postmodernism as inhabited by the likes of Hayden White and Keith Jenkins hold that we have, as Fukayama predicted, seen the 'end of history'. To these theorists, history is a process by which historians attempt to impose their own prejudices and structures onto a meaningful structure of the past, when there is no meaningful past. History is an effort of construction. This is of course diametrically opposed to the holy grail of objectivity aimed at by Ranke and others. Whilst more recent historical theorists have acknowledged that there cannot realistically be one perfect objective historical narrative, they hold that there is still a place for the "modern" school of history as practised and preached by the likes of Carr and Elton.

Whilst it is seen as postmodern to embrace history from the perspective of schools of thought such as popular culture, gender and race, modern theorists would argue that the proper historical method is to consider all of these approaches when practising history. However, this can spill over into contempt for the postmodern approach. In the glossary of Arthur Marwick's *The New Nature of History: knowledge, evidence, language* the last line of his definition of postmodernism states 'if it often sounds like nonsense, this is because it is nonsense'.³² This is probably because Marwick seems particularly incensed by what he sees as the excessive wordiness of the post-modern discourse. However, he does also raise an interesting point when he writes:

... out of their mouths the postmodernists reveal that, far from being a scholarly discipline, or super-discipline, postmodernism is really just a belief system ("religion" if you like) based on the assertions of such "authorities" as Marx, Saussure and Foucault.³³

However, as we shall see in the next section, identity itself is a belief system, a question of faith. Therefore it seems that we would be wise to take into account the postmodern approach in trying to approach the idea of identity.

Does National Identity have to be a 'Rational' Construct?

Does identity have to be "rational"? Many philosophers suggest that an empirical approach is not suitable in what is a matter of faith, as the work of Immanuel Kant shows. Identity is a metaphysical problem. Although the term metaphysics implies that there are general traits which can be applied to all universes, and hence all identities, this is not true. Only at the highest level of abstraction can traits of identity common to all nations and hence all societies be found. Kant tried to incorporate both religion and science in his theories by adopting the ideas of *noumena* - conception by reason and not perception, and *phenomena* - perceived objects on which material study could take place. Nationalism and national identity have been treated, in Kant's terms, 'phenomenally', that is, sociologists and political scientists study manifestations of identity. The modernists only accept political manifestations, for example, SNP popularity polls, as opposed to cultural

³² A. Marwick, *The New Nature of History: knowledge, evidence, language*, (Basingstoke, 2001) Glossary, Appendix D, p. 293

expressions.

However, I would argue that aspects of identity are noumenal, and consequently require faith to be understood rather than science. For example, Edwin Muir claimed he could not find a Scottish identity in the Scotland of the 1930s - but can someone who has no intrinsic sense of identity, which Muir himself admitted, find something which is not tangible, which exists in the heart and the mind? This is the question which challenges the role of the social sciences in researching the phenomena of identity. Can a scientific approach be used to define something which is not quantifiable, which is not tangible? This is what makes identity so hard to determine on a scientific level. With the rise of nationalism and the attempt to reconcile concepts of identity with science came the definitions of identity which have developed into the study of "nationalism". Because of the scientific terms adopted to deal with the concept of identity, nationalism has become an area of political study, a field the social sciences are continually trying to define. Postmodernism allows many definitions to be offered for national identity, but every attempt to offer a ubiquitous definition for Scottish identity will founder when faced by individuals' experience of Scottishness, and consequently identity can not be empirically defined, because every single person has their own perception of identity. Thus identity is a fluid concept, and this role of the individual in a national identity is highlighted throughout this these, where we look at the role of the individual, and how the individual's search for identity, for example through genealogy, is contributing to a massive surge in personal identification with a Scottish national consciousness.

The 'Moreno Question'

Attempts have been made to quantify "Scottishness" before. One of the most famous has come to be known as the 'Moreno Question' after the sociologist who first applied it to Scotland in 1986. 'It is a straightforward question: "which of these best describes how you see yourself? Scottish not British; more Scottish than British; equally Scottish and British; more British than Scottish; and British not Scottish"'³⁴

Within Scotland, "Scottishness" has significantly increased since the late 1970s,

³³ Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, p. 267

³⁴ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, 2nd edn, p.160

paralleled by an apparent decline in "Britishness".³⁵ In an effort to see if national identity was a more important identifying factor in people's lives than, for example, class or gender, respondents in a 2001 survey were asked to name three identities from a list, which they felt were central to their self-identity. The highest ranked first choice, and highest ranked choice overall, was being a parent, with Scottishness a close second (49%:45% overall). Being a wife / husband was ranked fourth overall. This raises the factor that within Scotland, familial connection is a major aspect of identity. An interesting aspect to put in here in future research would be the choice "being someone's child", in other words, seeing if projecting familial connections back are as important as projecting familial connections forward. This would also allow for the skew caused by how many members of the survey sample have children. 79% of those living with their children reported being a parent as a key factor of their identity, compared to only 30% of those in the rest of the sample. We may not all be a parent, but we are all someone's child. The important factor here is the sense of kinship, a factor which has been reflected by the growing worldwide interest in genealogy.

Because the aspect of parentage does not reflect a similar response across the sample, whilst the factor of 'being Scottish' does; and because respondents had to choose from a set of choices rather than having a free-response, the researchers conclude that: 'it is revealing that "being Scottish" seems to be the only identity popular across a wide range of social groups'.³⁶ Thus national identity is seen as central to personal identity. However, how do respondents quantify being Scottish? This is a factor not addressed by Bond and Rosie, but one which this research will assess.

There has been identified a distinction between 'upper-case' and 'lower-case' nationalism, between cultural and political identity, in Scotland. Research has found that even within Scotland, cultural identity does not necessarily reflect political aspirations - one can define oneself as Scottish yet be opposed to

³⁵ Several studies have looked at this phenomenon. For a summary see R. Bond and M. Rosie, 'National Identities in Post-Devolution Scotland', (June 2002) <http://www.institute-of-governance.org/onlinepub/bondrosie.html> visited 18 September 2002, and also in *Scottish Affairs*, No 40, (Summer 2002), pp. 34-53

³⁶ *Ibid.*

independence.³⁷ Furthermore, whilst commentators have criticised the symbols of Scottish cultural nationalism as being masculine, and suggested that women may therefore be alienated from feeling Scottish, the statistical data does not bear this out.³⁸ Further research is underway. The Institute of Governance at Edinburgh University is currently engaged in several strands of research into identity running over a five year programme into 2004. Whilst this research is mainly into Scottishness it seems to be on a British or at most a European level from the work published so far. This reflects the problem with the Moreno question, that it is Brit-centric. Scottishness is identified solely in reference to Britishness, and thus the frame of reference will by definition affect responses. Scottishness as a concept in its own right is not clearly defined. Only in the late 1990s has the nature of Scottishness been broached, with surveys in 1997 and 1999 attempting to quantify Scottishness. Because free-responses were not used in the survey parameters, respondents had to choose from predefined 'markers of Scottishness', identified as (country of) birth, ancestry (having Scottish parents or grandparents) and (country of) residence.³⁹ Whilst these three aspects of identity were ranked in this order in importance from respondents, the survey sample was within Scotland itself. One of the aspects which this research will discuss is the passivity of residents of Scotland with regards to identity in comparison to members of the diaspora. This may be because we do not need to think about our identity, we just *are* Scottish, and we are comfortable with that, so then birthplace and residence are "easy" answers because they are easily quantifiable.

As David McCrone freely admits, 'There are, of course, significant numbers of people born in Scotland, and still more of Scottish extraction, of whom we know very little in identity terms.'⁴⁰ It is precisely these people that this research is aimed at, and as we shall see in chapters six and seven, the traditional parameters of "Scottishness" used within Scotland do not necessarily fit the diaspora.

Whilst Finlay and other commentators have noted that there has been no need for an overt show of Scottish national cultural identity, there is evidence that children in

³⁷ T. Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited*, (London, 1997) discussed in McCrone, *Understanding Scotland* 2nd edn, p.165

³⁸ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, 2nd edn, p.168

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.173

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.172

Scotland are more aware of their identity: 'in contrast to their white counterparts in English schools, the Scottish children seemed to be rather less complacent about their national identity'.⁴¹ Whilst children seem to use the three markers previously identified of birth, residence and ancestry, other markers raised in the Carrington and Short studies included language and 'heritage and history'. Research also done on this topic in Australia shows that whilst children identify 'being Australian' with symbols such as the Australian flag, kangaroos and koalas, the Australian accent, Sydney Harbour Bridge and the Opera House, they understand that these are stereotypes, and the authors cite Carrington and Short:

It is a truism of developmental psychology that thinking proceeds from the concrete to the abstract. We were not surprised, therefore, to discover that while some of the responses to the question, 'What makes a person British?' were abstract in nature, the majority were at the concrete level, focusing on such things as speaking English or being born in Britain.⁴²

It is not just children who use these 'concrete' markers of identity. Bechhofer, McCrone, Kiely and Stewart have published a series of articles discussing their research into Scottish identity markers.⁴³ They found that adults are using the same concrete markers as children, and that 'In the case of the landed and cultural elites in Scotland, natality, ancestry, place of residence, accent, name and appearance all figured as prominent identity markers.'⁴⁴

⁴¹ B. Carrington and G. Short, 'Who Counts; Who Cares? Scottish children's notions of national identity', *Educational Studies*, Vol. 22, no. 2, (1996), pp.203-224, quote from p.209. Also see B. Carrington and G. Short, 'What Makes a Person British? Children's conceptions of their national culture and identity', *Educational Studies*, Vol. 21, no. 2, (1995), pp.217-238 and B. Carrington and G. Short, 'Adolescent Discourse on National Identity - voices of care and justice?', *Educational Studies*, Vol 24., no. 2, (1998), pp.133-152

⁴² B. Carrington and G. Short, 'What Makes a Person British?', p236. quoted in S. Howard and J. Gill, "'It's Like We're a Normal Way and Everyone Else is Different": Australian children's constructions of citizenship and identity', *Educational Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 1, (2001), pp.87-103. See also S. Holloway and G. Valentine, 'Corked Hats and Coronation Street: British and New Zealand children's imaginative geographies of the other' *Childhood*, Vol. 7, no. 3, (August, 2000), pp.335-357. Interestingly, Holloway and Valentine are researching into how online interaction can help contest stereotypical understandings of identity.

⁴³ F. Bechhofer, D. McCrone, R. Kiely and R. Stewart, 'Constructing National Identity: Arts and Landed Elites in Scotland', *Sociology*, Vol. 33, no. 3, (August 1999), pp.515-534; R. Kiely, F. Bechhofer, R. Stewart and D. McCrone, 'The Markers and Rules of Scottish National Identity', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 49, no. 1, (February, 2001), pp.33-55; D. McCrone, R. Stewart, R. Kiely and F. Bechhofer 'Who Are We? Problematising National Identity', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 46, no. 4, (November, 1998), pp.629-652

⁴⁴ Bechhofer et al., 'Constructing National Identity', p.528

However, they also bring up the notion of affirmation:

Our argument, on the other hand, is that national identities depend critically on the claims which people *themselves* make in different contexts and at different times. But the processes of identity rest not simply on the claims made, but on how such claims are received, that is validated or rejected by significant others. Because actors are able, up to a point, to anticipate validation or rejection in particular contexts and at particular times, this influences the claims that they make.⁴⁵

So, if there is a culture of acceptance and affirmation towards Scottish identity, then it embraces those who choose that identity. Whilst Bechhofer et al. did research within Scotland, their idea has value for the group of people worldwide who identify themselves as Scottish. One of the markers of identity commonly cited by the diaspora is ancestry. However, in the process of researching ancestry, it is likely that those who describe themselves as fourth or fifth generation Scots have other ethnic groups within the family tree. More people may choose to be Scottish because it is easier to find evidence of this due to Scotland's impressive collection of records, and the fact that these records are in the English language, but it is highly likely there are other factors. It is plausible to suggest that the network of Scottish emigrants worldwide, and now on the Internet, are an attraction, giving as they do a sense of community. It can also be argued that the commercialisation of Scotland's history, for example the Clan system, is a factor - visitors to the material events of Scottishness abroad, for example Highland Games, can find out within seconds using computer programs which Clan they "belong" to, and of course can then purchase the necessary trappings to assume that identity, and the Internet is now bringing this commercial aspect of Scottish identity to a wider audience. Thus the commercial expansion of Scottishness helps to validate Scottish identity for some participants.

They also found that the three original markers of identity of birth, residence and ancestry can be discarded in given conditions. 'playing the Scottish card for many landowners often means using history to make the point. ... when even Scottish kings can be worked into the ancestry, then birth and residence ... pale into

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.530

insignificance'.⁴⁶ Thus they concluded that there are a number of markers of Scottish identity which can operate in combination, but that the only markers strong enough to support a claim of nationality on their own were birth, ancestry and length of residence.

The View of the 'Man in the Street'

However important it is to define the terms to be used in this thesis, we must remember that these concepts are accepted universally without such rigorous thought and definition. As Euan Hague found:

As my research progressed I realised that whereas I, as an academic researcher, was struggling to understand a diversity of Scotlands, my subjects generally understood Scotland as an unproblematic entity that needed no elucidation. A nation and a nationality are extremely complicated constructions of discourses and experiences, yet much of the world accepts nations and national identities as self evident.⁴⁷

As we shall see in chapters six and seven, the findings from the research questionnaires used back up Hague in that the majority of definitions given by respondents of Scottish imagery and identity fall within fairly narrow parameters. Very few respondents seemed to find their identity difficult to quantify.

Symbolism is an important aspect of identity. Bechhofer et al. cite Stuart Hall:

We only know what it is to be "English" because of the way "Englishness" has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which *produces meanings* – a system of cultural representation.⁴⁸

Bechhofer et al. have been criticised for their approach on the basis that :

⁴⁶ McCrone et al., 'Who Are We', pp.646-647

⁴⁷ E. Hague, 'Places of Memories and Memories of Place: Scotlands and Scottishness in the 1990s', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Syracuse, New York, (1998), pp.5-6

⁴⁸ S. Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 273-316 in S. Hall et al. (eds), *Modernity and Its Futures*, (Cambridge, 1992), p.292, Bechhofer et al.'s emphasis, p.517 of Bechhofer et al. 'Constructing National Identity'

National identity is not simply a given, but it is not a matter of free will either. Such an assertion rests on the premise that national identity is an apolitical matter of personal preference. One can of course hope (or even argue) that national identity will eventually become a matter of individual agency in the new millennium, but to omit such structural factors as the state and nationalist movements in its contemporary construction would seem to border on *naïveté*.⁴⁹

However, this criticism is missing a fundamental point. Whilst Bechhofer et al. did their research within Scotland, there are many who would identify with the markers of identity suggested by this research outwith Scotland. Furthermore, these people are not subjects of the Scottish “state” in the same way, yet this does not seem to hinder their “Scottishness”. Indeed, this thesis will highlight that many members of the wider Scottish diaspora are in fact ignorant of the Scottish political situation, and therefore state and politically nationalist movements do not always have to be part of the construction of Scottish identity.

Diaspora

One term which is often used in describing a body people identified with a national grouping is *diaspora*. The origin of the terms is from ancient Greek, *speiro* (to sow) and *dia* (over), and was originally a term used to describe migration and colonisation. However, it has also come to signify banishment or exile, and is commonly linked with ethnic groups which have been forced to move from their homeland, for example, Jews or certain African Groups. Cohen has argued that there are also different categories of diaspora, for example, imperial, cultural and victim diasporas. However, he also states that:

normally, diasporas exhibit several of the following features: (1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically; (2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland; (4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home; (5) a return movement; (6) a strong ethnic groups consciousness sustained over a long time; (7) a troubled relationship with host societies; (8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and

⁴⁹ S. Pryke, ‘Debate: Comment on Frank Bechhofer, David McCrone, Richard Kiely and Robert Stewart, ‘Constructing National Identity: Arts and Landed Élités in Scotland’,

(9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.⁵⁰

This would certainly seem to be a fair description of many Scots abroad. However, in this thesis the term diaspora is used with a slightly wider meaning. Instead of limiting the Scottish diaspora to those of Scottish descent, be it two or more generations, I would argue that the diaspora also includes all those who want to consider themselves to be part of it. This thesis will argue that identity is a question of faith, of personal choice, and that we can hold more than one identity. For example, someone might classify themselves as Australian on Australia Day in the pub, but as part of the Scottish diaspora at their local Highland Games. Recent research on Scottish identity of the landed élite in Scotland would seem to bear this out on an intra-national level,⁵¹ but little work has been done on the international level.

However, it is important to understand that symbolism, that is, the concrete manifestations of the abstract notion of "Scotland", has a large role to play in perceptions of what it is to be Scottish. 'Oddly, no serious analysis of Tartanry, the set of symbols and images, has been carried out by Scottish intellectuals.'⁵²

Symbolism and Myth

Identity, and particularly national identity is a thorny issue. If identity implies a common identity then this of course cannot really exist, in the same way that the single person cannot be completely identical to anyone else - even monozygotic twins will differ in their experience of life. Only by looking from the outside at the most prevalent manifestations of an identity can we try to unlock its secrets. This is why cultural nationalism is so important. For millions of people to partake of a few salient symbols means that somehow symbols can represent identity in a way political definitions and language can not. There has been much study of language which has shown that it is not the universal communicator it is often thought to be because every individual perception of a word holds different meanings according

Sociology, Vol. 35, no. 1, (2001), pp. 195-199

⁵⁰ R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London, 1997), p.180

⁵¹ Bechhofer et al., 'Constructing National Identity'

⁵² D. McCrone, 'Representing Scotland: Culture and Nationalism', in D. McCrone, S. Kendrick and P. Straw (eds), *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.161-174, p.164

to personal experience. As Saussure and Levi-Strauss have shown, this is particularly notable in the relationship of identity and myth.

The Enlightenment was particularly important in establishing this relationship in a modern context. Myth was seen as a product of an unenlightened time before rationality. As chapter three shall demonstrate, this discrediting of origin myths eventually, and paradoxically, gave them credence. Origin myths showed the process of enlightenment in action – “look how far on the road to redemption Scotland has travelled from times of myth and barbarous Highlanders!” It was this very prospect of enlightenment in action which ensured the survival of such myths from this era of rationality into the era of Romanticism, despite the work of authors such as Hume to consign such myths to history for once and for all.

David McCrone echoes the work of Marinell Ash: ‘Scotland has what we might call a rich myth-history which is often at odds with history proper’⁵³.

‘Modern perceptions of Scotland’s past are like a foggy landscape; small peaks and islands of memory rising out of an occluded background. The name of some of these peaks are Bruce, Wallace, Bannockburn, Mary Queen of Scots, Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Clearances’.⁵⁴

Ironically, Kidd has argued that these same icons have lost their ‘partisan significance’, and that this has ‘impaired their function as patriotic exemplars: this set of neutered icons suggested no particular definition of Scottish nationhood’.⁵⁵ Yet these are exactly the icons being seized upon to present Scotland to the wider world.

Myth and Scottish identity are intertwined in many ways. The most basic definition of myth in this study is that of myth as a story, for example, the origin legends of the country. C. P. Snow clearly demarked the definition and role of myth with regards to the sciences and the arts. Science ‘uses the term myth to mean an untrue

⁵³ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, p.19

⁵⁴ M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1980), p.1

⁵⁵ C. Kidd, ‘The Canon of Patriotic Landmarks in Scottish History’, *Scotlands*, Vol. 1, (1994), pp.1-17, quotation p.7

story'⁵⁶, whereas the artistic, literary school 'uses myth to mean a story that makes important statements about the nature of human beings'⁵⁷. However, both of these definitions must be embraced to truly understand the role of myth in shaping identity. Myth is more than a mere story. One can also discuss the "myth of Scottish identity", and in this case it is the identity of Highlandism and tartanry which is under scrutiny. Both may come from assertions of independence, but the mythic identity grew from the origin myths and history ascribed to Scotland by certain authors.

However, there are other definitions of myth, for example, Gilbert Royle holds that a myth is 'not a fairy story. It is the presentation of facts belonging to one category in the idioms appropriate to another. To explode a myth is accordingly not to deny the facts but to re-allocate them'.⁵⁸ This addresses the important point that myth can have some basis in reality, and indeed the existence of the myth itself has something to say about its creators and context.

Psychology of Language

Structural linguists such as Ferdinand de Saussure have studied the meaning of language in great depth. Claude Levi-Strauss has postulated that myth is a special form of language, beyond surface narrative or even underlying structure. Their branch of semantics is interested in the ideological significance of the language of identity. The main question at the heart of semantics is: how does language work? How do people have the same perception linked to a word? For example, when someone says the word blue, people will all think of different blues, from navy to sky blue (and of course, within these categories, people will have different interpretations of navy etc.) However, these interpretations all come under the umbrella term of blue. We learn what comes under the term blue from visual observation. The same applies to the word Scotland. People may think of, for example, Edinburgh Castle, a pipe band, mountain scenery etc. - all things which are seen to represent Scotland, and all things which people will have perceived in experience as being associated with Scotland.

⁵⁶ T. R. Spivey, *Beyond Modernism: Toward a new myth criticism*, (London, 1988), p.13

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.13

⁵⁸ G. Royle, *The Concept of Mind* (Harmondsworth, 1963) p.10 referenced in C. Eipper, 'The "Big Fella" on the big screen: cinema, charisma myth and history', *Screening the Past*, available at <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1199/cefr8b.htm>, visited 12 January 1999

So, how do people perceive, and remember? One of the key concepts here is “selective perception”. The brain is exposed to a myriad of information at all times, yet only some of this information is taken on board and used or remembered. The brain selects the information it uses by assessing input for “salient features” - aspects which make the information likely to be necessary, and easily memorable. This is why symbolism can be especially potent, because it is not just linguistic input which is being stored, but visual and audio information also.⁵⁹ One could argue that the perceiver is at fault, picking up only the most salient information (in the case of Scotland the particularly visual nature of Highland identity), and ignoring more detailed and less stereotypical stimuli. However, the stimulus itself seems to be the problem for Scottish identity. For every presentation of modern Scotland, there exist many more of historical, romantic Scotland.

We accept these picture postcard stimuli because we are persuaded by them- we agree with them. Again, there is the problem of the sheer amount of similar information being produced. Films like *Braveheart* only serve to back up existing stereotypes, which as chapters six and seven will show, are all too prevalent. For those who associate themselves with Scotland, for example the 5.4 million Americans cited in the introduction to this thesis, there is also the emotional response to the romantic view of their origins. The view of Scotland that exists is comfortingly detached from any kind of reality for the majority of those who partake of it. Ireland suffers from the same problem, for example, advertisements for Caffrey’s Irish Ale show a man entering a crowded American bar, pulsing to modern rap music, yet with one sip of this marvellous drink he is transported to Ireland, a country of rolling green hills, beautiful women, wild horses careering down cobbled streets, and toothless old men tipping their caps to you. Ironically, this is the very image that people want to project about Scotland. John ‘FX’ Anderson, a New York Advertising executive recommends the perfect advert to attract Americans to Scotland - the hustle of downtown rush-hour cutting to a Highland glen, in a mirror of the Caffrey’s ad. Although told his idea is not a new one, the advertiser still persists, and as his interviewer Kenny Farquharson admits, ‘If some ideas are timeless and tap into a powerful and enduring feelings, who needs new ones?’⁶⁰

⁵⁹ For a brief discussion of the role of perception and memory see Appendix A

⁶⁰ K. Farquharson, ‘Cut the Kitsch’, *The Sunday Times*, 7 April 2002

This kind of imagery is exploiting a special kind of thought process, that of nostalgia. Of course, one does not need to have first hand experience of a country to feel nostalgic about it. Although originally nostalgia was taken to mean a physical manifestation of homesickness,⁶¹ it has become a more mild affliction. However, it can still be characterised as a postmodern affliction - postmodernism being an 'omnipresent, omnivorous and well-nigh libidinal historicism'⁶². Tied up to this postmodern view is Jameson's concept of schizophrenia, in this sense meaning an inability to distinguish fully between past, present and future. Pieces of history are seamlessly welded into a 'perpetual present'.⁶³ Ironically this view, representative of a postmodern view of nostalgia and identity, refers to a loss of historical consciousness, a loss of the concept of linear history, whilst historians are arguing that historical consciousness can only be reached through embracing the very concept that history is not a linear subject.

Although some adverts do break the mould, for example the Holsten Pils advert fronted by Denis Leary which comprehensively ridicules the Caffrey's style of advert, the former is more prevalent, for example the Murphy's Bitter campaign, or the Northern Ireland Tourist Board campaign showing another cloth capped old man crossing a craggy gorge above the sea on a narrow rope bridge he uses every day. The perception of Irish identity abroad has always been more "developed" than the Scottish one, for example, recent research admits that:

'after the mid-twentieth century, interest in the St Patrick's Day parades declined as scholars tended to find newer urban rituals ... more theoretically provocative ... even the New York Irish-American community had come to see their parades as rather routine affairs',⁶⁴

an interesting comparison with the current fervour over the far more recent

⁶¹ First classified in 1688 as a depressive disease affecting soldiers far from home by Johannes Hofer, and cited by S. Brown, 'Tradition on Tap: the mysterious case of Caffrey's Irish Ale' *The Marketing Review*, 1, (2000), pp.137-163, p.139

⁶² F. Jameson, *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern 1983-1998*, (London, 1998) quoted by Brown, 'Tradition on Tap', p.141

⁶³ Brown, 'Tradition on Tap', p.142 and p.149 discussing Jameson, *The Cultural Turn*

⁶⁴ S. A. Marston, 'Making difference: conflict over Irish identity in the New York City St Patrick's Day Parade', *Political Geography*, Vol. 21, (2002), pp.373-392, quotation p.374

innovation of "Tartan Day".⁶⁵

The final stage in remembering is that of retention. The amount of exposure to a stimulus over time will ensure better long term storage, and the more a memory is recalled the more it is reinforced. As Bartlett says: 'Remembering appears to be far more decisively an affair of construction than one of mere reproduction'.⁶⁶ Therefore the younger we are when exposed to such stereotypes the longer they have to become ingrained. In his PhD study Euan Hague asked eight year olds in Edinburgh and New York to draw what Scotland meant to them. The results were very interesting:

Although a majority of American children drew nothing recognisably "Scottish" in terms of these stereotypes, one must recognise the plain fact that some children between the ages of six and nine, living four thousand miles away from Scotland, knew Tartanry stereotypes of kilts, bagpipes, the Highland Games and the Loch Ness Monster.⁶⁷

Furthermore, research by Wiegand⁶⁸ has show that children are particularly receptive to 'emblems', and especially exotic ones such as the fact that Australians wear hats with corks around the rim, meaning that the strong imagery of Scotland is easily absorbed by young minds. As we have already seen in this chapter, this idea of concrete symbols rather than abstract markers also extends to adults.

Memory is also important because of its relationship with perception. National identity on an individual level requires an active role of the believer, a manifestation of their faith. This thesis is concerned as much with what modern cultural Scottish identity is, as with how it is perceived, particularly by people who are outside Scotland. Perception is what people actually think Scotland is like, and how these opinions are formed and remembered. The STB research quoted in the previous

⁶⁵ Note the difference in the names used. The Irish events are linked with St Patrick as someone who defines "Irishness", whilst the Scottish equivalent is named for a symbolic material which has no such religious or personal connotations. The adoption of such a "sterile" symbolism for Scotland is discussed in chapter four.

⁶⁶ F. C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*, (Cambridge, 1932), p.295

⁶⁷ Hague, 'Places of Memories', p.139

⁶⁸P. L. Wiegand, *Places in the Primary School, Knowledge and understanding of places at key stages 1 and 2*, (London, 1992) referenced by Hague, 'Places of Memories', p.70

chapter gave an indication as to what current perceptions of Scotland are, but just how these perceptions were formed is the question at the heart of this thesis, and one which can only be answered by taking a broad look at Scottish history. The thesis will show how history has always been used to justify identity in Scotland, charting the construction of the identity which research has shown to be that perceived abroad.

There are many other aspects of “memory” which impact upon perceptions of Scotland and Scottishness. Euan Hague brings up a very valid point in his criticism of the derision for the stereotypical perception of Scotland of Craig, Linklater, Nairn et al.:

Although upon first inspection memories “about Scotland” may appear to be the same in content, differences emerge in relation to different individual experiences. This does not mean that a memory of “Scotland” held by someone whose “sensory impressions” have come from a secondary, or even further removed, source is invalid. Such a recollection is still a “memory”, albeit one of a different qualitative depth.⁶⁹

What Hague is saying is that a perception of Scottish identity is not some mythic Scotland that does not exist, it *is* Scotland to that person. It is almost as if Scotland has a virtual reality which extends far beyond her shores, a *Matrix*-like otherworld identity. Interestingly, Hague conducted much of his research in the US, in Syracuse, New York to be precise. Moving in the circles of Scottish societies he found himself hiding details about his life (namely his English parentage) to ensure he was seen as being truly “Scottish”, as his lack of knowledge of clans, tartans, genealogy, Gaelic, the bagpipes and the lack of an acceptably Scottish ‘brogue’ marked him out as suspicious to the members of these societies, as if he could not be a “real” Scot.⁷⁰ Our aforementioned “cultural commentators” are working from within Scotland, and it is this I believe that fuels their outrage. They are unable to grasp how ingrained stereotypical images of Scotland are abroad, and from a safe distance are able to deride the participants in this stereotype. Interestingly, the Internet is particularly active in sustaining this “virtual reality”, “e-topian” Scotland

⁶⁹ Hague, ‘Places of Memories’, p.9

and Scottish identity, and in doing so constructs and continues the stereotypical perception of Scotland and Scottishness.

The idea of a “constructed” Scottish identity is one which has received a lot of discussion. Hobsbawm’s idea of invented traditions might appear the answer for the Scottish experience, but in reality is too concerned with the conscious construction of an identity to be applicable.⁷¹ However, whether a generic explanation for identity can be found is another matter. Does each unique nation have its own particular identity, developed in its own particular way? This explanation would certainly seem to fit the bill for Scotland, whose national identity has developed using common denominators of identity such as myth, but in a unique way. All nations may use myths as the basic building blocks of identity, but these myths evolve into a historic identity depending on the needs of the nation at any given time. This introduces an extremely important factor into the relationship of identity and history, the idea of the people as consumers of history.

Consumer History

Whilst the unique relationship of history and identity and the manipulation of history to achieve an end has long been acknowledged, this has not been articulated in the terminology employed. The recent book by Cowan and Finlay on the *Power Of The Past*, whilst highlighting many of the points raised in this thesis, does not articulate these findings into a labelled analysis. Furthermore, history as a discipline, whilst willing to adopt the terminology of social sciences such as sociology and anthropology, is yet shy of the commercial disciplines. However, if we embrace the terminology of these disciplines in the same way that the discipline of politics has provided history with definitions of national identity, we find a useful taxonomy to describe the phenomena of the manipulation of history to provide identity. The terms this thesis will use are consumer, customer and provider, and a definition of these terms as used will follow.

People consume history. Whilst the past has not been enacted for observers, history has always been recorded with its audience in mind. This audience is the *consumers*

⁷⁰ This idea of authenticity and the evidence for there being a “two-tier” Scottishness amongst the diaspora will be discussed in chapter eight.

⁷¹ Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p.130. ‘Construction’ as a term implies a more conscious long-term affair.

of whom I speak, whether they be huddled round a fire listening to tales handed down from generation to generation, to viewers of a television documentary – they are all absorbing history. In the past, consumers have been passive, that is, they have accepted history as it is presented to them. In this case, the “power of the past” resided with the history makers, the storytellers and chroniclers who manipulated their perception of the past to present to these consumers with a specific purpose in mind – in other words, the *providers*. However, as the world has progressed and industrialised, consumers have become conscious of their role, and as such, that they can exert control over the providers. I have identified these as *customers* to differentiate them from their passive forbears. At the same time, the providers no longer hold the status and role in society they once did which allowed them to control history to such an extent, and this is partly due to the increasing consciousness of the customers.⁷²

Our growing concept of commercialism means that customers are now taking an active role in driving history to suit their need for identity. This is most readily characterised by the role of the Internet. The very earliest way of communicating identity through history was on a personal level of communication, characterised by oral history. Ironically, the Internet in the twenty-first century gives “oral” history a new role, in that people can once again communicate on a personal level about their identity, by creating their own websites about themselves. However, they are simultaneously communicating to a worldwide audience, and not just orally but with multimedia. This is a prime example of how customers are now driving the presentation of history for their own ends, and the massive explosion in the number of genealogical resources online is a symbol of this demand. This is also important because it emphasises the “lay” nature of the twenty-first century customer of

⁷² History has always been used as a tool by the providers to control the consumers. For example, early Roman works and chronicles, e.g. Tacitus, were written at the behest of patrons with their own agenda. However, even before this, oral histories were fulfilling this role. For example, stories and beliefs in Celtic gods, and later characterised by “histories” including tales of fairies and witches, were what were “needed” by the consumers of history, the people. In these instances, it was required that some things needed to be explained and before science could give explanations for natural phenomena, these “histories” did the job. They provided explanations for the unexplainable, but they also gave power to those offering the explanations. Thus, there were shamen in pagan times, and priests in Christian times, but essentially they were fulfilling a function in defining the identity of their consumers by providing a history that the people wanted because it explained their existence in terms of reference they could understand. The structure of lines of Kingship gave people a lineage and social order they could understand, and these factors will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

Scottish history. It is also no coincidence that surges in genealogical interest coincide with crises in identity, as evidenced by genealogy's continuing resurgences throughout history, and across nations.

History or Heritage?

Looking at the manifestations of history for consumers raises the idea of heritage. And, if we look at definitions of what constitutes heritage, we find a lot that is familiar from our theories of national identity. Again we find pre-modern, modern and postmodern definitions. "Traditional" heritage, characterised by the notion that we are born into a past immemorial, which we experience through our kinship reflects the primordial and perennial nationalists. Then, a tripartite failing led to the collapse of this traditional view of heritage. The first of these failings was the decline in influence of the Church, a common theme, and in particular the diminished role of the dead in favour of living legacies – with political theorists allowing nationalism the role of a 'secular version of immortality through absorption into the nation'.⁷³ Secondly, the new wealth of modernism overtook the importance of family heirlooms, causing a decline in a traditional, personal experience of heritage, both examples of the classical modern approach. And thirdly, symbolism became rife (ethno-symbolism) in the face of mass migration (postmodernism).⁷⁴

The same questions crop up in studies of heritage as they do in studies of national identity, regarding patriotism, symbolism, education and faith. As Carol Duncan points out, 'In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one spoke of patriotism, not nationalism'.⁷⁵ This highlights yet another problem of definition. Whilst Gellner et al. see this as justification that the idea of nationalism was only a modern invention, they fail to understand the definition of patriotism pre-modernity. To those at the time, patriotism *meant* nationalism, as is highlighted by Neil Davidson.⁷⁶ To the heritage theorists, patriotism was founded in education, as nationalism was to the political theorist.

⁷³ G. Mosse, *Confronting the Nation, Jewish and Western Nationalism*, (Hanover, 1994) referenced by Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p.140

⁷⁴ Idea of tripartite failure of traditional heritage from Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, pp. 8-63

⁷⁵ C. Duncan, 'From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National gallery, London' in D. Boswell and J. Evans, *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, heritage and museums*. (London, 1999), pp.304-331, p.322

Heritage theorists point out that modern history education has become 'subject to "consumption" by the public', and as such has seen calls for a return to traditional history teaching 'and a more patriotic historical content'.⁷⁷ Ironically, this leads us back to Gellner, who argued that mass education served to instil national consciousness, for example, the French Third Republic's creation of a national education system after the Franco-Prussian war, and as part of this, the standardised teaching of a national history through the history book of Lavissee.⁷⁸ Hobsbawm sees patriotism as a vague concept of group membership, but exemplified by the invention of strong symbols. Again education is important, for example, the US School system and the importance of the Stars and Stripes in rituals of identity within this system.⁷⁹ Lowenthal sees education as nationalising and democratising heritage.⁸⁰ And, importantly, education also teaches us how to find the historical information we seek to define our identity. However, we must also try and clarify the difference between history and heritage. David Lowenthal makes a crucial distinction:

heritage is not history at all: while it borrows from and enlivens historical study, heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes.⁸¹

- which seems to perfectly describe Scottish cultural identity in the aftermath of Walter Scott et al.; not a historic identity, a heritage identity. However, Lowenthal admits the relationship is more symbiotic than this: heritage past is history, history past becomes heritage. In an increasingly complex world, the experience is the thing - why read about the past when you can relive it, be it through museums or movies? History is seen as the sterilised version of accounts. This is particularly important in capturing the imagination of children. Sandy Mitchell recalls his

⁷⁶ Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, p.19

⁷⁷ R. Phillips, 'Contesting the Past, Constructing the Future: History, identity and Politics in Schools', pp. 223-235, in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield, *History and Heritage: Consuming the past in Contemporary Culture* (Dorset, 1998), quote p. 225, and also Phillips refers to *The Guardian*, 18 July 1989

⁷⁸ Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p.39

⁷⁹ E. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm, and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1984) p.9, referenced in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p.119

⁸⁰ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p. 67

experiences at the age of ten, when he was dragged round Winchester Cathedral by a droning tour guide which instilled in him a hatred of "heritage". However, salvation was at hand in the form of a trip in America to Colonial Williamsburg: 'The past was suddenly another country I could imagine living in'.⁸²

The title of J. M. Fladmark's *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist*⁸³ sums up this dichotomy of history and heritage well. Indeed, recent work by Paul Basu on 'homecomings' of the Scottish diaspora shows that in the case of Scotland, pilgrim would be a more useful analogy.⁸⁴

Heritage is also seen as the natural successor to oral histories. In today's increasingly fractured society, be it the demise of the nuclear family or the increase in migration of all types, personal family history as told from parent to child is becoming lost in the mania for multimedia. The rise in genealogy and heritage indicates a need for this lost information, a need for *identity*. Importantly, you do not need to experience your history firsthand to partake of its heritage, a fact which is particularly true of emigrants. Outposts of "Scottishness" have grown up around the world, not the least of which include Cape Breton and North Carolina.

Interestingly, the contrast of history and heritage can also be said to echo one of the great philosophical debates, that of reason versus passion. Early philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle believed that the human condition was a conflict between these two states, and one that reason ought to dominate. However, later philosophers, notably the Scot David Hume, believed that there was no conflict and that passion was the dominant force. In a way this illustrates the relationship between history and heritage, with history being reason and heritage, and with its identity, being represented by passion.

Lowenthal uses the analogy that 'the Past is a Foreign Country', that is, 'however much we know *about* the past, we can never really know *how* it was for those who lived back then'.⁸⁵ So, we domesticate the past, and by doing so make it relevant to

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.x

⁸² S. Mitchell, "Childs Play", *Heritage Today*, (September 2002), pp.12-15, quote p.13

⁸³ J. M. Fladmark, (ed), *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist* (Dorset, 1998)

⁸⁴ P. Basu, 'Highland Homecomings', University College London PhD thesis in progress <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/ancestral/ac-text.html> visited 16 August 2002

⁸⁵ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p. xiv citing the title of his previous book

modern life. In a nutshell, 'History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes'.⁸⁶

Heritage is imbued with a spirituality lacked by history, but echoed by identity, and this is not a peculiarly Scottish situation by any means. Furthermore, Scotland's inhabitants seem secure enough in their collective Scottish identity to not need to enact it, whilst it is those from abroad who are so intent on finding their direct familial identity through genealogy and actively taking part in their material manifestations of "Scottish culture". Heritage has also been derided because of what is perceived as the crass commercialisation of historic sites - for example, the fascination with Auschwitz, or the 'grassy knoll' being the biggest tourist draw in Dallas,⁸⁷ and in Scotland, the glorification of Culloden - all cases where heritage commemorates the "losers". But however much historians like to lambast the heritage industry, and it is an industry, their holy grail of objectivity is still further and further away. A study by Marc Ferro of school history texts worldwide shows that patriotism is still the key concern.⁸⁸ And conversely, the bias that history tries so hard to exorcise is a basic tenet of heritage - 'Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but in its attitude towards bias'.⁸⁹

The 2002 BBC2 programme *The Ship* attempted to reconstruct the voyage of Cook's *Endeavour* round the coast of Northern Australia. On board were two Professors of History, who expressed their amazement that they were 'living history' by taking part. But of course they were not. They were experiencing heritage, our twenty-first century reconstruction of Cook's voyage, with cameraman and sailors locked to the rigging with modern climbing equipment for safety, to say nothing of uncontrollable factors such as different weather patterns. Historians have to accept the fact that any "reconstruction" of an historic event will of course be coloured by the time of the reconstruction, and is just that, a reconstruction. History can never be "living". Indeed heritage says as much about the times we live in as any other historical source. Our twenty-first century reconstruction of the voyage of the *Endeavour* attracted Aboriginal protestors on a speedboat, which the crew on board

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xv

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.100

⁸⁸ Cited in *Ibid.*, p.114

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.122

accepted with equanimity, stating their acceptance of the Aborigines right to peaceful protest. If this reconstruction had taken place in the 1960s this incident could have had quite a different outcome. However, at the same time, heritage reconstructions can provide useful historical input. To use an example a little closer to home, “re-enactors” of medieval battles such as Bannockburn have discovered that parts of their reproduction spears, previously assumed to have only one protective function, actually act in another way to make a more viable offensive weapon.⁹⁰

Heritage also allows us to forget, to be selective in a way which history cannot be. Whilst a historian highlights certain facts with more vigour to follow a particular line of argument, his or her work would be considered remiss if it did not acknowledge the alternative case, the contradictory facts. In that way the historian is the jury, seeking to show beyond reasonable doubt that one set of facts outweighs another. Heritage simply plays down the facts which do not fit the narrative – indeed for such a postmodern conceit, heritage is surprisingly positivistic. The Mayflower is always remembered as a pilgrim ship not a slave ship, Flora MacDonald is a Jacobite heroine, not the Loyalist she became in later life.⁹¹

This also raises a point to which I will return later, that of the idea of “two tiers” of history, academic and popular. There is school history and popular history which is that spun to the masses, and real, academic history which exists in the rarefied atmosphere of the ivory towers of academia, and is practised by a select few. The snobbery is that popular history has to bend to the will of consumerism; it must sensationalise and sell stories and events rather than practice in depth historical analysis. However, all history is shaped by such forces, particularly in the days of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). Publishing output is a vital factor of the RAE, which in turn can govern funding for future research. Books and articles tend to cluster around “hot topics” – Scottish national histories being an obvious recent example in the light of devolution. Originality requirements see ever more diverse

⁹⁰ J. Cunningham, ‘It’s a hard re-enact to follow’, *The Herald*, 30 August 2002, interviewing Andrew Nicholson, archaeologist and re-enactor

⁹¹ Flora McDonald was driven from North Carolina as a persecuted Loyalist. Knowing of her Jacobite reputation the Governor of North Carolina appointed her husband a captain at the head of a Loyalist regiment of Highlanders. It is said the McDonalds complied as they felt bound by the oath of loyalty they had taken on arriving in America. C. Ray, *Highland Heritage Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill, 2001), p.221

new avenues explored. At a more basic level, to be a professional historian requires, as it has always done, patronage, whether this be the patronage provided by a King or the salary of a university. Increasingly “professional” historians are venturing into the market of popular history, for example recent publications such as *Scotland since 1688* by Cowan and Finlay, *Scotland* by Fiona Watson and the plethora of millennium inspired Scottish newspaper history part-works, to say nothing of the rising number of television programmes on the subject. Does there have to be a distinction between well written history in a format accessible for non-academics, and the weightier tomes of in-depth study?⁹²

The Development of Heritage as Provider of Identity

Heritage is the hot topic of the moment. The number of university courses, books and websites on the subject are rapidly increasing. However, the roots of the interest in heritage can be traced further back – in fact, David Boswell points out that the Victorian era, with its mass produced literature, was a key period in the development of the heritage obsession, of transforming history into a tool for the establishment of a modern England.⁹³ However, England was not the only country to undergo this transformation. This brings up the important factor that the rise of the conscious consumption of history can be equated with the birth of the heritage experience.

This is a vital point. At just the time that “heritage” appears, perceptions of identity in Scotland, and elsewhere in Europe, undergo a radical shift. Instead of history itself being used to make a national identity, this role is undertaken by heritage, a new experience and representation of history forged by literature, art, migration, travel – a myriad of factors all for the first time making heritage, as opposed to history, available to a mass audience. History maintains a role in the formation of political identity,⁹⁴ but heritage becomes the basis of cultural national identity. As

⁹² Some academics think not. For example, see J. Hunter, ‘Review: Glencoe and the end of the Highland war’, *Scottish Affairs*, no. 27, (Spring, 1999), pp.105-107

⁹³ P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, (London, 1997) summarised by D. Boswell, ‘Introduction to part two’, in D. Boswell, and J. Evans, (eds), *Representing the Nation: A Reader. Histories, Heritage and Museums*, (London, 1999), pp. 111-114, p.111

⁹⁴ For example, ‘in the opening words of the mother of the house and temporary presiding officer, Winnie Ewing, when she declared “the Scottish parliament, adjourned on 25 March 1707, is hereby reconvened”. In reality, of course, the new Scottish parliament is not the old one and the injection of historical continuity between the two is imagined. The historical processes which led to the closure of the old and the establishment of the new are two

chapter four will show, this was not just common to Scotland.

Furthermore, there was a shift in the consciousness of the people in regard to their history. They moved from being passive consumers of history to being active customers – and customers with power in an increasingly commercial world. There was a shift in that previously patrons of history had held the power to control the past that was presented, but now financial, indeed commercial, concerns provided the funding and patronage required to produce “history”. The experience of consumption meant that customers had to be catered to, and again, the Scottish case is particularly well illustrated if we use the example of tourism, as shall be seen in chapter five.

The concept of tourism is one that has been present throughout time. In early incarnations tourism was a pilgrimage with a religious purpose. As the world became more secular, cultural tourism, the so called “Grand Tour”, became *de rigeur*, and as enlightenment ideas became popular the search for civilisation which had been a driving force behind artistic tourism, began to come into its own. The classical attractions of Rome, which had always been a centre of pilgrimage, began to wane compared with the attractions of the natural wildness of the Alps and Scotland. Pre-civilised society became a matter of study. Duncan Macmillan gives an overview of this process from the Scottish perspective in his article ‘The Arts and Identity: From Pilgrimage to Grand Tour’.⁹⁵

This has been mirrored by a fundamental change in how self worth and identity are perceived. Previously, production was the major measure of self worth – what did we produce? Now, however, consumption is the greater measure of self worth. People are measured according to their possessions, be that their material belongings or their identity.⁹⁶

unrelated phenomena, except arguably in the popular imagination. Yet this point, which is obvious to historians, is lost on a population and politicians eager to use the historical fact that Scotland had a parliament before 1707 to confer legitimacy and tradition on the new one.’, R. J. Finlay, ‘Review Article New Britain, New Scotland, New History? The Impact of Devolution on the Development of Scottish Historiography’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 36, no.2, (2001), pp.383–393, quotation p.387

⁹⁵ D. Macmillan, ‘The Arts and Identity: From Pilgrimage to Grand Tour’, in J. M. Fladmark (ed), *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist* (Dorset, 1998), pp.163-177

⁹⁶ A. Fuat Firat and N. Dholakia, *Consuming People: From political economy to the theatres of consumption*, (London, 1998), p.128

Summary

This chapter has discussed theories of national identity and their relationship to the Scottish experience. Nationalism as a term will be used in this thesis in its modern definition, that is, to describe political national identity from the eighteenth century onwards. The term “national identity” will be used to represent all forms of Scottishness prior to the eighteenth century and after this period it shall be representative of cultural as opposed to politicised identity. This chapter has also concluded that there are numerous markers of Scottish identity, and concrete symbols are perceived and adopted to explain the abstract concept of “Scottishness”. These markers are used by children and adults alike and are used to represent what is actually a very personal experience. Scottish identity is considered to be a question of personal faith and belief, and different markers and interpretations of these markers are used by different individuals. Importantly, concepts of faith, myth, history and heritage are tangled together in constructing Scottish identity:

There is nothing quite like faith for closing a nation’s collective eyes to reality. Myth is an important vehicle of faith, and it is through myth-history or heritage that a society becomes engaged in the seemingly insatiable need to understand its past. It is fluid and open for re-presentation or re-capture, but this is precisely its power.⁹⁷

People are exposed to markers of identity through a variety of media, which have changed over time. The last century has seen the creation of formal institutions within Scotland to research and present these symbols of identity for consumption. The Internet has played a large role in this democratisation of presentations of Scotland’s history and identity, and has allowed customers of Scottishness to attain a dual role as customer and provider. The “dominant ideology thesis” which has governed so many studies of identity is now being challenged by this new media.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ G. Morton, ‘The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth Century Scotland’, *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXVII, 2, no. 204, (October, 1998), pp.224-251, quotation p.224

⁹⁸ See G. J. Ashworth, ‘From History to Heritage – from Heritage to Identity: in search of concepts and models’, pp.13-30, in G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham, *Building a new heritage: tourism, culture identity in the new Europe*, (London, 1994). The ‘dominant ideology thesis’ is basically that which says the government / élites control the presentation of the history and markers which shape identity, be it through the formal structure of the education system, or

Research into the concept of Scottishness has been concentrated primarily within Scotland itself, and the three main markers of identity within Scotland suggested are ancestry, birth country and country of residence. However, it is unlikely that these are applicable to people out with Scotland. This thesis will look at how Scottish identity has evolved through history, and a symbolic identity has spread worldwide. It will also conduct research into perceptions of Scottish identity amongst the Scottish diaspora, a previously un-researched area. Finally it will assess the role of the Internet as a new medium in presenting Scotland's history and identity and to a wider global audience.

other channels in the media. Of course, this is the same situation which has always existed throughout history, with the relationship of providers and consumers.

Chapter Three: The Evolution of Scottish Identity

Earliest Historical Accounts of "Scotland"

It has become somewhat traditional for studies of Scottish identity to start with the earliest historical reference to the people of what is modern Scotland, which is widely acknowledged to be in Tacitus' account of the campaigns of Agricola, Governor of Britannia from AD78 to 84¹. However, let us go back a little further in time to 58BC, and the work of another Roman. Julius Ceasar's *Conquest of Gaul* begins: 'Gaul comprises three areas, inhabited respectively by the Belgae, the Aquitani and a people who call themselves Celts, though we call them the Gauls. All of these have different languages, customs and laws'.²

Whilst not specific to Scotland, this very clearly shows that from the earliest written histories of western Europe groups of people were identified with a name, a territory, language and practices, and furthermore, that peoples had their own names for this grouping, their own identifier.

Tacitus tells us that in 83 Agricola led his army into Caledonia, an area stretching from north of the Forth to the Great Glen. The leader of the 30,000 strong force which was opposing the Romans was Calgacus (also known as Galgacus).³ Mattingley's translation of Tacitus actually states that Calgacus was 'one of the many leaders, a man of outstanding valour and nobility',⁴ which could be seen to suggest a force of united clans each under their own leader. As will be described later, Clan society was a natural progression from the hierarchical structure of the society of the Scots and Picts, as was feudal leadership. What lay behind the giving of this name was probably Tacitus' desire to flatter his patron, indeed his employer Agricola. History was being written for its "consumer", in this instance Agricola, and so began a long line of "Scottish" martial stereotypes. Tacitus describes the

¹ C. Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line: Highland History and Culture* (London, 1991), p.30

² J. Ceasar, *The Conquest of Gaul*, Book 1, The Expulsion of Intruders, (1) Repulse of the Helvetii (58BC) translated by S. A. Handford, translation first published 1951, this edition (England, 1982), p.28

³ Tacitus, *The Agricola and the Germania*, Translation and introduction by H. Mattingly, translation revised by S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth, 1970), p.79. This is the earliest naming of a person in Scottish history, and it is interesting to note that the name Calgacus means 'Swordsman'. Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line*, p.31

speech Calgacus gave to rouse his troops, which expresses the desire for freedom, and pride in their martial spirit:

You have mustered to a man, and all of you are free ... The clash of battle - the hero's glory - has now actually become the safest refuge for a coward. Battles against Rome have been lost and won before; but hope was never abandoned, since we were always here in reserve ... Our courage, too, and our martial spirit are against us; masters do not like such qualities in their subjects.⁵

This speech echoes Tacitus' own criticisms of Roman policy.⁶ So, again history is being written with its consumers in mind, and with an agenda.

Later chroniclers also highlighted the martial and freedom loving nature of the Scots. In 122, Hadrian came to Britain and ordered construction of a wall to keep the Barbarians out. D. J. Breeze, in his book *Roman Scotland*, cites Cassius Dio, a Roman scholar of the early third century. Of the reign of the Emperor Commodus, Dio's *History of Rome* tells us '...the greatest war was in Britain. The tribes in the island crossed the wall ... and did a great deal of damage ... Commodus in alarm sent Ulpius Marcellus against them. Marcellus inflicted a major defeat on the Barbarians'.⁷ In 208, 'there was a rebellion amongst the Barbarians and they were laying waste the country, plundering and causing widespread destruction'.⁸ Breeze also states that 'the Caledonians were not familiar with the discipline displayed by the Roman Army. Their tactics appear to have been the same as the Highland clans of later years who attempted to win through a ferocious downhill charge'.⁹ Whilst not a military tactic specific only to the Highlands, it would again seem that some of the components that were to make up the stereotypical image of the Highlander were in evidence from an early time, be they the fabrications of the historians of the time who had an agenda to fulfil, or indeed historical fact.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Tacitus, *The Agricola*, pp.80-81

⁶ In particular the phrase that 'They make a desert and call it peace', quoted by A. A. M. Duncan in D. S. Thomson (ed), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), p.30

⁷ C. Dio, *History of Rome*, quoted in D. J. Breeze, *Roman Scotland*, (London, 1996), p.17

⁸ Dio, *History of Rome*, quoted *Ibid.*, p.18

The Picts and the Scots

The first reference to the Picti (possibly a Roman nickname meaning 'painted people') came in 297, in a Latin poem.¹⁰ Although it is considered likely that at this time the Picts painted their bodies, probably using woad, Bede, writing in the seventh and eighth centuries, does not remark upon such a custom. Archaeologists suggest that by this stage they had transferred such decoration to clothes and stone carvings.¹¹ Such symbolism can provide useful evidence of the spread of Christianity, and also its homogenising effect as is shown later in this chapter. By the sixth century the Picts were being influenced by the spread of Christianity, brought by the Scots from Ireland, who had settled Dal Riata in western Argyll from as early as 360. Columba, Patrick and Ninian, the main Christian reformers in Scotland, had all come from the west. Gaelic place names using the prefix *Kil-*, from the Gaelic *cill*, reflecting the name cell or Church, spread from Galloway and Dumfriesshire as far up as Sutherland and Easter Ross.¹² This spread from the west coast is also reflected in the style of crosses and sculpture across this area. That the Scots settled this far down Scotland is a fact often ignored by contemporary historians,¹³ and it is interesting to note that the area traditionally referred to as Lowland Scotland was involved in settlement of the Scots at this early stage instead of merely being annexed once the Kingdom of Scotland was already established in about 842, when Kenneth mac Alpin became first King of Picts and Scots. Thus again before the creation of the Kingdom of Scotland 'relations with the Picts were not confined to the battles and sieges mentioned in historical sources'.¹⁴

However, the external threat of the Romans did also appear to cause alliances amongst Scotland's early peoples. In 306 Eumenius recorded that Constantius Chlorus attacked Caledonia to push back 'the Caledonians and other Picts'.¹⁵ By

⁹ Breeze, *Roman Scotland*, p.50

¹⁰ A Ritchie, *Picts*, (Edinburgh, 1989), p.5

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² A. Ritchie and D. J. Breeze, *Invaders of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1991), p.22 The spread of Gaelic place names shows that the Scots also settled in Galloway, particularly the Rhins of Galloway, as does archaeological evidence dating from the sixth century. The name Galloway itself means 'the land of the stranger Gaels' J. Keay and J. Keay, *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland* (London, 1994), p.411

¹³ Ritchie and Breeze, *Invaders*, p.19

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.22

¹⁵ Eumenius, quoted in Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line*, p.33

367, there was a so called 'Barbarian Conspiracy' of Picts and Scots,¹⁶ and the strength of their invading parties caused the Romans to despatch assistance from the continent.¹⁷ This was not the first time these tribes were united.

The Scots spoke Gaelic, a Celtic language which was separate from the Celtic languages of the indigenous Picts and Britons. Cowan asserts that the Scots 'undoubtedly' called themselves *Scotti*,¹⁸ (though does not explain how he knows this), whereas other labels were given by outsiders, and not necessarily recognised by the people themselves (for example, the Vikings or the Picts).¹⁹ Bruce Webster suggests that "'Scots'" as a term to describe the people who inhabited early Scotland is as much an outsider's description as "Picts'", and that the Scots would actually have referred to themselves as *Gàidheal*.²⁰ 'Scoti' (his spelling) was the name the Irish went under in contemporary Latin sources. This neatly illustrates the problems of working with terms which have a modern resonance.²¹ Dauvit Broun, following the leadership of Geoffrey Barrow, ascertains that this problem of names obscures the change in the meaning of the name from Irish/Gaels in Bede's day, to its more modern meaning²². Furthermore, this makes use of external sources for the early period unreliable, as it is unclear if *Scotti* abroad were indeed Scots, or Irish Scots.²³ However, what is clear is that groups of people had designations which were wider than merely familial ties.

Is the Country Distinguishable from its Inhabitants?

Broun holds that :

Because the usual outline of Scotland's early history is not sensitive to how

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Ritchie and Breeze, *Invaders*, p.10

¹⁸ Several terms in this thesis have alternative spellings. For continuity's sake, only one spelling will be used unless in direct quotation.

¹⁹ E. J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXIII, no.176, (October, 1984), pp.115-116

²⁰ B. Webster, *Medieval Scotland, The Making of an Identity*, (London, 1997), p.14

²¹ Interestingly, Ewan Campbell suggests that *Scotti* was 'probably a derogatory term, meaning something like "pirates"' E. Campbell, 'Were the Scots Irish?' *Antiquity*. Vol. 75, (2001), p.285

²² D. Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots Before the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.4-37, p.5

²³ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.115

people in the Scottish Kingdom at the time defined themselves and defined Scotland territorially, it actually fails to address the early development of "Scotland" - as distinct from the kingdom.²⁴

He contends that the differing geographical definitions attached to "Scotland" by thirteenth century writers does not correspond with the areas under the King of Scots. But was "Scotland" distinct from the Kingdom? Medieval historians would certainly not think so, as we shall see. Kingship and identity were inextricably linked. One could argue that sources from the early period reflect this because they were patronised by the King and written by only a select few with hidden - or not so hidden - agendas, but one could also argue, particularly in the light of Scotland's later constitutional Kingship, that Scotland and the Kingdom were one and the same.

Furthermore, as Broun himself points out, in medieval Gaelic and Latin, Alba and Scotia/Albania were only available in meaning as "Scotland", rather than the parts of Scotland they are taken to mean in English by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁵ Thus, even if the words Alba/Scotia/Albania were being used with reference to different areas, they were still all called "Scotland", even though the 'equation of "Scotland" with the *whole* area ruled by the King of Scots was, at best, only embryonic before the thirteenth century'.²⁶ However, such geographical shilly-shallying may obscure the fact that ideologically, it was the "land of the Scots" as we shall see from the many versions of Scotland's origin myth. Thus did it matter exactly *where* 'Scotland' referred to, more than *who*, more than the greater myth of the origins Scotland's inhabitants?

Cowan states that 'As the native history of Britain gradually becomes recoverable in genealogies, poems, King-lists, chronicles and saints' lives, between the sixth century and the tenth, it is clear that identity was conferred above all, by the kindred, the tribe of the people.'²⁷ It is fair to argue that the head of the people would therefore have special significance.

²⁴ Broun, 'Defining Scotland', p.5

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.6 For example, Scotia being seen as an area 'north of the Forth, south of Moray and east of the central highlands'.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.7 my emphasis

²⁷ Cowan, 'Myth and identity', p.112

Importance of the Kingship

The only written evidence that exists from the time the Picts were prominent are the “king lists”. Although the surviving manuscripts cannot be dated earlier than the fourteenth century, one of the lists probably dates from c.724. Sally Foster states:

The list contains the names of more than sixty Kings of whom about thirty may be regarded as historical, in the sense that they are known to us from other sources ... Irish early historic genealogies often claimed descent from a tribal goddess and the Pictish list might also include figures from mythology, heroic legend and perhaps genealogy, if we were in a position to recognise them.²⁸

Foster points out that the late translation would obviously reflect political interests, and that ‘This pseudo-tradition also had political motives’²⁹ - another early case of history being manipulated for the sake of identity, and written with its patrons and its audience (although often one and the same) firmly in mind.

For our heretage was even free
Since Scota of Egypt tuik the sea
Thus four times thirled and overharld
You’re the greatest refuse of all the world³⁰

Although this poem was written in 1700, it expresses Scottish independence from outside influence in contrast to England, as England was four times overcome by the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. According to the main schools of thought from the tenth century onwards, this poem is representative of one of the two basic popular myths of how Scotland came into being. This version, championed by authors such as Fordun, claims that Gaythelos (and hence Gaels), son of a King of Greece, married Scota (from the Greek “shadow” or ‘darkness’), daughter of the Pharaoh who ruled in the days of Moses. Nennius’ *Historia Brittonum* (in existence by 900) claims Scota’s husband was a Scythian, which

²⁸ S. M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (London, 1996), p.20

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ G. Steel, from *Robert the III King of Scotland His Answer to a Summonds by Henry IV of England to do Homage for the Crown of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1700), pp.4-6, referenced in C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1689-c.1830*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp.44-45

coincides with Bede's description of the origins of the Pictish Kingdom. Gaythelos and Scota moved from Egypt to Spain, and their descendants went to Ireland, the last under the leadership of Simon Brek. Under Brek's grandson the Scots moved to the north of Britain, and called that part of the island Scotia. The alternative version claims Brutus gifted Scotland to one of his brothers/sons, Albanus/achthus, and this version was to form the basis for many arguments about English suzerainty over Scotland, and its supposed antiquity.

However, such origin myths were not limited to Scotland. From the seventh century onwards the Trojan myth was a popular basis of identity in France, which held that the original inhabitants of France had been the descendents of those who had fled the destruction of Troy. Again antiquity was seen as an important identifier, and again, as in Scotland, the sixteenth century saw the deconstruction of these origin myths.³¹

A Pre-Modern National Mythology?

Historians such as Roger Mason and Colin Kidd argue that Scotland did not have a national mythology prior to the work of Fordun and Bower in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. John and Winifred MacQueen describe how Fordun was a 'synthetic historian', and the long line of tradition he was a part of.³² Eusebius' *World Chronicle* mixed origin myth and history to explain the existence of the Christian Roman Empire. The MacQueens suggest that it became a 'point of honour'³³ for barbarian countries outwith the boundaries of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fourth century to demonstrate such antiquity so as not to be inferior to the Romans. In this case then, the "consumers" of history were the enemy. Virgil had connected Rome with Troy by linking Aeneas, a survivor of the fall of Troy, into his history of the Roman Empire. This was to provide plenty of

³¹ E. A. R. Brown, 'The Trojan Origins of the French: the commencement of a myth's demise 1450-1520', pp.135-179 in A. P. Smyth (ed), *Medieval Europeans: studies in ethnic identity and national perspectives in medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998)

³² J. MacQueen and W. MacQueen (eds), 'Introduction to W. Bower', *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I, General Editor Watt, D. E. R. (Edinburgh, 1993), p.xv Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-c.340) wrote a *World Chronicle*, now surviving in the Latin translation of St Jerome (c.342-c.420). Although this was a Christian document, it was early enough to include all the legends of Greek and Roman gods, neatly dismissed as Kings, in the manner of Euhemerus (c.300BC) in his *Sacred Scriptures*. 'The concept of the pagan gods had ... originated with human figures of a remote historical period whose accomplishments had caused them to be regarded first as superhuman, and eventually as divinities', p.xvi

fuel for the writers who claimed Brutus was the father of Briton, as Brutus was seen as a direct descendent of Aeneas himself. Referential identity and ideas of supremacy and subordination are thus clearly in evidence in early claims of origin and individuality. Again and again histories, be they mythic or supposedly factual, are driven by agendas and the requirements of its consumers, be they the patron or the intended audience.

The MacQueens point out that the earliest record of Scottish belief in these origin myths comes in the *Life of Cadroe*, a Scottish saint who died in 978. The *Life* was written c. 995, and in its version of the legend 'Scotta', an Egyptian, though not of royal blood, marries a Greek prince, Nelus, and they end up in Ireland and Scotland after being driven there by storms during a military campaign.³⁴

There are many more versions of this origin legends, all with various intricate differences, but although Kidd and Mason argue there was no "national" mythology prior to Fordun in the fourteenth century, I would disagree. If we chronologically order the sources for origin myths discussed here, we see a long tradition of very similar legends cropping up again and again:

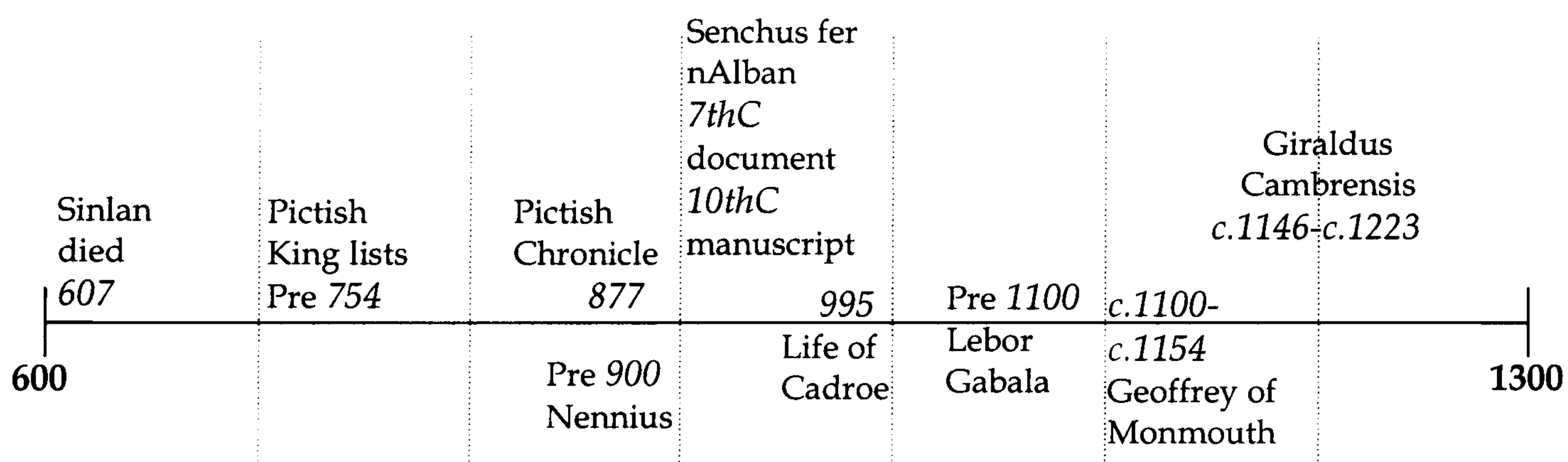


Figure 2. Sources for Origin Myths pre 1300

Although Fordun may have crammed all these mythologies into one source, there is definite evidence that they had been in existence *in written form* for at least seven centuries. In such an early period it must be remembered that oral tradition was a far more potent source for such myths. Indeed, the fact that so many written sources retell essentially the same story, with only minor variations, could suggest

³³ *Ibid.*

that these origin legends were very widespread in their oral form. Malcolm Chapman has stated that 'By the eleventh century the Gaelic language was at its most widespread, spoken throughout most of the area covered by modern Scotland.' He goes on to state that 'It is commonly felt that it was at this period that Scottish nationhood was first fully realised, under the Gaelic-speaking Monarch Malcolm Canmore.'³⁵ However, the importance of this statement lies in the fact that it suggests that Gaelic was a common language in much of the area of modern Scotland, and thus, it is reasonable to hypothesise that origin legends were indeed as widespread as the numerous written versions would suggest.³⁶

Indeed, recent research by Dauvit Broun is now challenging the idea that Fordun is entirely a fourteenth century manuscript. He has claimed that Skene may have wrongly assembled the work of Fordun, and that Fordun is only known to be the author of Books I to VI. Broun suggests that in fact the *Gesta Annalia*, which includes the famous account of the inauguration of Alexander III and the 'Scottus Montanus', and the documents Skene has compiled with Fordun are in fact the work of a separate author, probably from either Dunfermline or Inchcolm, and probably writing in 1284.³⁷ This may seem like a small point in relation to this thesis, but its importance lies in the suggestion that "national" myths were certainly not a product of the fourteenth century alone.

Furthermore one of the most important sources for this very early period in Scottish Church history is Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Genti Anglorum*. It is interesting to note that, although dating from 731, when England was still split into as many as eight Kingdoms, this work refers to the 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People', suggesting all the peoples of the country were English by virtue of their being one people in Christ.³⁸ Thus if "England" could be written about in the eighth century, Christian authors in Scotland may have adopted the same hegemonic approach.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.xix

³⁵ M. Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*, (London, 1978), p.10

³⁶ We know that the Gaelic language was understood by the chroniclers, who wrote in Latin, because in at least the *Versechronicle* of the early period of the thirteenth century, Gaelic names are translated into Latin. Broun, 'Perceptions of Gaels/Highlanders in Scottish Literature prior to Fordun', speech to Postgraduate Scottish Studies Seminar at Glasgow University, (October, 1997), possibly sourced from J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 68, (1989), pp.120-149

³⁷ Broun, 'Perceptions of Gaels/Highlanders'

³⁸ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.50

Indeed Smyth remarks that: 'It is not necessary to claim that the early English or Irish had developed a "state" in any meaningful modern sense in order to accept that such peoples had a clear and developed sense of their collective identity by the seventh century at the latest.'³⁹

Although the sources mentioned so far have been mainly discussed as origin legend sources, they and other documents are of course also our main historical sources for this early period in Scotland's history. It is in the fifth century that myth and history begin to merge, as the King lists connect Fergus Mor mac Eirc to Cinead (Kenneth) mac Alpin, often called the first King of Scotland. mac Alpin is seen as the King who was the first to merge Picts and Scots in to one people.⁴⁰

Impact of the Threat of the Vikings

The threat from the Vikings on the western coast was no doubt part of the reason for the Scots to move their power base further inland at this time. Not only did they cut off the Scots from Ireland, but they had also severely dented the Pictish nobility in 839. The Vikings were an illiterate people, so the only sources for their incursions are Scottish. The first record we have of a raid is from Iona in 795, although it is likely there were incursions before this time which went unwritten - perhaps to areas where there were no literate Churchmen able to record the event. Importantly, the Vikings were not only a catalyst for secular union, but for ecclesiastical union also. During the ninth century the relics of Columba had had to be moved back to Ireland several times to protect them, although it is likely the Norsemen were more interested in treasures of the Church, rather than religiously significant relics.⁴¹ In the end the relics appear to have been split between Kenneth mac Alpin and the Irish in circa 848, and some of them were taken to Dunkeld to

³⁹ A. P. Smyth, 'The Emergence of English Identity 700-1000', in A. P. Smyth, (ed), *Medieval Europeans: studies in ethnic identity and national perspectives in medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp.24-52, quote p.25

⁴⁰ Interestingly, Ewan Campbell has recently claimed that there is too little archaeological evidence to support the idea expounded in the origin myths that the Scots came from Ireland, that any migration was in fact in the opposite direction, and that the origin myths described here were the invention of medieval spin doctors. One would have to question though, if these myths were totally made up, why not just create a direct Scottish connection to Scota - why detour through Irish legends unless there were deeper political reasons? And what about the spread of Christianity, one of the most important homogenising factors, which certainly had an Irish origin? Campbell, 'Were the Scots Irish?'

⁴¹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.53

establish a new monastery with links to both Picts and Scots.⁴² The Norsemen lasted in Scotland into the twelfth century, but never broached the heart of the country, being restricted to peripheral settlements in Scotland. Their traditions too were metamorphosed in the nineteenth century, when the Viking holiday on 29 January, Uphalliday, became Up-Hell-Aa in 1881.⁴³

Relationship of the Kingship with Religion, Law and the Military

Most of what we know of these early Kings is their reputation as military leaders, but this is of course partly because the earliest sources were often only concerned with dates and battles. On the other hand, these were the main achievements of these early leaders, in their attempt to weld together larger and larger areas of influence.⁴⁴ Furthermore, history was being recorded for its consumers, and victories were a tangible statement of power for posterity. It is an important notion to wonder if the question of immortality in written history was a driving factor behind the patronage of history.⁴⁵ As well as the structure of the Kingdom discussed there were more formal references to the law of the Kingdom from early times. The *Melrose Chronicles*, and later Bower's *Scotichronicon* both refer to Kenneth mac Alpin being the first King to lay out one law and to merge the Kingdoms under this one law:

Thus indeed with the consent of God it came about that the first of all the kings to take over the whole northern area of Albion as sole ruler successfully formed one kingdom out of two ... He compiled the statutes which are called the Macalpine laws and decreed their observance. Some of these still remain and are current among the peoples⁴⁶

There is no doubt that one of the greatest forces in welding Scotland into one nation was religion. From the fifth century onwards, Churchmen based throughout

⁴² A. P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London, 1984), pp.187-188

⁴³ The tradition of dragging around blazing tar barrels was banned in 1874, and in 1881 a torchlight procession was established, while in 1889, the burning of the longship was begun A. Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (London, 1993), p.130

⁴⁴ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.23

⁴⁵ This is interesting because later chapters will discuss how modern individual research into self-identity is bound up in researching genealogical roots, projecting our identity backwards in time, in contrast to early historical patrons wishing to project their identity forwards in time.

⁴⁶ W. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Book IV, 9, Lines 13-18, of Vol. II, (1989), p.295

Scotland worked to bring the influence of Christianity to the different peoples. Ninian worked from Whithorn, and spread the word through the south-west and central Scotland, and even into Fife. Kentigern worked in western central Scotland, centring on the site of modern day Glasgow. Columba covered the further west - Argyll and the area around Iona, his base. Donan and Maelrubai became the saints of the Hebrides, and Aidan travelled from Iona throughout Northumbria. Baldred then extended this work from his base in Berwick back up the east coast towards Fife. Thus by the eighth century there was already an elaborate network of Christianity, well before the amalgamation of the Picts and the Scots.

Christianity was merged with existing pagan legends in an effort to ease the transition for the natives - for example, we are told that Columba brought what has retrospectively been identified as the Loch Ness Monster, a pagan belief, to heel⁴⁷ - and of course this also endowed the Church with power over pagan symbols, thus acting as a uniting force. Whilst it is important to reiterate that very few were literate and thus not able to read the written histories we are left with today, these would still have provided source material to oral seanchaidhs. All it would take would be for one person to be able to read such a tale to a group of other storytellers and the story would spread. Thus history was always a powerful tool.

Adomnán's work is also interesting in that it points out how places and symbolic stones were associated with Columba, a powerful aide-memoire to the oral tradition prevalent at the time. No doubt this is another reason why the prevalence of early symbols such as carved stones, and footprints in rock etc. were important - they acted as tangible evidence, thus authenticating stories which were passed down as the only form of history available at the time.

Royal patronage was a feature of the early Church, for example Bridei allowing Columba to preach in his lands, and reputedly giving him Iona.⁴⁸ An important fact to remember is that Churchmen, as the sole masters of reading and writing until the medieval period,⁴⁹ had as great a role in shaping identity through genealogy as

⁴⁷ See chapter seven for a discussion of this event and its bearings on modern discussion of the Loch Ness Monster

⁴⁸ B. T. Hudson, 'Kings and Church in Early Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXIII, 2, no. 196, (October, 1994), pp.145-170, p.146

⁴⁹ F. Watson, *Scotland: A History 8,000 B.C. - A.D. 2000*, (Stroud, 2001), p.68

the line of Kingship. Faith also had an important role as a mediator between the people and the King in that whilst 'the Christian church ... gave an authority to the Kings who ruled the land under God, an authority of which they were conscious and did everything they could to exploit'⁵⁰, at that same time, the Church thereby limited the power of the King - he was accountable to God, as he would later in Scottish history become accountable to the people.

It has been noted that Scottish Church history has suffered from a gap in research between the eighth and twelfth centuries, a period when 'The Scottish Church would begin to assume the form that would endure until the Reformation - a development that was due, to some extent, to deliberate efforts by the Scots Kings of the royal dynasty of Cenél nGabráin to help create a Scottish Church'.⁵¹ Indeed, Hudson goes on to claim that a distinctly Scottish Church was created in the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin,⁵² and that the Kings of the ninth and tenth centuries therefore laid the foundations for the relationship of Church and State which was to play a large role in shaping Scottish national consciousness in the following centuries.⁵³

Origin Myths

There is no King list available for Dal Riata, the land of the Scots, until the eleventh century. However, the *Senchus fer nAlban* (History of the men of Scotland), which is a tenth century manuscript of a document from the late seventh century, does include some genealogies. Although it states that the main families of Dal Riata were all descended from Fergus Mor mac Eirc, and his brothers Oengus and Loarn, this was probably to show that all families owed allegiance to the crown. In fact, Cowan points out that this origin myth in fact replaces an earlier version in which Cairpre Riata was the founder of Dal Riata, a version which Bede mentions. Thus even at this early stage in Scotland's past, history was again being manipulated for the purposes of defining identity. Fortunately, there are many sources from Ireland which included detailed records collected from monasteries, particularly from Iona after the 670s. Thus texts such as the *Annals of Ulster* provide a cross-reference for the Dal Riatan documents. The *Senchus fer nAlban* is useful in that it not only includes a genealogy, but also the manner in which society was hierarchically

⁵⁰ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.55

⁵¹ Hudson, *Kings and Church*, pp.145-146

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.153

structured, including a survey of civil life, the army and the navy.⁵⁴

These genealogies are very important, because they trace lines back through history, and are often the most primary sources for the early period in Scotland's history. Particularly important are the King lists, which attempt to affirm identity by tracing the lines of overlordship. Although the Scots and Picts had different ways of passing on Kingship, (Scots used tanistry, in which alternating eligible kin groups provided an heir), an important part of any inauguration was the recital of the genealogy, again, defining who the Kings were, and that the people had a history. Of course, this also proclaimed the right of the King being inaugurated. Before Christianity, Kings were believed to mediate between man and the gods, helped by priests, soothsayers, and poets, 'who were responsible, among other things, for the cultivation of genealogy and origin legends'⁵⁵. The preservation of the legends was also part of their role.

This is very useful in a study of identity in that it can show how society was structured under the King before formal institutions of State were in existence. This intricate structure was to provide a basis for the institutions of government and law in later centuries, and such institutions were extremely important in identity. Thus the basis of these formal structures must be assessed to highlight how this affiliation with identity came about.

Oengus mac Fergus subdued the Dalriadans in 741, and for the next century until the Scots gained ascendancy, the Picts were actually powerful throughout the whole of the northern areas of Scotland.⁵⁶ Thus, the modern Scottish Kingdom now seems to be traced from Cinead (Kenneth) mac Alpin. King of Argyll from 840-842, he moved the royal household, and hence further inaugurations, to Scone. The move to Dunkeld, as well as being a centralising influence, was also a clever move to combine traditions, as it had been a significant tribal centre since prehistoric times, as well as having a strong Gaelic community.⁵⁷ All Scottish Kings since are traced from him, because, unusually for this time, his sons directly succeeded him, and

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.170

⁵⁴ Foster, *Picts*, p.21

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.38

⁵⁶ Duncan, *Scotland*, p.55

⁵⁷ Foster, *Picts*, p.111

when this line was broken, successors from a very small kin group were chosen to continue the line. By 900, the word *Alba* was chosen to represent the new country (probably derived from *Albion*, the Roman name for all of Britain). The Pictish King list was amended at this point to include a legend which portrayed the beginning of the seven Kingdoms of Pictland. Foster says: 'Such blatant manipulation of genealogies is not new, but this is an early example to how the mac Ailpin dynasty (843-1043) was to exploit literacy to shape its new image'.⁵⁸ By 1018 the Kingdom of Strathclyde had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Scotland on the death of Owen the Bald, and at the same time, Malcolm II's victory at Carham regained control of Lothian. Thus, the boundaries of Alba, under the mac Alpines, extended south to pretty much their present day positions. However, the country was still not a cohesive racial group. It was not until the twelfth century that Scots became the language predominant south of the what is now considered the Highland line. Scots was, much like in modern times, a dialect of northern English.⁵⁹

The Relationship of the King and the State

Thus a very important process took place in the formative years of the Scottish nation, in that origin myths were woven into the institutions of State which existed at the time. The most primary of these institutions was Kingship. It was from the King that the whole structure of society was ordered, and this structure created and upheld the early laws.

Before the modern interpretation of the word "state" with its particularly political associations as explained in chapter two, Kingship was the basis for structure in Scottish society. Along with the Church and the law, and later education, Kingship provided formal institutions on which identity could be based. Furthermore, not only was Kingship the earliest form of State institution, it was the main institution which embraced myth, presented as history, to justify its own identity. This is vitally important, because, as we shall see, history, albeit a mythic history, and the institutions of identity became welded together in the most formative years of the Scottish nation. It is no coincidence that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which saw the rise of the myth of Highlandism, also saw the shaking of these most basic foundations of identity. Myth and institution had lived side by side until the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.112

seventeenth century, but this began to unravel as traditional institutions faced massive change, starting in the early eighteenth century with the religious battle for primacy in Scotland between Catholics and Presbyterians.

At this point it is prudent to mention that this special relationship of Kingship and identity was not found across Europe. For example, Iceland developed a strong sense of identity based on its geographical isolation and rich oral history tradition rather than on the institution of Monarchy as in Scotland. Germany also did not have the same Monarchical structure as Scotland to act as a focus for a “national” identity, yet such an identity did come into existence.⁶⁰

Alexander III and the Consolidation of King Lists

The link of Church and Kingship goes back until at least the sixth century. St Columba had ordained Aidan as King at this point, in 573, three centuries before a Scottish nation even existed.⁶¹ Adomnán, our source for this date, wanted to change the idea of Kingship from a violent battle for succession to a peaceful and legitimate succession, and it is likely he invented this “tradition” to increase the role of the Church in the hierarchy of the State, thus manipulating “history” for the benefit of a particular party.

It was not until the reign of Donald II that real changes began to take place in perceptions of what Scotland was. Donald II (889-900) was the first to be described as the King of Alba, and also the last reign linked with the term Pictavia in the *Old Scottish Chronicle*.⁶² Around this time the Pictish Kinglist was extended to describe the original seven tribes of Pictland, and Argyll, by this stage under Viking domination, was not mentioned. This was supposed to give the new Kingdom and dynasty a unified territorial past.⁶³ In 906, the *Old Scottish Chronicle* tells us that Constantine II and Bishop Cellach ‘and the Scots likewise, upon the hill of Faith near the royal city of Scone, swore to preserve the laws and disciplines of the Faith and

⁵⁹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.16

⁶⁰ Smyth, *Medieval Europeans*, preface

⁶¹ G. Donaldson, *Scottish Kings* (London, 1967), p.9. (Although Foster suggests it is unlikely this happened, at least not at Iona, which was relevantly new at this point, and not an established site for such a ritual).

⁶² Foster, *Picts*, p.112

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.112

the rights in Church and gospels'.⁶⁴ Foster points out that it is unclear whether particular laws were being used, or just a general statement. She notes that the important point of this ceremony was the official and widespread enactment of laws from this pronouncement.⁶⁵

Dauvit Broun holds that the first people to consider themselves "Scots" in a more national sense were the inhabitants of tenth century Alba. They were the first to actually call themselves 'Scots', with the first reference to *Albanaig* or *fir Alban* recorded in 918. As Broun says:

Presumably the Gaelic-speakers of "Scotland proper" in the tenth century were the first people to think of themselves as "Scots" in any way ancestral to today's sense, although it was not until the thirteenth century that people saw themselves as 'Scots' in something closely resembling modern usage.⁶⁶

This is a key point. As we shall see in the arguments surrounding the birth of a "Scottish identity" many historians are using modern definitions of nationalism, and thereby postulating later dates for the emergence of this phenomenon. We must try and use the definitions of the people themselves if we want to surmise what they saw themselves as. A key tenet of this thesis is that identity is individualistic. Thus here we can see that individual Scottish identity was in existence prior to the modern definition of national identity as a homogenous national consciousness.

Attempting to Gauge Pre-Medieval Public Opinion

Broun also suggests that the sense of Scotland proper was only to be found in learned and literary texts in the late medieval period. Local references to hills or mountains – for example, in Argyll *Beinn an Albannaich* 'hill of the Scot', is used by Broun as evidence for the alienation of the term Scot from the local people. However, one could argue almost exactly the opposite from the same evidence – the

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.113

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.112

⁶⁶ Broun, 'Defining Scotland', p.9

fact that they used the term Scotland at all shows a greater awareness of the term.⁶⁷

The joining of Scots and Picts does not seem to be the Scots completely wiping out the Picts which medieval Scottish chronicles suggest. Rather, the Pictish structure of Kingship was retained, and the organisation of society. Also, St Andrews, the Pictish head of the Church, became the “national” head of the Church. There is some debate as to how the region of Moray became subdued by the Scots, but it is likely it occurred at some point in the tenth century. Foster also tells us ‘obviously, it is impossible to perceive Alba as others perceived her’⁶⁸, but she suggests that her connections through marriage with the Scandinavian families of York and Dublin showed an interest in greater European affairs. Constantine I used war and marriage to include the areas of Lothian and Strathclyde in his Kingdom, whilst playing off his Scandinavian rivals to keep them occupied elsewhere.⁶⁹

Alexander Grant, in his article ‘To the Medieval Foundations’ highlights the difficulties faced by medievalists in trying to gauge public opinion in this period, particularly with regard to a national identity.⁷⁰ Webster claims that the year 1097 was crucial to Scottish identity, as it was the year Edgar took the throne and the beginning of the long lasting Canmore dynasty, which he compares to the long rule of the Capetians in France from 987 to 1328. ‘This long succession had a fundamental effect on the sense of identity of the peoples under their rule, which could never have been given by the shifting lines of the previous century’.⁷¹ The role of the mormaers, as Foster has highlighted, was crucial. Although Kings travelled the country they could not be everywhere at once, and thus had to rely on oaths of vassalage.⁷² In return, they had to provide resources to help their vassals, in a similar symbiotic relationship to that the Kings had with the Church. This whole system depended on power, and thus the military might of the King. Furthermore, the system had undergone a fundamental change in terms of the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.12. Remember also the concept of concentric identities; localised documents are unlikely to reflect a national consciousness unless significant “national” events impinged on local life.

⁶⁸ Foster, *Picts*, p.115

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.115

⁷⁰ A. Grant, ‘To the Medieval Foundations’, *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXIII, 1, no. 195, (1994), pp.4-24, p.7

⁷¹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.24

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.25

succession. Once primogeniture was established, it became harder for political opposition to the crown to find a focus.⁷³ Although this argument has been disputed, for example by Norman MacDougall⁷⁴, it is perfectly plausible to suggest that primogeniture resulted in more stability. As the closest heirs to the throne were generally within the same family, opposition to the King, for example in 1488 with the “removal” of James III, to use one of MacDougall’s own examples against him, did not result in the loss of the direct royal line, and the ensuing instability that could have caused.

The Formalisation of the Structure of Governance

By the twelfth century, the processes of government were becoming more centralised. Increased literacy from the expanding system of cathedral schools helped provide a new breed of clerk and written records began to be kept in a much more systematic way. Unlike other countries where this system developed, for example England and France, Scotland was not at this point a feudal State. Although still a State of mormaers and their own regions, and despite the geographical problems of maintaining a centralised administration, the Scottish Kings still had the tenacity to establish themselves.⁷⁵ Administration, and not ‘Normanisation’ is the key process according to Stephen Driscoll, in building the State of Scotland. However, within this process relationships between individuals moved away from kin-based affinities and became more formalised, particularly with the introduction of feudalism.⁷⁶ Driscoll claims that the arrival of knights demonstrates that the Kingdom had become a State, because it had largely freed itself from kinship ties.⁷⁷

Prior to the Norman conquest, Scotland and England were on fairly good terms, due to the time Malcolm III had spent there during the reign of Macbeth. In 1072, Malcolm III was forced to swear vassalage to William the Conqueror, who invaded when Malcolm gave refuge to Edgar Ætheling, a grandson of a previous English

⁷³ Grant, ‘Medieval Foundations’, p.8

⁷⁴ N. MacDougall, ‘Response: At the Medieval bedrock’, *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXIII, 1, no. 195, (1994), pp.25-29, p.26

⁷⁵ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, pp.25-27

⁷⁶ S. T. Driscoll, ‘Formalising the Mechanisms of State Power: Early Scottish Lordship Ninth to thirteenth Centuries’, unpublished working paper, from conference July 1994, pp.1-2, source F. Watson

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.5

King, Edmund Ironside, and aided rebels to plot against the Norman Duke. Although Malcolm subsequently invaded England several times, the oath of allegiance had been sworn, which was to cause problems in later years.⁷⁸

When David I acceded the throne in 1124, he rewarded many of his English friends by giving them lands.⁷⁹ The concept of feudal tenure introduced Royal influence into great tracts of land, particularly in Southern Scotland, where authority had previously been lacking, and extended Royal influence outside the previously more localised centres in important towns and Churches. David I was also important in that as well as introducing a Scottish coinage,⁸⁰ he also introduced the post of Sheriff (vicecomite) to Scotland in the 1120's. This enabled him to extend his power, particularly as these sheriffs were often based at Royal castles.⁸¹ The balance of power was still in favour of local rather than national control, but close royal connections with local institutions of Church and government were vital to establishing a centralised system of leadership. Sites such as Dunfermline and Scone combined religious houses with royal centres of administration, and the religious establishments were vital in providing the administrative records and control needed to govern Scotland.⁸² However, the King was still at the helm - Dauvit Broun cites the work of R. Andrew McDonald and Scott McLean in postulating that risings in 'Moray and the north, Argyll, the Isles, and Galloway' are more sensibly seen as 'attempts to resist the dominance of Kings of Scots than as a part of a general Gaelic reaction to the introduction of foreign personnel and influence'.⁸³ It was the King though who was introducing the foreign personnel and influence, and acting as a focus for unrest at these changes.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.27

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.29. This also introduced two of the great families of Scotland's future. Walter fitzAlan was ceded Renfrewshire, and his family took their name from their Royal position as Steward, which by the fourteenth century became Stewart. One of David's earliest available charters was to grant Robert Bruce, Lord of Brix and Contentin and Cleveland in Yorkshire, the rights to Annandale

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.35

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.31

⁸² Driscoll, 'Formalising State Power', p.20

⁸³ Broun, 'Defining Scotland', p.8, and R. Andrew McDonald and Scott A. Mclean, 'Somerset of Argyll: a new look at old problems', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.71, (1992), pp.3-22

⁸⁴ The personal dimension was also vital in linking kingship with a national identity. The king travelled the country visiting his vassals to ensure their loyalty. Peripatetic kingship was an important part of national consciousness in the medieval era. This is demonstrated by the demographics of the issuing of acts throughout Scotland. See Webster, *Medieval Scotland*,

Events Outwith the Royal Sphere of Influence

However, in other areas, notably the west coast from Galloway through to the Highlands and Islands, royal authority was lacking. Ireland and Man had much influence on Galloway, following on from the earliest settlement there as noted earlier in this chapter, and the Norse influence continued over the northern lands. The *Chronicles* of Melrose and Holyrood, and the *Annals of Ulster* show that Moray in particular had a strong identity, with power struggles continuing into the thirteenth century, despite the attempts of David I to exert his authority through his tried and tested combination of religious and burgh institutions, and even Flemish settlers.⁸⁵ A major difference in the mind-set of Kings between the seventh and tenth centuries in Scotland was the expansion in foreign policy. David also proved diplomatic in offering support to independent threats to Manx, Irish and Norse power in the west, by, for example, supporting Somerled against the Scandinavians. However, if these rulers tried to extend their authority into mainland Scotland, conflict arose. As soon as regional leaders were displaced, feudal tenure was utilised to bring the area under central control. Furthermore, the fact that feudal tenure was often granted to Normans not only gave rise to anti-English hostilities, but also gave more credence to English claims of suzerainty.⁸⁶ However, these general anti-English feelings were part of wider discontents concerned with the ruling of Scotland. With such a long Royal line, and the earlier forms of succession, many felt they had a legitimate claim to power above Norman interlopers.⁸⁷ These challenges to Scottish independence also existed in the Church, due to claims from York of control over the Scottish Church, and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in particular saw a major conflict to assert Scottish national identity.

'Law was closely associated with Kingship as a mark of Scottish identity in the thirteenth century'.⁸⁸ This was largely due to the close network of local and national legal practises. Local courts were run under royal authority, and there was a

p.36 for a listing of acts passed, and their place of issue during the reign of William the Lion, 1165-1214

⁸⁵ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, pp.38-39

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.39-41

⁸⁷ This was further exacerbated by Scottish sovereigns joining English nobility in foreign campaigns, and in 1174, after a failed attempt on the English throne itself, William the Lion, as a supporter of these English nobles was forced to acknowledge overlordship of Henry II in the Treaty of Falaise.

⁸⁸ H. L. MacQueen, 'Regium Majestatum, Scots Law, and National Identity' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXIV, 1, No. 197, (April, 1995), pp.1-25, p.7

standard route of appeal leading ultimately to parliament. Furthermore, royal commands were used in legal proceedings, and the judiciary were closely linked with royal authority. Alexander III was said to have 'led his country in love and law', according to Alexander of Wyntoun.⁸⁹

The Inauguration of Alexander III

Scotland remained a single kingdom, recognising a single king, who embodied in his person the identity which had come to encompass all its parts.

The solidarity of that kingdom was symbolised in the rituals at the time of the succession of ... Alexander III in 1249. Then, if ever, one would have expected the identity of Scotland to shatter.⁹⁰

Due to Alexander's young age and the recent conflicts between some barons, the time would have been ripe for a significant change in the leadership structure of Scotland. However, the majority of the nobles pulled together to put on a ritualistic display of unity and identity at the inauguration of the young King. Although the Church had an early hand in such inaugurations, the end of the thirteenth century and the installation of Alexander III still saw a large element of pagan ritual. In 1249 the act of placing the King on the stone chair, removed from the Church to the outdoors for the ceremony, fell not to a Churchman, but to the leading layman of the Kingdom.⁹¹

Donaldson points out that there was, by the middle of the thirteenth century, some sense of national identity from the various peoples which had come to make up Scotland

By the reign of Alexander III, it is clear, Picts and Britons, Scandinavians, Angles and Normans had all alike laid aside their own particular memories of the past and had come to regard the past of the Scots as their heritage. As the Kingship

⁸⁹ Alexander of Wyntoun, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.7

⁹⁰ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.44

⁹¹ The story of lineage regaled at this thirteenth century inauguration was that of Gaythelos (and hence Gaels), son of a King of Greece, marrying Scota (from the Greek 'shadow' or 'darkness'), daughter of the Pharaoh who ruled in the days of Moses. Gaythelos and Scota moved from Egypt to Spain, and their descendants went to Ireland, the last under the

symbolised this acceptance of a common past, it was an important unifying factor in Scottish life. It was, indeed ... one of the few things which linked the Highlanders with the Lowlanders.⁹²

Yet again, history was being used to confer a sense of identity, and was tailored to its specific audience. Donaldson claims the invention of the forty-five Kings between Fergus, son of Ferehard and Fergus, son of Erc, was nothing in relation to the Irish claims of having 200 Kings, but importantly, this showed the Scottish fascination with a long line of Monarchs.⁹³ When Alexander the III was enthroned, he was placed in a line of over 100 Kings, and this royalist tradition continued well into the seventeenth century with, for example, De Wet's Holyrood portraits.⁹⁴ Importantly, this description of events is likely to be true. Fordun describes the seanchaidh as *Scotus Montanus*, and by Fordun's time of writing in the fourteenth century Highlanders were already being perceived as savage and barbarous - hardly the sort of authority that would have been invented by Fordun in his patriotic work.⁹⁵ Furthermore, evidence suggests David I was disgusted by his enthronement ritual,⁹⁶ and the deeply religious King probably found these more "pagan" elements of the process offensive (although of course we do not know if these earlier rituals contained any other pagan elements). Alexander was consecrated by the bishop of St Andrews, whose predecessors had held the title 'Bishop of Scotland', and the Bishop of Dunkeld was also present.⁹⁷ Indeed, according to Fordun, Bishops were present at the two previous inaugurations of William the Lion (1165) and Alexander II (1214).⁹⁸

Although there was thus a certain amount of ritual to the ceremony, there was no

leadership of Simon Brek. Under Brek's grandson the Scots moved to the north of Britain, and called that part of the island Scotia.

⁹² Donaldson, *Scottish Kings*, p.15. Interestingly, William Ferguson in his recent book on Scottish identity, sides with Barrow in arguing that prior to 1300 there was no recorded distinction between Highlands and Lowlands. W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: A Historic Quest*, (Edinburgh, 1998), p.310

⁹³ Donaldson, *Scottish Kings*, p.11

⁹⁴ Furthermore this belief in the antiquity of the kingship and the Scottish nation was widespread in the popular consciousness. Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p.307

⁹⁵ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.46

⁹⁶ Ailred of Rievaulx, 'Epistola ad illustrem ducem H(enricum)' in R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicane Scriptores Decem I*, Column 348, cited in Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.46

⁹⁷ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.45

actual coronation and no anointing, despite appeals to the Papacy by Alexander II in 1221 and 1233. Again this was due to the religious isolation of Scotland during the Viking occupations of north England, when anointment and coronation became an accepted part of the secular ceremony of inauguration.⁹⁹ This was later to give the English ammunition to their claims of sovereignty, who claimed that the sacred anointing was the mark of true and independent sovereignty, as David, King of Israel was crowned and anointed, and believed to be the forefather of all Kings by the early Church. They pointed this out to the Pope when they appealed to him to forbid the Scots to crown or anoint their Monarch. In the end he only declined the right to be crowned or anointed, but did not expressly forbid it. Thus the first Scottish King to be crowned and anointed was David II in 1329, after Robert the Bruce had asked the Pope to recognise Scotland as an independent nation. Fiona Watson makes the distinction that this was vital not so much to the 'actual power wielded by the King, but it was important in elevating ultimately the *perceived* power of the crown'.¹⁰⁰

And, as Geoffrey Barrow says 'In 1290 no other Kingdom of Europe could claim with equal conviction to be governed by a royal house enjoying an unbroken existence of seven centuries'.¹⁰¹

The Great Cause

However, there then arose perhaps the greatest crisis Scottish identity was to face in her history as a nation to that point. In 1286, Alexander III was thrown from his horse to his death. Margaret, his granddaughter was the only direct successor, but she was only four years old, and resident in Norway. Thus the Guardians of the Kingdom were appointed.¹⁰² Not only did the choice of the Guardians represent the historical structure of the Kingdom, it also neatly avoided appointing either of the two strongest claimants should the throne become vacant, and gave each of them

⁹⁸ J. Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, Vol. 2, Translated from the Latin text by F. J. H. Skene, edited by W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872), Annals, I, VII (p.255), XXIX (p.275),

⁹⁹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.46

¹⁰⁰ F. Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, kingship and national identity in the wars of independence' in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.18-37, p.19, her emphasis

¹⁰¹ G. Barrow, *Robert the Bruce and the Scottish Identity*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.3

¹⁰² This consisted of the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow (William Fraser and Robert Wishart), two earls (Alexander Comyn of Buchan, and Duncan of Fife) and two barons (John Comyn of Badenoch and James the Stewart).

equal support amongst the Guardians that were appointed.¹⁰³ 'This close linking of what we would now term "church" and "state" in upholding the national identity in this supreme crisis, was graphically expressed in the seal adopted by the Guardians'.¹⁰⁴ This seal depicted the Scottish seal of government, and the first reference to St Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland. At the time, because Margaret was still alive, it is doubtful if Alexander III's death was immediately seen as a crisis, despite his reputation as a peaceful and golden ruler, because Scotland had survived such situations before, not least Alexander's own succession at the age of eight. Stephen Driscoll has surmised that 'by the thirteenth century Scotland had all the characteristics of a mature State, because only a society secure in its political workings, social institutions and national identity could even consider that a four year old girl was a suitable monarch'.¹⁰⁵ However, the 'royal house enjoying an unbroken existence of seven centuries'¹⁰⁶ was to come to an end in 1290 with the death of the Maid of Norway as she travelled to Scotland. For the first time in 700 years, there was no direct successor to the throne, and Scotland's dynastic continuity was broken.

The important factor was to give Scotland a King - the Scottish King had always been the core of any medieval definition of national identity. Geoffrey Barrow, in his work on the 'community of the realm', highlights the vitally important role the Kingship was to play in forming a Scottish national identity. Although he acknowledges that the Scottish people preceded the Scottish Kingship, he sees them as different sides of the same coin. By the twelfth century, both sides of this coin were determining the essence of Scottishness, and by the thirteenth century, 'in the minds of contemporaries ... Scots were neither more nor less than the men and women owing allegiance to the *rex Scottorum*, who in turn was the person to whom the secular governance of the Scots had been solemnly entrusted'.¹⁰⁷ The people of the nation and the Kingship thus had a symbiotic relationship, both embodying Scottish national identity. Indeed, as Archie Duncan puts it, 'Scotland had evolved during the peaceful thirteenth century a political identity or nationhood, a cause not

¹⁰³ G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and The Community of The Realm of Scotland*, 3rd edition, (Edinburgh, 1988), p.15

¹⁰⁴ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.71

¹⁰⁵ Driscoll, 'Formalising State Power'

¹⁰⁶ Barrow, *Bruce and the Scottish Identity*, p.3

¹⁰⁷ Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p.xi

a result of the war for independence'.¹⁰⁸ As we have seen, though, this identity was being established before the thirteenth century, though these years were important to consolidate the power of the King and thus the politicised national identity. A source dating from 1291 shows that contemporary writers certainly deemed the Kingship as vital to Scottish national identity, claiming that the country was 'vacant and without a head and torn to pieces, widowed, so to speak, of a King of its own, and ... lacking the protection of any defender'.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, this period had also seen the end of the geographical changes to the Scottish State,¹¹⁰ which meant that expansionism turned to a process of consolidation, a fundamental change in this area of Kingship. Furthermore, and here I would wholeheartedly agree with Fiona Watson, it was the Kingship itself which was the driving force in the formation of the thirteenth century idea of nationalism from its earlier incarnation.

The Great Cause certainly saw a new role for the community of the realm which irrevocably shifted its relationship with the Kingship.¹¹¹ The situation worsened with the Kingship of Balliol. However, the magnates were not to be overpowered so easily.¹¹² The cohesive alliance of the barons was to provide a powerful reaction to Balliol's subservience to Edward, in the barons revolt of 1296, which prompted Edward to invade Scotland and force Balliol to resign, giving Edward control of Scotland.¹¹³

However, this was not to last long. William Wallace joined forces with Andrew Murray to lead a force against the English, culminating with the famous victory at Stirling Bridge in 1297. As Barrow says 'Murray and Wallace recruited what they called the "army of Scotland" by the customary methods of raising what had been

¹⁰⁸ A. A. M. Duncan, 'The community of the realm of Scotland and Robert Bruce, A Review', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XLV, (1966), pp.184-201, p.184

¹⁰⁹ Chronicle Pluscarden, I, 178-9, (Trans, ii, 141), in N. Reid, 'The kingless kingdom: the Scottish guardianships of 1286-1306', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXI, 2, no. 172, (October, 1982), pp.105-129, p105

¹¹⁰ Watson, *The Enigmatic Lion*, p.19

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.22

¹¹² They put increasing pressure on Balliol, as king, to reassert his legal pre-eminence, but his attempts to stand up to Edward over legal matters saw Edward humiliate him by demanding the forfeiture of key Scottish castles at Edinburgh, Stirling and Roxburgh. Edward's demands for military support in 1294 to subdue a Welsh uprising riled the Scots, and instead they formed an alliance with France in October 1295. An important factor in this was the reciprocal nature of the French treaty, and the fact it appealed to the community of the realm for ratification.

known since time immemorial as “Scottish army”¹¹⁴ Barrow also highlights the importance in this victory of the ordinary man, and with this, an undeniable sense of “Scottishness” amongst all levels of society. The nobles who could afford to challenge the English fought under the leadership of the son of a knight, Wallace, and the son of a baron, Murray.

it would be absurd to deny that Stirling Bridge was a popular victory, the triumph of the inarticulate, unchronicled “poor commons” of Scotland. The men who stood, spear in hand, on the steep slopes of the Abbey Craig ... were no doubt mostly landless men, hardly the *probi homines* on whose collective wisdom and experience the government of Scotland depended. ... they were inspired by one of the deepest and most primitive emotions known to human beings, the urge to defend their native land against a foreign invader. ... they had given unmistakable proof that, along with the baronage and the gentry, they too had their place in the community of the realm.¹¹⁵

The notion of identity being formed when faced with an external threat is common, and this is certainly true of the early fourteenth century. As soon as Scottish lands were extended, for example with the acquisition of the Western Isles and Man from the Norwegians in 1266, Scottish sovereignty and law were applied, ensuring more than a merely feudal relationship with the new lands.¹¹⁶ MacQueen also suggests that the thirteenth century saw increased awareness of national borders. The Laws of the March concerning cross-border disputes between Scotland and England, which dated back to the tenth century, were clarified and written into statute in the middle of the thirteenth century, highlighting increasing national awareness and identity.¹¹⁷

However, Stirling, although a shock victory for the Scots, was in no terms decisive. In the next year, 1298, Edward struck a strong counter-blow when he won at Falkirk. 1299 saw the Scots strike back, but not on the battlefield. Instead, they managed to persuade Boniface VIII to warn Edward to desist from trying to

¹¹³ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.78-79

¹¹⁴ Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p.86

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.88-89

¹¹⁶ MacQueen, ‘Regiam’, p.10

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11

overthrow Scotland, on the grounds that Scotland was an ancient ally of the Roman Church. This incident ignited the war of words over origin myths, as Edward used the Brutus myth propagated by Geoffrey of Monmouth to back his claim for supremacy.¹¹⁸

Claims of Sovereignty and National Status

The most comprehensive Scottish interpretations of the origin “histories” are to be found in the fourteenth century, when Baldred Bisset appealed to the Pope for recognition of Scottish sovereignty. These were compiled in reply to Edward’s letter to Pope Boniface VIII in May 1301, which arrived 2 July 1302 and outlined England’s claims for Scottish sovereignty in antiquity. The Scots reply played Edward at his own game, outlining her mythic history, but they also argued that the more recent past was more relevant to the debate. It also of course contended that the Scots were Christianised a full five centuries before the English.¹¹⁹

Bruce’s most famous victory was Bannockburn in 1314, although the war did not officially end until 1328, and the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, which stated

that all writs, obligations, instruments and other muniments touching the subjection of the people or of the land of Scotland to the king of England, the which are annulled and voided by the letters of the said king of England and all other instruments and privileges touching the freedom of Scotland that can be found in good faith with the king of England, be given up and restored to the foresaid king of Scotland ¹²⁰

In the intervening years, the foundations of national identity in Scotland had consolidated their positions. Hector MacQueen claims that the first period in which Scottish law was vital to national identity was in the early stages of the fourteenth century. MacQueen states that ‘there was an important link between the formation

¹¹⁸ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.85

¹¹⁹ R. J. Goldstein, ‘The Scottish Mission to Boniface VIII in 1301: A Reconsideration of the Context of the *Instructiones* and *Processus*’, *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXX, 1, no. 188, (1991), pp.1-15, p.11

¹²⁰ ‘The Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton’, in W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I. A. Milne, *A Source Book of Scottish History Volume One: From the earliest times to 1424*, 2nd edn, (Edinburgh, 1958), p.162

of the medieval state and national feeling'.¹²¹ He also makes the interesting point that the Church, 'the supreme instance in the middle ages of a supra-national institution' also kept its legal affairs within the confines of Scotland, meaning Scotland had in all senses of the words, a separate, national, legal identity.¹²² Prior to the thirteenth century, there was no cohesive version of the myriad of laws which were in existence. At some point after 1318, the *Regiam Majestatum* was compiled. The actual structure of the work was based on an English law treatise from the twelfth century, known as the *Glanvill*. Harding has claimed that it is likely the *Regiam* itself was used to give a vision of solidarity under the King, at a time of threatened national identity.¹²³ The 1290 Treaty of Birgham/Northampton had already stressed the need for a separate legal system, without the need for appeals to Edward I's court, to safeguard Scottish rights in the event of marriage between Margaret, Maid of Norway and Edward's son. The fact that appeals and some Scottish cases were being held in English courts from the 1290s was important because the final say lay at Westminster. Thus Scotland's independence was under threat.

MacQueen states that there is some dispute over the exact reasons for the compilation of the *Regiam*. Although it is easy to claim that it was written for the purposes of redefining Scottish national identity, the work reflects an English legal structure. It also included many new English legal developments, despite the wars of the preceding years. The *Regiam* also fulfilled an important role in reiterating the role of the King and the legal system, showing that it was the Scottish King who was the 'fount of all justice'.¹²⁴

Declaration of Arbroath

The most famous statement of Scottish national identity of this period was the Declaration of Arbroath. Many statements of identity have allegedly been based on it since, not least the American Constitution, but the Declaration itself was not

¹²¹ MacQueen, 'Regiam', p.2

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp.1-2

¹²³ A. Harding, 'Regiam Majestatum amongst medieval law books', *Judicial Review*, new ser., xxix (1984), pp.97-111. Archie Duncan highlights the fact that the structure of the *Regiam* means it is likely it was compiled by different authors, with differing views on the importance of the *Glanvill*.

¹²⁴ MacQueen, 'Regiam', p.6

entirely original, as Simpson highlights.¹²⁵ One thing which is evident is the layering of history within history, if the Declaration is indeed based on the words of Cataline and Maccabeus.¹²⁶ Great weight has been placed upon the piece - for example, Barrow claims 'no finer statement of a claim to national independence was produced in this period anywhere in western Europe'.¹²⁷ He also says 'In 1320 king and community combined to produce a clear statement of their mutual relationship which was at the same time a declaration of the independence of Scotland.'¹²⁸ Certainly, the famous passage declaring

The Divine Providence, the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend to death) and the due and lawfull consent and assent of all the people, made him [Robert Bruce] our king and prince. To him we are oblidge and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety in defence of their liberties. But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavour to expell him, as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties¹²⁹

¹²⁵ G. G. Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath revitalised', *the Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 56, (1977), pp.11-33, p.11 Over this century alone various sources for the Declaration have been identified, such as the *Bellum Catalinae* and the *Vulgate* (4thC AD Latin translation of the Bible, and oldest surviving translation of whole Bible from Hebrew rather than Greek).

¹²⁶ Robert Bruce was described as another Maccabeus (E. J. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 38-68, p.42). After a revolt in 168BC Maccabeus became the leader of an independent Jewish Kingdom. Cataline was a Roman politician charged with misconduct in office - accusations later found false. When he tried to run again for political office the incumbents were against him, and despite a plea from Julius Ceaser, he was condemned to death and died in battle. His biographer was Sallust, 86-34BC. An interesting aspect of this layering is the fact that the Maccabean analogy is particularly poignant given the religious nature of the appeal - history within history manipulating religion within religion. Cowan points out that Bower likens Edward to Antiochus (actually Antiochus IV), the man who defiled the temple in Jerusalem in his attempt to impose Hellenic culture on Judea, and thereby providing the catalyst for the Maccabean revolt. If Bruce is Maccabeus, and Edward is Antiochus IV, the message to the Church is clear cut.

¹²⁷ Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, pp.310-311

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.308

¹²⁹ The Declaration of Arbroath, in W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I. A. Milne, *A Source Book of Scottish History Volume One: From the earliest times to 1424*, 2nd edn, (Edinburgh, 1958), p.156, translation from the reprint of 1689, *Miscellanea Scotica*, iii, pp.123-128

seems to be a clear statement of constitutionalism, but there are those who doubt this. Nicholson claims that to see an explicit statement of constitutionalism in the Declaration is to 'mistake an emotive appeal abounding in hyperbole for a workaday constitutional treatise.' Indeed, the Declaration must be viewed as a specific document for a specific purpose, justifying the inauguration of Robert Bruce to the Church by highlighting his credentials against the English, and also lying about how he came to power. He did not gain the throne by blood - that would have been Balliol - nor did he gain 'the due and lawfull consent and assent of all the people'. What he did do was restore 'the people's safety in defence of their liberties', that is, he defeated the English and removed them from Scotland and the caveat that the people of Scotland could 'make another King' was an assertion that the King and the community had a symbiotic relationship - a clear articulation of the historical relationship which, in this written form, is acknowledged as a constitutional contract in the modern sense, and once again, a prime example of a Scottish "consumer" history. Cowan may be correct when he asserts that this is the first European articulation of such a relationship,¹³⁰ but as has already been proven, to assume such a propinquity began with the Declaration of Arbroath would be to ignore centuries of evidence to the contrary.

Colin Kidd claims that

the community of Scotland supported the construction of a Scottish national "counter-mythology" in response to Edward I's claims when the Anglo-Scottish dispute was referred to the arbitration of Pope Boniface VIII in 1301. According to Edward I's interpretation of Galfridian history, Brutus had been the first King of the whole empire of Britain, and had bequeathed the Kingdom of England and sovereignty over the whole island to his eldest son Loquax, and Scotland and Wales to his younger sons, Albanact and Camber. The Scots replied with their own pseudo-history of national independence of Scotland, making use of Royal genealogies and origin myths¹³¹

The Constitutional Implications of the Declaration

Nicholson admits that in his view, the *legalitas* failings do not detract from the

¹³⁰ Cowan, 'Declaration of Arbroath', p.51

humanitas importance of the Declaration as 'the most impressive manifesto of nationalism that medieval Europe produced'.¹³² However, Archie Duncan has argued that the conflict of the first half of the thirteenth century can partly be explained by the clashing of the new ideas of community and constitution as expressed in the Declaration, against the overriding laws of primogeniture, and this is a view which is gaining support amongst other medieval historians.¹³³

Fiona Watson, among others, holds that the Declaration of Arbroath 'indicates a fundamental shift in attitude towards Scottish identity'.¹³⁴ Finally the Kingdom was seen as having a right to independence rather than the ruling dynasty having a right to rule, and therefore independence and identity were bound together. As Watson points out, this may not have the emphasis on citizenship exemplified by modern versions of nationalism based on the turning point of the French Revolution, à la Gellner and Hobsbawm, but it is still a form of national identity prior to the perceived watershed of the late eighteenth century. The idea that identity is forged in adversity certainly seems to hold firm for the Wars of Independence, but remember the seeds for this were sown much earlier in Scotland's history - perhaps it is more prudent to cite Ted Cowan when he states that 'between 1290 and 1320 a *new* sense of Scottish identity and nationhood was refined and articulated'.¹³⁵

Consolidation of Mythic Scottish Identity

Historians such as Geoffrey Barrow and Archie Duncan, experts on the period from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, have long held that there was a mythic sense of Scoto-Celtic community which extended well into the thirteenth century. Kidd, although acknowledging the work of Barrow in particular, claims that the Scots did not properly construct a myth-history until much later. Kidd claims that the myths which had been used before were varied and inconsistent, and it was not until the fourteenth century, and the work of Fordun and Boece, that these myths were pulled together in any kind of cohesive 'national' history. However, it could be

¹³¹ Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp.16-17

¹³² R. Nicholson, *Scotland, The Later Middle Ages*, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, Vol. II, (Edinburgh, 1974), p.101

¹³³ A. A. M. Duncan, 'The War of the Scots, 1306-23', *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., ii (1992), pp.125-137 and Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', p.9

¹³⁴ Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion', p.30

¹³⁵ Cowan, 'Declaration of Arbroath', p.38, my emphasis on the 'new', although other work by Cowan, e.g. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity', pp.115-116 suggests this is his meaning here.

argued that there was no need for a “national” history prior to this period – no “consumer” demand for such a history existed.¹³⁶ Whilst previous myth histories had existed, and there were many of them, each served a specific purpose in the internal wranglings of the creation of the larger nation of Scotland. Not until this was accomplished and thoughts turned to conceptualising a wider national identity for the purposes of international relations was a national history a necessity. However, this still suggests there was a definite national identity created from history by the fourteenth century, and long before the modern state. Roger Mason suggests that the role of the King lists

and particularly its forty mythical representatives – served a crucial ideological function throughout the later Middle Ages and well into the early modern period. For as symbols of Scotland’s original and continuing independence, they supplied a vital counterweight to an English historiographical tradition which, stemming from the twelfth-century Welsh cleric, Geoffrey of Monmouth, insisted that Scotland was and always had been a dependency of the crown of England¹³⁷

English Counter-Mythologies, Counter-Propaganda

The argument Geoffrey of Monmouth put forward was to become a recurring theme in the English assertions of power over the Scots, particularly, as Kidd convincingly demonstrates, during the eighteenth century. This argument, first expounded in Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136), claimed that the first ruler of the whole of Britain was Brutus, great grandson of the Trojan Aeneas.¹³⁸ Mason offers three broad reasons the English adopted Monmouth’s work so readily: firstly, it implied that Albanactus, son of Brutus, inherited Scotland, so it must have originally been under the rule of Brutus. Secondly, King Arthur’s sixth century Kingdom had included all the British Isles, and stretched into Europe, and thirdly, Scottish Kings had paid homage to English Kings throughout the middle ages. This is the Galfridian version of history which Edward I, in 1301, and later Henry IV in

¹³⁶ As Dauvit Broun says of the period prior to 1216, when the term ‘Scotland’ was used for the first time to define the whole kingdom in a source created within Scotland (The *Melrose Chronicle*), ‘it is not so surprising ... that no historian yet portrayed Scotland as the homeland of the Scots’. D. Broun, ‘The Pict’s Place in the Kingship’s Past Before John of Fordun’, pp. 11-28 in E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002), p.23

¹³⁷ R. A. Mason, “‘Scotching the Brut’: The Early History of Britain’ in J. Wormald, *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), pp.49-60, p.49

1401, were to utilise in claiming the ancient rule of England over Scotland. Although the premise that England thus had supremacy over Scotland was implicit in Monmouth's work, it was much elaborated to the level the English proposed. Indeed, Mason classes the legends as 'the dubious authority of a work in the Welsh tongue'.¹³⁹

A counter-mythology was clearly taking shape as early as the thirteenth century ... however, the myth was not fully formulated until much later in the fourteenth century when, between 1384 and 1387, John of Fordun ... compiled the earliest version of what was to become known as the *Scotichronicon*.¹⁴⁰

Fordun's Latin version of Scottish history is that outlined earlier, that is, the story of Gaythelos and Scota. However, this counter-mythology was based on the genealogies and origin myths which had been around for centuries. Fordun relied on the works of the classical historians, for example Bede, and the Scottish and Pictish King lists, and although some parts of the narrative are definitely carried away by the end purpose of Fordun trying to prove Scotland's antiquity, he does a pretty comprehensive job of compiling the sources available at the time.¹⁴¹ It was particularly important to pull together a "national" history after such a period of turmoil. Andrew of Wyntoun compiled *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, written in Scots verse, which covered history from the creation, and which specialised in Scotland after the inauguration of mac Alpin as King, until the death of Robert III. Interestingly, Archie Duncan states that 'in the second half of the thirteenth century there are some grounds for thinking that there was a revival of interest in things Celtic, including family origins'.¹⁴² Therefore on familial level there was interest in identity, which co-existed with a general rise in interest in Scotland's, albeit mythic, historic identity. This is a factor which is seen again and again.

¹³⁸ Remember that the French were also fond of the Trojan origin myth.

¹³⁹ R. A. Mason, "'Scotching the Brut": Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth Century Scotland' in R. A. Mason, *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, (Edinburgh, 1987), pp.60-84, p.61

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.63

¹⁴¹ Remember that Dauvit Broun is now arguing that a large part of Fordun is actually from an unidentified source from pre 1285.

¹⁴² Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, p.450

More Recent Additions to Scotland's Historic Identity

At the same time, heroes of the more recent past were being revived by literature, and added to the growing history of a Scottish national identity. John Barbour in the mid-1370s produced the epic poem *The Bruce*, a history of the Wars of Independence. Although the poem was only printed in 1571, and only two fifteenth century copies survive, it was obviously known to both Andrew of Wyntoun and Walter Bower.¹⁴³ Nicholson claims of the works of this period 'if patriotism had found little practical expression in the Scotland of the early Stewarts, and had not been harnessed to national advantage, it had at least matured as a prevailing sentiment in the minds of the Scots.'¹⁴⁴ By 1424, Webster claims these works could be seen as the basis of a 'national literature', and 'this "national literature" marks a crucial stage in the articulation of a Scottish national identity'.¹⁴⁵ There was certainly evidence of wider literary achievements in this period, particularly during the reigns of James III to V. Robert Henryson wrote humanist pieces such as the *Testament of Cresseid* and the *Morall Fabillis*.¹⁴⁶ James III was the first Renaissance Monarch of Scotland, supporting architecture and the arts with a passion which he did not apply to his governing duties.

Again Scotland had faced a long period without a King in residence, but yet again the apparatus of government, and the overriding loyalty of the nobles to the position of the King meant James was able to return with his throne intact. Here again it is obvious that the role of the Kingship in preserving a Scottish national identity was paramount. However, although government had continued to function, and the throne remained intact, many of the magnates had run amok, and James had a job to do to reinvest power and identity in the throne.

A New Relationship of Magnates and Kings

Thus from 1370 there was a move to a historic and literary expression of national identity. From 1424 in particular, this was reinforced by the strong leadership

¹⁴³ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.99

¹⁴⁴ R. Nicholson, "Crown in Jeopardy", *The Scottish Nation: A history of the Scots from independence to union*, (London, 1972), p.45

¹⁴⁵ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.102

¹⁴⁶ J. MacQueen, 'National Spirit and Native Culture', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation*, (London, 1972), pp.60-73, p.60

restored to the crown by James I.¹⁴⁷ However, this had built on the foundations forged by the fourteenth century Kings. David II had, despite his absentee leadership and weak King's Lieutenant, Robert the Steward (later to become Robert II), managed on his return to revitalise royal administration, increase trade, and therefore customs income, and keep the barons at bay by holding onto the support of the key castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton.¹⁴⁸ He had also attempted to subdue the western Highlands, and although John, Lord of the Isles paid his dues in 1369, this struggle was to continue for quite some time. The grants of land which had been made were brought back under royal control by insecurity of tenure by an act in 1367, which revoked to the crown all lands and revenues forfeit since 1329,¹⁴⁹ and an act of 1368 saw David clearly appointed as the adjudicator of any disputes amongst magnates and nobles.¹⁵⁰ The government was more organised, with greater signs of royal influence over the administration in the late 1350s and early 1360s,¹⁵¹ and the official recognition of Burghs as the third estate.¹⁵² By the end of David's reign, financial affairs were at their highest level until the sixteenth century, with receipts for over £15,000 in the exchequer audit.¹⁵³ Although some historians, for example Gordon Donaldson, have dismissed Robert II as a weak and ineffectual ruler, more modern authors, for example Michael Lynch and Fiona Watson, suggest this condemnation has been a little harsh. They highlight the fact that Robert's large family was important in strengthening ties with the nobility through marriage, and by the mid-1390s, and the reign of his son Robert III, 12 of the 16 Scottish earldoms were under the family's control.¹⁵⁴

Two possible reasons have been offered for the unrest of the magnates under the Kingships of James I to III in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁵⁵ One suggestion is that there was a general move away from "medieval" ideas of Church and State, to more

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.94

¹⁴⁸ This revitalisation was partly driven by the fact that he had a ransom of 10,000 merks per annum for 10 years to pay off his freedom after spending 1346-1357 in English captivity after being caught at the Battle of Neville's Cross. F.Watson, *Scotland: A History*, (Stroud, 2001), p.112

¹⁴⁹ Nicholson, *Crown in Jeopardy*, p.35

¹⁵⁰ Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, p.179

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.180

¹⁵² Watson, *Scotland*, p.113

¹⁵³ Nicholson, *Crown in Jeopardy*, p.36

¹⁵⁴ M. Lynch, *Scotland A New History*, (London, 1991), p.138, also see Watson, *Scotland*, p.114

¹⁵⁵ J. M. Brown, 'Taming the Magnates?', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation*, (London, 1972), pp.46-59

modern relationships between magnates and Kings. This certainly happened eventually across Europe, but it seems unlikely to be the sole explanation for conflict this early. Grant has claimed that the fifteenth century saw a return to ideas of hereditary Monarchy considered superior to the fourteenth century development of a constitution which regarded the community of the realm as of paramount importance. He is unsure as to whether the logical conclusion of this, that the development of royal authority proved counter-productive to political cohesiveness, can be proven, but there is certainly evidence in the fifteenth century that the crown and community were on a collision course.¹⁵⁶ Brown suggests that it is also possible that it was inevitable that there would be a clash due to the fact that two strong leaders subdued the great families of Scotland ruthlessly, but they were followed by a weak leader which gave the opportunity for rebellion.¹⁵⁷

James I showed great ruthlessness in removing any threat from the ranks of the nobility. He thoroughly revitalised the parliamentary system, but the majority of James' actions were not merely a 'taming of the magnates' - they were a taming of the *Stewart* magnates. As Brown points out, when the end came for James, it was from a family feud, not a conflict between nobles and the crown.¹⁵⁸ The events surrounding the death of James I in 1437 'should have been a warning to the Stewarts to walk warily; but they did not destroy the authority of the monarchy'.¹⁵⁹ Kings had been removed by rivals before, and the Declaration of Arbroath may be regarded as a constitutional sanction for such actions. Kings were beginning to lose their recognition as omnipotent rulers, and barons saw legality in actions against what they saw as tyrannical rulers, as can be particularly shown in the case of James III. Where once barons and Kings had united to increase their mutual power above the common people, now they saw that they had gained enough power of their own to shape events concerning their old ally the crown. In such a constructed society the crown was still the ultimate level of patronage for any historian, and as such still a powerful force in guiding the format of history for its consumers, but this position was changing with the increasing threat to the authority of the Monarchy.

After the removal of James I though, the nobles backed down, showing there still

¹⁵⁶ Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', pp.9-11

¹⁵⁷ Brown, 'Taming the Magnates' p.46

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.52

existed a respect for the authority of the royal family, and that the crown was still the primary source of defining identity for a Scottish national consciousness. This can be seen when a comparison is made with the English crown between 1399 and 1485, when the crown changed hands in violence a total of six times.¹⁶⁰ Although opportunities presented themselves, the great families of Scotland refused to rise in unison against the line of Kingship, unlike their neighbour England, where it had been proven such rebellions could bring rich rewards for those who took risks. Again, the magnates had the opportunity - many young Scottish Kings were thrust to prominence after the deaths of their fathers. James II, only seven at the time of his succession, took full control in 1449, and illustrated the enduring strength of the Stewart dynasty with the events surrounding the break up of the Douglas family, the greatest threat to royal power in Scotland.¹⁶¹

However, Webster also suggests that it is no coincidence that the early years of James II saw the seminal work of Walter Bower, the *Scotichronicon*, a massive history of Scotland based on the earlier work of Fordun, and again using history to highlight Scottish national identity 'and the importance of a strong and effective monarchy as the focus for that identity'.¹⁶² James, although a ruthless King in the early years of his reign, was the secure leader of a strong nation by the end, as can be seen by his aggressive foreign policy, which would not have been possible if the struggle with the magnates continued.¹⁶³ By the reign of his son James III, the 1470s saw the emergence of Blind Harry's epic poem *The Wallace*, echoing Barbour's *Bruce* and the sentiments of the Wars of Independence. It has been suggested this was in reaction to the attempts of James III to reconcile with England.¹⁶⁴ Certainly James III was the most ineffectual King of Scotland for some time.

The Personal Presence of the King

'This was an age when Scottish Kings were expected to travel throughout their Kingdom, being seen by their subjects and taking a personal part in the exercise of

¹⁵⁹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.104

¹⁶⁰ Brown, 'Taming the Magnates', p.47

¹⁶¹ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.106. After diplomatic alliances failed to cow the Douglases, James, in a face to face meeting, killed Douglas in a rage. The remaining Douglases were unable to remove the king on the basis of this, showing royal power was still intact, but James could no longer rely on baronial support, and instead had to buy allegiance.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.107

¹⁶³ Brown, 'Taming the Magnates', p.55

justice and control of the troubled areas of the country'.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, this idea of a peripatetic ruler was one of the main differences between medieval "Kingship", as distinct from a static and court based "Monarchy". The move between Kingship and Monarchy is particularly notable in the sixteenth century, and is also instrumental in the loss of a focus for Scottish national consciousness, as will be explained later in this chapter. However, James III was the first to display what we may term "monarchical" traits, and as such was very unpopular with his people, an early example of the Scots disregard for this kind of leadership.¹⁶⁶ But, yet again, 'respect for the monarchy outweighed, for the great majority of the magnates, the fact that James III was personally disastrous'.¹⁶⁷ James saw any disagreement with the crown as treason, and this over-inflated opinion of the supremacy of the position of the King was in direct opposition to the constitutional basis of medieval Kingship.¹⁶⁸ James' reign however, was cut short when he too was murdered, when his son in turn became disaffected with his leadership and contributed to a revolt which was seen as the removal of a tyrannical leader. James IV had a much more successful reign than his father, managing to subdue the Lordship of the Isles, and his relationship with the magnates was much better, despite the fact they were the same magnates who had caused his father so much trouble, again underlining the fact that the magnates were prepared to follow the Kingship. James IV had supported the establishment of the Campbells and the Gordons in the Highlands to redistribute the balance of power after the demise of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, and to bring the Highlands into the centralised administration of Scotland.¹⁶⁹ Despite James' marriage to Margaret Tudor, which eventually led to the union of the crowns of Scotland and England, James followed the traditional route of foreign policy by allying with France. His campaign against Henry VIII was widely supported by the Scots people, but culminated in his death and disastrous defeat at the Battle of Flodden in 1513.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, 'the popularity of James IV's revival of the war in 1512-13 confirmed that the sense of Scottish identity was still overwhelmingly anti-English'.¹⁷¹ A sense of national consciousness was

¹⁶⁴ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.108

¹⁶⁵ Brown, 'Taming the Magnates', p.56

¹⁶⁶ Point raised in discussion with Dr Fiona Watson, Stirling, (October, 1997)

¹⁶⁷ Brown, 'Taming the Magnates', p.56

¹⁶⁸ Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', p.11

¹⁶⁹ MacQueen, 'National Spirit', p.64

¹⁷⁰ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.109

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.112

increasingly defined by external aggressors, in a theme which continues to the modern day, but in the early sixteenth century, the embodiment of this consciousness in the Kingship, as representative and leader against external enemies, was the defining factor in a Scottish national identity.

Early Evidence of Scots Exploits Abroad

Sources from abroad reveal that the Scots were already making a name for themselves as soldiers and entrepreneurs, a trait which, as chapter four will demonstrate, was to prove decisive in the role of Scots in the Empire. Scottish soldiers were involved in the First Crusade as early as 1095, and the Scottish Church had plenty of contact with the Papacy.¹⁷² Grant offers the view that there are two particularly important points to be considered in the existence of a popular sense of national identity in the first half of the fourteenth century - military recruitment, and government propaganda. Military recruitment is perhaps paramount, in that it was the measure which involved the widest cross-section of Scottish society, and was to provide an early focus for national identity.¹⁷³

15,000 Scottish soldiers were in French pay with their nobles from 1418-1424, whilst in the 1520s Scots fought in the service of Denmark, capturing Stockholm, and their separate identity was a source of pride - they threatened to desert when the Danish King forbade them to carry their St Andrew's flag.¹⁷⁴ By 1568 2,000 Scots were in Danish service, and in 1573, 3,000 were in the service of the Swedes. Many also joined the Polish army in this period, and by the beginning of the Thirty Years war in 1618, the Scandinavian Kings were 'vying to recruit mercenaries in Scotland'.¹⁷⁵

By the 1290s, Scottish traders in Bruges had a well established community and even a stretch of the main canal named *Schottendyc* long before any other nation was afforded such an honour.¹⁷⁶ Here it can be seen that, although the Scots obviously

¹⁷² Duncan, *The Making of the Kingdom*, p.127

¹⁷³ Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', p.21

¹⁷⁴ T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, (Edinburgh, 1902) referenced in D. A. Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots: their astonishing contributions to history, science, democracy, literature and the arts*, (Seacaucus, N.J., 1996), p.150

¹⁷⁵ T. C. Smout, 'The European Lifeline', in G. Menzies (ed) *In Search of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2001), pp.112-135, p.128

¹⁷⁶ A. Stevenson, 'Trade with the south, 1070-1513', pp.180-206 in M. Lynch, M. Spearman and G. Stell, *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh 1988), p.187, quoted in Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.122

adapted well to their new surroundings, they retained their national identity, whether given by themselves or others. Furthermore, the Wars of Independence meant that Scotland was forced to look further afield for trade than her neighbour England, and this meant Scotland forged many links with mainland Europe. Importantly, Customs records for the period show that five-sixths of all Scottish trade was controlled by Scottish rather than foreign merchants.¹⁷⁷ Not only trade established the Scots abroad. Many scholars travelled abroad to study and teach at European universities, and, many of the (admittedly small) number educated in such institutions were to become leaders in the Scottish Church. As will be shown later in this chapter, a number also became leading historians of the period, helping to shape Scotland's identity in their work.¹⁷⁸

Spreading Education and Literacy

The reign of James IV saw a continuation of the literary renaissance started in the reign of his father, for example, the Education Act of 1496 sought to ensure the education of the eldest sons of barons and freeholders to a university Arts and Law degree. Furthermore, the literature of the Highlands was also collated for the first time. The *Book of the Dean of Lismore* was compiled from 1512 to 1526, and consisted of many Gaelic poems from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, poems written for the courts of the great Highland chiefs.¹⁷⁹ With the ending of the Hundred Years' War in 1453 came a period of peace in Anglo-Scottish relations, which allowed the Scots to make their mark on the wider European cultural stage. In the Borders, however, reiving continued, and popular ballads such as *Johnie Armstrang* showed that the ordinary people were still maintaining their Scottishness in the face of the English.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, collections of literature from the Lowlands such as those in the *Maitland*, reflect popular opinion as to the role of the King and general observations on Scotland.¹⁸¹ Interestingly, the role of the thistle as a symbol of Scottish national identity first emerges in this period. It was used on coinage as a royal symbol from 1470,¹⁸² and referenced in the poem *The Thistle and the Rose* by Dunbar, referring to

¹⁷⁷ D. Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe, 1297-1540', pp.161-179 of Lynch, Spearman and Stell, *Scottish Medieval Town*, p.162, statistics quoted in Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.123

¹⁷⁸ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.125

¹⁷⁹ MacQueen, 'National Spirit', p.64

¹⁸⁰ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p.133

¹⁸¹ MacQueen, 'National Spirit', pp.65-67

¹⁸² J. Keay and J. Keay (eds), *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, (London, 1994), p.936

the marriage of James IV to Margaret Tudor.¹⁸³

The Impact of the Reformation on Scottish Identity

The Reformation could have been seen as a threat to Scottish national identity, claiming the destruction of the papacy was more important than national consciousness. A number of authors of history emerged in this period as being important to nationalism, for example Boece, Mair and Buchanan, as Colin Kidd has discussed in great detail.¹⁸⁴ Their work was particularly important to the question of constitutionalism, and the changing relationship of the traditional structure of identity.

Alexander Broadie has argued that the first four decades of the sixteenth century were vital to the intellectual development of Scotland,¹⁸⁵ and with it her sense of a national identity. John Mair wrote history from a theological standpoint, and was very logical in his pursuit of the truth. He dismissed the origin myths of Gathelus and Scota supported by makars (poets) of the same period, such as Gavin Douglas. Indeed, MacQueen suggests this courteous difference of opinion between Douglas and Mair was a forerunner of the Reformation battles of Knox and Buchanan.¹⁸⁶ Mair was certainly out of step with his time in his suggestion that the future of Scotland lay not in the "auld alliance" with France, but instead with unification with the 'auld enemy'.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, 'Major [Mair], without a political axe to grind, had argued in 1520 for an elective monarchy answerable to its subjects'.¹⁸⁸

Flodden had often been seen as a disaster in Scotland's history and thus her national sense of self, seeing as it did the death of the King, several leading Churchmen, and many of the nobility, including three Highland chiefs.¹⁸⁹ It also was a sign of the demise of the auld alliance. However, Scottish historians such as Donaldson have now argued that the disaster of Flodden was overrated, and it was the political events which followed it which were the real catalyst for a change in the structure of

¹⁸³ MacQueen, 'National Spirit', p.67

¹⁸⁴ C. Kidd, 'Antiquarianism, Religion and the Scottish Enlightenment', *Innes Review*, Vol. LXVI, no.2, (Autumn, 1995), pp. 139-154 and Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*

¹⁸⁵ A. Broadie, *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.22

¹⁸⁶ MacQueen, 'National Spirit', pp.71-73

¹⁸⁷ Broadie, *Tradition of Scottish Philosophy*, p.22

¹⁸⁸ J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, (London, 1981), p.146

¹⁸⁹ C. Bingham, 'Flodden and its Aftermath', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation: A history*

Scottish society and identity.

Yet again the death of the Scottish King left a child successor, and a precarious situation. Henry VIII was an expansionist, and renewed the claim of the medieval English Kings of suzerainty over Scotland. The mother of the seventeen-month old heir was Margaret Tudor, sister of the English Monarch, and this left many magnates naturally uneasy at her intentions as guardian of the future King. However, she allayed these fears by quickly marrying the Earl of Angus, and giving the regency to the Duke of Albany. The tide of opinion was turning against the alliance with France, with the Scottish army unwilling to suffer losses by attacking the north of England for an ally so far away. The army moved to the border, but assumed a purely defensive role against the English. James V was determined to continue the French alliance, which he did by marriage, but by the end of his reign, it was clear his foreign policy was unpopular.¹⁹⁰

James V was also determined to reduce the power of the nobility, a common theme amongst European rulers of the time. In doing this he subdued the areas of Scotland that had traditionally harboured the greatest threat to a united Kingdom of Scotland. In 1529 James travelled to the Borders and subdued the outlawed reivers. He also imprisoned many of the barons, and broke the power of the notorious Armstrong family. This done, he moved north to the Highlands, and again the policy of divide and conquer was successful. He removed some of the power of the Campbells of Argyll and handed it to their greatest enemies, the MacDonalds of Islay. He backed up this arrangement with an extensive cruise of the Highlands and Islands in 1540, showing his naval might, and enabling the annexation of the Lordship of the Isles to the Crown. James also had the foresight to bring the clans into line by bringing back hostages from the more hostile families, and the young of many clans to be educated at court, in the hope of producing a new generation of more malleable nobility. But although James may not have been popular with his nobles, his dealings with them won him support from the commoners, who saw him as their defender against their avaricious landlords.¹⁹¹

of the Scots from Independence to Union, (London, 1972), pp.74-88, pp.75-76

¹⁹⁰ Bingham, *Flodden*, p.80

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.81-82

The Changing Relationship of the Church and King

This period also saw a change in the relationship of King and Church. After Henry VIII renounced Papal supremacy, the Church turned to the Catholic James for support against the Reformation, which he gave in return for massive taxation demands on the Church to fund his building programmes.¹⁹² James died when his daughter and heir, Mary, was only one week old. Mary was sent to Catholic France to be raised, and at 16 she married the Dauphin, who later became Francis II of France. In the years of her absence, Scotland, which had been moving to Protestantism even in the reign of her father, became ever more under the influence of France via the regent, and mother of the queen, Mary of Guise. This was much to the chagrin of the nobles, and their worries seemed confirmed when the rights to the Scottish throne, if Mary did not produce an heir, were signed over to France three times in 1558.¹⁹³ However, when Mary finally reached Scotland in 1561, although she herself remained a Catholic, she did not attempt to force this religion onto the people of Scotland. In fact she made several compromises with the Protestants, for example giving one third of old Church revenues to the new reformed Church.¹⁹⁴ Such actions were not popular with the Papacy, and the intricacies of Mary's love-life and her search for political power are well documented.

Mary was thus forced to abdicate in 1567 in favour of her one year old son, James. Gordon Donaldson has described the reign of James VI as one in which he 'welded his countrymen into a unified Kingdom of which he was the unquestioned head'.¹⁹⁵ However, when James came to the throne, he was still a minor, and between Flodden in 1513, and James' rise to maturity, there had been only 22 years of rule by a mature Monarch in over 70 years.¹⁹⁶ As we have seen, this allowed the nobles a degree of freedom in controlling their affairs away from the crown.

Furthermore, problems for the Kingship had intensified due to the Reformation. Added to the mix of those who supported alliance with France or England came the

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.85

¹⁹³ I. B. Cowan, 'John Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation: A history of the Scots from Independence to Union*, (London, 1972), pp.89-102, p.92

¹⁹⁴ Cowan, 'Knox and Mary', p.97

¹⁹⁵ G. Donaldson, 'James VI and Vanishing Frontiers', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation: A history of the Scots from Independence to Union*, (London, 1972), pp.103-117, p.103

increasing importance of the dimension of religion - Protestants supporting an English alliance, Catholics a French one. The Protestant Church in Scotland had gained power by rebelling against the Monarchy, and had a high degree of ecclesiastical independence. The establishment of the General Assembly in 1560 gave the reformed Church a greater degree of democracy, and although the Protestants professed their support for James, at the same time there were those within their ranks, led by Andrew Melville, who wanted to split the Church and crown irrevocably. Laymen were to be excluded from the ecclesiastical structure of government, but ecclesiastics were allowed to take part in the national government, as God was the head of both Kingdoms of Church and State. Understandably this led to much conflict between the Church and the Monarchy, particularly as Melville's programme of reforms could only be put into effect in the first place with the consent of parliament. The Black Acts reinforced the message that the King in parliament was the supreme force over the Church.¹⁹⁷ However, by 1592 Melville and his supporters were granted a measure of independence from Parliament when the Presbyterian system of Church government was authorised, and once James had secured this support, an army was sent to banish the catholic northern earls, who fled to Spain rather than fight the King.¹⁹⁸ This done, he then turned on the Presbyterians and followed a course to revive episcopacy. The modicum of control he had retained over Melville and his supporters was used against them by, for example, moving the general assembly to conservative areas in the north instead of the more radical south. This conflict between Church and Monarchy was also important in that for a long time, the Church as the seat of literacy and education had been an agent of the crown in writing the histories which had been designed to bring stability. Furthermore, increased literacy meant that the Church no longer controlled written history in the way it had done, and consequently the crown was not as powerful an agent in manipulating history to govern the nation.

The Concept of Divine Right

James was a believer in the concept of Divine Right, seeing himself as the sole intermediary between his people, which included both Church and State, and God. The influence of George Buchanan, the tutor to the young King, was strong in some

¹⁹⁶ Donaldson, 'James VI and Vanishing Frontiers', p.103

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.104-106

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.108

areas, and not in others. Whilst Buchanan's theorisings on constitutional Kingship were not as progressive of that of his Huguenot contemporaries, 'all his theory came down to was a highly formalized and scholarly account, in beautiful Latin, of political reality'.¹⁹⁹ James, in his *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* of 1598, the *Basilikon Doron* of 1599, and the *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* of 1607 emphasised that the King was the ultimate power in the State, particularly emphasising his authority regarding the Church.

The sixteenth century in particular had seen Monarchs become increasingly absolute, for example Henry VIII, and this period had also seen them develop the theory of Divine Right, which claimed that the Monarch was responsible to God alone, and not his people. This was a clear move by one of the leading royal houses of Europe to move away from constitutionalism, and thus the medieval concept of Kingship which relied on the symbiotic relationship of crown and the wider community. Law and order were also overhauled in the reign of James VI, as were the country's finances. James also introduced more representation to the Scottish parliament, to strengthen it against the threat of the assembly. Interestingly, Donaldson claims that James boasted that 'he could rule Scotland by his pen, which others had not done by the sword'.²⁰⁰ This statement is important for a number of reasons.

First of all it demonstrates a fundamental shift in the role of the Monarchy in governing the Kingdom. Personal leadership, traditionally represented by the presence of the King in enforcing his position through armed conflict, or even by being personally present in a troubled area to dispense the necessary justice, was no longer seen as necessary. This can be demonstrated by the changing architecture of the period, which moved from defensive castles to domestic mansions. Increased bureaucracy meant that the King could be absent yet still have his will enforced formally by parliament, rather than just by loyal nobles in no organised body. This of course makes the second important point of this statement - it was no longer necessary for the King to reside in the country, thus clearing the way for James to

¹⁹⁹ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, p.148 Buchanan invoked an idea that the king was answerable to 'the people'. The Huguenots, such as Francois Hotman, argued for the estates to be the final authority, whilst others, for example, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, formalised the role of the magistrates into a contract between king, people and God

²⁰⁰ Donaldson, 'James VI and Vanishing Frontiers', p.113

rule Scotland from the throne of England. Thirdly, it highlights the fact that absentee Kingship was condoned, and thus a change in the role of Kingship from being a hands-on concern, giving leadership, *and a focus for national consciousness*, to Monarchy, and the inevitable feeling amongst Scots that the King and royal family was no longer the main embodiment of their national identity.

Of course, this was not an overnight transformation, but the ascension of James to the English throne was certainly the catalyst for major changes in the perception of a distinctly Scottish identity, and, it must be noted, also the catalyst for changes in English national identity.²⁰¹ This threat to the existing identity was inevitable due to the changing nature of Kingship to Monarchy across Europe, and not just the Union of the Crowns in Britain. As it became clear that James was to be the heir to the English throne, the search for a new symbolic identity began.

The middle of the sixteenth century to the early years of the seventeenth century saw another peak of interest in myth and history in forging Scottish identity. As Michael Lynch says 'The instinctive reaction of a society in a process of rapid and often bewildering change is to rediscover its links with its past, or to forge new ones'.²⁰² Printing brought to the masses sources which echoed historic, and often mythic, tales of Scottish identity. Particularly after the Union of the Crowns, there was a discernible peak in the popularity of such myth-histories, often in the form of popular literature. History had a new consumer base.

There was ... in the period of the first British State a wider Scots national consciousness which helps to explain its failure; this was fuelled by works such as *The Wallace* and Barbour's *Brus* and reflected too in a new vogue for both the writing and reading of histories of Scotland.²⁰³

In 1598, Andrew Melville began an epic poem on the origins of the Scots under the title of *Gathelus*, never finished, which was ironic considering his role in breaking up the ancient union of Church and Kingship over the people, and his importance in reducing the role of the King in identity which was so reinforced by the old origin

²⁰¹ J. M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: 'national' identity, gender and the personal Monarchy of England', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 117, no. 472, (2002), p.513

²⁰² Lynch, *Scotland A New History*, p.259

legends of Scota and Gathelus. His contemporary John Johnston did manage to finish a Latin King list of Scottish Monarchs from the fourth century BC. In 1613 Patrick Gordon wrote an epic romance in Scots detailing the life of Bruce up to Bannockburn.²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, increasing Anglicisation with the use of English by the Reformed Church meant that 'Scots practically disappeared as a literary vehicle even before the union of the crowns.'²⁰⁵

The Battle for Control of Scotland's History

John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* was published in Paris in 1521, and it has been described as the 'clearest beginnings of Scottish humanist historiography'.²⁰⁶ He wrote on the relationship of crown and community as a symbiotic relationship, and highlights the fact that those who appointed the King, the people, had the power to deprive him of his authority. However, he also managed to prefer aristocracy to democracy, and distinguished between conditions when the people may be justified in playing their part, from the everyday running of the country. These beliefs allowed Mair not only to justify the Wars of Independence, but also to advocate contemporary political reform.²⁰⁷ He was an early believer in union with England, indeed, he raised the question as to whether the Scots would have been better off if Edward I had defeated them in the Wars of Independence. However, Scotland, unlike Wales which had been easily absorbed by the English crown, had a strong sense of national self, though what caused this national consciousness is not discussed by Mair. He certainly debunked the origin myths of Gathelus and Scota, and the English version concerning Brutus. The story of Fergus mac Ferehard is played down, and the number of Kings in the lists prior to the fifth century reduced by 25 to 15.²⁰⁸

Mair had also been an early mentor of George Buchanan, the man who became the personal tutor of the young James VI. Buchanan held that at all times, not just in times of crisis, the King was liable to the ordinary law which also governed his people. The great antiquity of Scotland and her institutions only served to

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.260

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ G. Donaldson, 'James VI and Vanishing Frontiers', p.115

²⁰⁶ A. H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, (Edinburgh, 1979), p.97

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.98

underline this relationship, and the real basis of Scottish politics was to be found in the area of the most antiquity in Scotland, the Highlands and Islands. Buchanan likens the relationship of Kings and people to that of clan chief and his advisory clan council, for example the Lordship of the Isles and its attendant council.²⁰⁹

John Mair made early criticisms of the King lists which provided the backbone for Scottish claims for antiquity of identity and constitution. Humphrey Llwyd, who published his *Breviary of Britayne* in 1573 also attacked his contemporary Buchanan's main source Boece, again destroying notions of a Kingship prior to 420AD. However, Buchanan was not the only writer who was a proponent of Scotland's individuality based on her antiquity. For example, David Chambers published his *Histoire Abbregee de tous les roys de France, Angleterre et Escosse . . .* in 1579, and in it lauds the shared characteristics of kin loyalty and community of Highlanders and Lowlanders which contributed to their common Scottishness. The more backward, but not savage Highlands were the ideal retreat for the Lowlanders in times of crisis, where both would work together to repel their enemies.²¹⁰ He also suggests that the Scottish people had inhabited Scotland for 251 years prior to the election of their first King Fergus, reiterating the fact that community came before crown. The use of the word 'élection' in the description of the ascension of the first King suggests a constitutional process.

This desire for homogeneity in Scotland of Scottish identity, with an emphasis on the demise of the Celtic language which was the proof of Scotland's antiquity, is, as Arthur Williamson points out, what distinguishes this sixteenth century movement so much from the Romanticists of the nineteenth century.²¹¹ The primitive past of the Highlands in particular was something to be glossed over, not glorified, and history was seen as useful only in acting as a justification for a modern Scottish national identity, not as the basis of the identity itself.

However, Llwyd and also William Camden did not accept this homogenous view of Scotland, arguing that Highlands and Lowlands formed two separate and distinct cultural identities within Scotland. Camden, writing in 1610, went on to try and

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.101

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.111-112

²¹⁰ Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*, p.119

deconstruct Scottish history entirely by claiming the Scots were really descendants of a conglomerate of Germanic peoples, and that the Picts were merely northern Britons. However, even advocates of Union could not write off the Scots so easily. If Scotland had in antiquity been a part of a greater Britain, how had it separated and developed into Scotland as it stood at the time of the union of the crowns? All sources Sir Thomas Craig could lay his hands on, such as Epiphanius and Josephus, were presented to point out that there had been a "Scottish" people well before the fall of the Roman Empire.²¹²

Genealogy

Family genealogies were vitally important to the Highlanders. Changing demands on land and the legislative demands for the production of charters led to the production of family histories for many clans, including the MacKenzies, Campbells and Camerons, and these neatly melded Norman heritage with Gaelic ancestry dating from sixth century Dalriada by a convenient marriage in the dim and murky past. Grant and Cheape suggest this Normanisation of Scottish genealogy by authors such as John Pinkerton (late eighteenth early nineteenth century) was the driving force behind the work of Skene.²¹³ However, the Scott inspired Highlandism of the nineteenth century was not a new phenomenon. 'The instinctive reaction of a society in a process of ... change is to rediscover its links with the past, or to forge new ones'.²¹⁴ The turn of the seventeenth century saw a revival in histories and literature concerning Scotland. The printing presses, which had first been licensed in 1507 to produce laws, acts of parliament etc. as a Kingly propaganda source, were now out of control, and providing access to a mass culture on a scale not seen before, and introducing "customerisation" to history. Family histories and portraits abounded, and heraldry assumed an importance unnecessary when the nobility had been the apparatus of State. Lynch describes these moves as a 'new patriotism', which in the 1630s, along with the rising importance of the Kirk as an "auld estait" helped provide a new focus for Scottish consciousness, based on old symbols of identity. The resurgence of identity with the Monarchy in the brief residence of the future James VII at Edinburgh in the 1680s proved Scotland's

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.124

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.127

²¹³ I. F. Grant and H. Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, (London, 1997), p.124

attachment to the old symbols of identity.²¹⁵ Furthermore, the growth in genealogy in this period, ably summarised by David Allan recently, again demonstrates the consumer nature of history in this period.²¹⁶

The span of James' Kingship saw many changes. 'The idea which for centuries had been the most compelling force in politics was the notion of the King of Scots as the main or only guarantor of the independence of the Scottish nation. It was in James's reign that it lost its monopoly status'.²¹⁷ By 1630 the Church had become the mainstay of Scottish identity and fiscal and political changes had further distanced the King from the country. James, who had promised to return to Scotland once every three years post-Union, was only seen there once in 22 years, in 1617, and the Scots did not feel they had their own King any more. As yet, the notion of a King of "Great Britain" was alien, and Scots turned away from their absentee Monarch as a new apparatus of State began to take over the day to day running of the country, and the new legal, financial and clerical professionals began to take over the traditional feudal roles of the nobles.

Scottish history generally in this period is characterized by two main viewpoints - a Royalist school and a Whiggish, constitutional group. Both of these groups of theorists used the myth laden history of Scotland to justify their opinions to the point when each destroyed the other, and between them, Scottish history was totally deconstructed. At the heart of many of the theoretical battles of this period was the dispute over identity, and the role of Kingship, particularly because of the two unions of 1603 and 1707. As Keith M. Brown states, '...the ties which bound the Scots to their kings had been loosening since 1603 when James VI departed for London.'²¹⁸

The Impact of the Union of the Crowns

The Union was to have a huge effect on the relationship with England which had

²¹⁴ Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p.259

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.258, pp.261-262

²¹⁶ D. Allan, 'What's in a name? Pedigree and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century Scotland', in E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002), pp.147-167

²¹⁷ Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p.243

²¹⁸ K. M. Brown, 'A Land Without a King: Review Article', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 13 (1993), pp.74-77, p.74

helped to shape Scotland's identity for so long. Scotland had defined herself in reference to the "auld enemy" and now this relationship had to undergo a fundamental change. One of the places most affected in the early years of James' dual reign was the Borders, which had long been a haven for renegades from both sides of the border. In one year alone, 140 of the Borders' most notorious outlaws had been hung on the gallows.²¹⁹ The Western Isles also came under James' influence, as he now had the base of Ulster to apply pressure from both sides. Clan Chiefs were made responsible for their kinsmen and feudal magnates were removed, giving the Clan an even greater importance in the western Highlands as a focus for leadership and identity, particularly against the backdrop of chaos in the sixteenth century. This relationship also benefited from the shift in power away from the traditional Lordship of the Isles in the previous century. At the same time however, the clan leaderships themselves were being brought under closer royal control. The Nine Statutes of Icolmkill of 1609 were the first in many such measures pressed upon the Chiefs, including provisions for assistance to the King's forces, limitations on the size of households and in addition an annual appearance before the Privy Council. Eldest sons, and eventually all children over the age of nine were to be sent to the Lowlands for education.²²⁰

James then did a great deal to try and unite Scotland into his ideal of 'One Kingdom'. This of course made it easier to govern from the outside, but at the same time also weakened local symbols of identity. The fact that local and national identity were being eroded at the same time is another indication of how the changing role of the Monarchy in combination with the Union of the Crowns was vital in beginning a process which destroyed traditional sources of a national consciousness. There was no political focus for the nobles with the court in London. Furthermore, the move of the crown to England had more tangible consequences - trade with Scotland suffered as a result.²²¹

Although James' reign was looked upon with fondness, due in no small part to the economic prosperity it brought, despite the decrease in trade, his son and heir Charles I was not so successful. Where James had managed to tread the fine line

²¹⁹ Donaldson, 'James VI and Vanishing Frontiers', p.113

²²⁰ Grant and Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, p.110

between two religious creeds in his early years, Charles proved unable to juggle the two types of religious thought. His perceived Popery was abhorred by the Scots, and the enduring link of Church and nation in Scottish identity was seen as being under threat. Lowlanders in particular relied upon the Church for identity as their kin-ties were eroded, as Cowan highlights.²²²

The Covenanted Movement

This unrest set the scene for the Covenanted movement:

In 1638 the main strength of the Covenant was that it was all things to all men. It was both the focus of Scottish nationhood and the symbol of revolution. Those who took up arms to defend it appealed to patriotism and the fear that Stewart despotism would reduce Scotland to the status of a province.²²³

The Covenanted movement highlighted the importance of the constitutional questions addressed by James VI. The Scots had always held that the Monarchy should be maintained but regulated, as seen by the "removal" of tyrannical Kings. Remember that the ruler may have been removed, but the ruling dynasty remained. This also contains the vital concept that the King is ruler of the people as the nation, and not the country itself as a separate entity from its inhabitants. As was shown earlier, the conflict of constitutionalism and supreme Kingship was the struggle which underpinned the fourteenth century Wars of Independence. Grant has suggested that the fifteenth century Kings' return to ideas of supreme royal authority was counter-productive in that it engendered political unrest.²²⁴ Given the close relationship then of crown and community, is it not plausible to suggest that the loss of the court and King as the direct focus of the identity of the *community*, the *people of Scotland*, was bound to have a detrimental effect on Scottish national consciousness in the seventeenth century? As we shall see, this is not the sole reason for the collapse in Scottish national identity prior to the nineteenth century, but I certainly feel it is an important part, and that it has been under-emphasised in modern historians' explanation for the "Walter Scottification" of Scottish identity.

²²¹ E. J. Cowan, 'Montrose and Argyll', in G. Menzies (ed), *The Scottish Nation: A history of the Scots from Independence to Union*, (London, 1972), pp.118-132, p.119

²²² Cowan, 'Montrose and Argyll', p.120

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.121

²²⁴ Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', p.11

An important fact to remember is that the Scots were the first to take Charles I to task - an example of their views on constitutional Kingship - but they did not want to get rid of him quite as completely as the English did. This neatly illustrates the fact that the concept of a ruling dynasty was not as firmly grounded in England as it was in Scotland, and the English did not feel they could exert enough control over the Monarchy to let it continue in a more constitutional manner.

The Deconstruction of Scotland's History

In 1729 Innes published *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitant of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland*, and Kidd suggests this was possibly an inherently Roman Catholic answer to a history dominated by the ancient beginnings of a Presbyterian constitution. Once again, myth-history was faced with opposing sides looking for the origin which supported their argument. However, instead of creating such histories from the fragments in existence, the new breed of religious philosophers deconstructed myth histories in search of the truth. (Although, as Kidd later points out, Innes himself was not above a bit of "creative history" to ensure his argument carried the most weight.²²⁵)

The divisions of Christendom prompted close scrutiny of all sources of religious authority, which in turn furthered the emergence of a more sophisticated body of historical theory and practice. ... Each side probed the most obvious weaknesses in the other's position, in the process developing powerful destructive tools of philosophical and historical criticism.²²⁶

Furthermore, Kidd claims that Protestant historiography developed as a reaction to developments in Catholic historical theorising. 'Catholic claims to be the authentic embodiment of Christianity rested on the legitimacy conferred by a continuous existence from antiquity'.²²⁷ So, although there was a new wave of more rigorous historical analysis, stemming particularly from new work on Christian antiquity in France from Daillé, and later Mabillon and Bayle, the driving force in the Scottish situation was the desire to construct a history in which the Catholic Church could claim antiquity. Thus, 'Historiography was inseparable from religious debate in late

²²⁵ Kidd, 'Antiquarianism', p.147

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.140-141

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.140

seventeenth century Europe'.²²⁸ Ironically, 'the Scots had invested a premium in historical exactness', refining their origin myths so much that their detailed "history" of Scotland was an easy target for detractors, unlike the less well constructed history of their neighbour England.²²⁹ Protestant scholars similarly debunked the myth histories, calling them 'idle and monastic inventions'.²³⁰ However, the impact of Innes work was also tempered by the fact that the usefulness of origin myths to both Jacobite and Whig histories meant that it was to be some time before they were completely deconstructed.²³¹

Innes also fails to be the predecessor of enlightenment historians because he falls into the same trap as those he tries to deconstruct. Although Innes discounted Pictish King lists prior to the fifth century AD, he then proceeded to argue that the rest of the Pictish regnal genealogies were genuine, and claimed this proved Scotland to be the oldest Monarchy in Europe.²³² Royalist ideas of hereditary Monarchy were expounded, and this following of the French ecclesiastical tradition was not in any intellectual way a precursor to the enlightenment. The work of French scholars such as Mabillon came to Scotland in many ways, as did the influence of anglican advances in this field of study. Several influential Scottish scholars also attended the University of Leiden, famed for its work in philology and the antiquities, where Protestant pedagogues challenged the many origin myths, including the foundations of Rome. However, these intellectual advances were tempered in Scotland by patriotism, particularly to the antiquity of the crown. Innes

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.143

²²⁹ R. J. Finlay, 'Review Article - The Best Schools of Heroes and Patriots': Historians and their Craft in Early Modern Scotland', *Innes Review*, Vol. XLVI, no. 1, (1995), pp.67-74, p.72

²³⁰ A. Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, (London, 1726), p.11, in Kidd, 'Antiquarianism', p.144

²³¹ Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p.101. Innes based his work on the errors he found in Boece. He identified names across the regnal lists and found that Boece had been duped by late medieval forged chronicles, probably written in the Lowlands in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, not the Highlands as Boece claimed. Furthermore, Boece's sources were 'lost chronicles', meaning they themselves could not be properly checked. Innes claimed that Fordun and Boece had not known they were perpetrating a forged history, but Buchanan was not let off so lightly. Innes suggested that the death of James III in 1488 led to a turbulent atmosphere in which Boece had to work. It is plausible to hypothesise that the work of Boece was a direct response to this violent act, at the same time trying to restore some sort of status quo by showing the antiquarian precedents and successful outcomes of previous such incursions in to the line of kingship. Innes was careful in highlighting how the political situation at the time compounded genuine historical error into mythology, rather than declaring the entire history a conscious fabrication. See Kidd, 'Antiquarianism', and *Subverting Scotland*

and other Catholic writers did try and escape these patriotic, and some might say, nationalist, ties, but as we have seen, they were not the first, nor were they the last. Ironically, in this period, when Scottish scholars were trying to explain and condemn the power of feudalism and the aristocracy, they were still patronised and ruled by that same aristocracy.²³³ Deconstruction was not deconstruction for deconstruction's sake, but rather to make way for alternative constructions.

Changing Perceptions of Scottish Identity

The developments discussed previously of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in historical thought did not kill off notions of a Scottish national identity based in antiquity. Contemporary events such as the persecution of the Covenanters revived the more recent historical foundations of Scottish identity, for example the Wars of Independence and the Declaration of Arbroath, along with the more populist expressions of nationalist sentiment such as the Border Ballads.²³⁴

T. C. Smout highlights the changes that had taken place in the minds of the people of Scotland between 1603 and 1707: 'Real independence in the sense of control over foreign policy had gone in 1603. For many years the gentlemen in Parliament House in Edinburgh had seemed to be little better than puppets dancing to the tune of the London government'.²³⁵ 'Before 1707, Jacobitism had sought to alter the political direction of Scotland. Following the Union, this objective was submerged in the struggle to reassert and retain the political identity of Scotland.'²³⁶

The Union of 1707, under Article 24, protected the Scots' right to their crown and regalia, and with it their right to an ancient independence.²³⁷ One of the areas of academic dispute concerning the Union of 1707, was the idea that it was a natural step, a return to a previous situation, in which England had had a hold over Scotland. Issues of suzerainty had long been disputed prior to the union, but were to continue as an issue for quite some time. Here myth was again used to protect

²³² Kidd, 'Antiquarianism', p.148

²³³ Finlay, 'Heroes and Patriots' p.73

²³⁴ Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, pp.135-136

²³⁵ T. C. Smout, 'Union of the Parliaments', 'Union of the Parliaments', in G. Menzies, (ed), *The Scottish Nation: A history of the Scots from Independence to Union*, (London, 1972), pp.147-159, p.159

²³⁶ A I. MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, (East Linton, 1996), p.193

Scottish national independence, and at the same time to promote Jacobitism by emphasising the long relationship of Catholic France and Scotland.²³⁸

One area where medievalists certainly agree in the debate over Scottish national identity, is that there is a gap between medieval and modern interpretations of Scottish identity, which this thesis is hoping to highlight.²³⁹

Summary

This chapter has endeavoured to highlight a number of factors. Aspects of the modern stereotype of Scottish identity have appeared from the earliest historical accounts of Scotland, due in no small part to the continual rewriting of history to satisfy an audience. Furthermore, a pre-modern Scottish national consciousness grew from a sense of Scottish identity amongst individuals. This consciousness was founded in institutions, or markers, such as the Church, law and education, and most importantly in the relationship of King and community, a relationship which constitutionalism ensured was symbiotic. History was used to confer legitimacy and authority to Scottish identity by providing links with antiquity through genealogy, King lists and origin myths. When the concept of Kingship was de-personalised into Monarchy, the increasing ideological and geographical distance between the symbolic head of Scotland's identity led to a void in the structure of Scottish identity which had been built over the preceding centuries, and finally, the other institutions which had helped shape a sense of Scotland began to falter.

²³⁷ Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p.71

²³⁸ The myth concerned a treaty between Charlemagne and the Scottish king Achaius which was supposedly drawn up in the early ninth century.

²³⁹ Grant, 'Medieval Foundations', p.20, MacDougall, 'Response: At the Medieval bedrock', p.28

Chapter Four: Creation of a Highland Scottish Identity

Introduction

The period following the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 was one in which traditional Highland values and traditions clashed with the intellectual advances brought by the Enlightenment. When books concerning clanship are compared with those discussing the rhetoric of the Enlightenment, they seem almost to be discussing a different time, a different period in Scottish history. Any discussion of the “Highlandising” of Scottish identity has to take place against the backdrop that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were characterised by great upheaval in the traditional institutions which had previously characterised Scottish identity.

Given the close relationship through medieval times of crown and community, it is plausible to suggest that the loss of the court and King as the direct focus of the identity of the *community*, the *people of Scotland*, was bound to have a detrimental effect on Scottish national consciousness in the seventeenth century.¹ Authors such as Colin Kidd have also shown that historiography went through a stage of deconstructing the mythic history of Scotland on which concepts of the antiquity of the nation of Scotland, and thus of Scottish identity, rested. One of the many ironies of the adoption of a Highland Scottish identity is that the Monarchy which had once been the focus of Scotland’s identity, played an important role in affirming this new identity.

The Nature of Kingship

The failure of Jacobitism was an important turning point in the relationship of Kingship to identity, and also vitally important in the rise of the new identity which has since been synonymous with Scotland. There are several reasons for this, and

¹ It has been argued that it was only in the eighteenth century that ‘the prerogative of national identity passed from being the narrow preserve of the political elite into a form of common “national” property’. R. J. Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century’, in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: the making and re-making of Scotland through the age*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.143-156. It is dangerous to assume however, that Scottish identity was a homogenous behemoth, which meant the same to all. It is plausible to suggest that there was a multiplicity of Scottish “national” identities, each one applicable by differing determinants of class, region etc.

many of these have been explored by other authors, for example Murray Pittock, including the idea that any hope of a Catholic King was quashed. However, an important point to highlight apart from the religious factor of Jacobitism was the nature of Kingship itself. Kingship itself had undergone a change in the previous two centuries from the traditional medieval concept of a heroic leader to the excesses of Monarchy. This is aptly highlighted by the events of the French Revolution of 1789.

1789 saw the traditional system of government in France of the Estates-General transformed into a National Assembly. This period is seen as the birth of modern "nationalism", national identity based on a political definition, and the spectre of Republicanism loomed large in Europe. Thus it is certainly true that the survival of the structure of Monarchy became paramount, rather than who the rightful Monarch was. If the Monarchy did not survive, how could the Stuart succession be restored? It may be cynical to claim this search for support is the sole reason for the Monarchy to start appealing to its northern subjects, but the Hanoverian succession began to seep its way into Scottish Society, undermining any last vestiges of a Jacobite threat. The death of Henry, Cardinal of York, and brother of Charles Edward Stuart, in 1807 saw the last "realistic" Stuart claimant removed.²

Admittedly, there was no such revolution in Britain, but the stability of the concept of Monarchy was badly shaken. No longer did traditional identity lie in the King - a process which Scotland had already suffered with the Union of the Crowns in 1603, but which was now irretrievably underlined. The French Revolution was thus a nail in the coffin of Kingship, and with it, the old form of identity which Anthony Smith has identified as *ethnie* ³.

The French Revolution had a great effect throughout Scotland. Friendly Societies

² P. Cadell, 'A Triumphant Tour' in G. Donaldson, A. M. M. Duncan and D. Dunnett, (eds), *The Story of Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1988), Vol. 35 'The Royal Return: George IV in Scotland', pp.956-960, p.956

³ A. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, (Oxford, 1986), p.21-22, from Roger Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in R. Mason and N. MacDougall (eds), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout*, (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 50-73, p.50

considerably more radical than their English counterparts were started, and between 1782 and 1790, the number of papers published in Scotland increased from eight to 27.⁴ It also highlighted the delicate balance which existed in Britain between constitution, Monarchy and democracy. Although Thomas Paine contended that Britain did not have a constitution as it was not written down, contemporaries such as Thomas Somerville refuted this argument, claiming that so much had been written about the British constitution, there was most certainly one in existence.⁵ The Scottish church was influential in preaching this message, thereby supporting the Monarchy in the face of increasing republicanism following the uprisings in France. Instrumental to this message was the fundamental relationship of crown and community which had existed throughout Scotland's history, and which was now presented as being the relationship between community and government - that of loyal and obedient subjects, who in turn were protected and provided for.⁶ It is important to note that this relationship was now presented as people and government, as the crown was no longer the supreme power it had been, as demonstrated by events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Interestingly, the American Constitution, being a written document, unlike its ethereal British predecessor, lets us reflect on the opinions of the time. Written between 1787 and 1788, nowhere in the document do the words 'nation' or 'national' appear, quite deliberately, instead using the term 'federal', based on the Latin *fides* implying a relationship based on trust. 'The delegates ... feared that *national* smacked of a system in which power was dangerously centralised'.⁷ The sea change that took place in the American political consciousness can be charted quite accurately in this case - in his first inaugural address on 4 March 1861 Lincoln

⁴ E. Vincent, 'The Responses of the Scottish Churchmen to the French Revolution', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol LXXIII, 2: No. 196, (October, 1994), pp.191-215, p.191

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.197

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.199. This relationship can be seen as an early incarnation of civic or liberal nationalism, which some such as Lindsay Paterson have argued continued to embody a sense of Scottish national identity in the absence of independent government.

⁷ D. Boorstin, *The Americans, The National Experience* (New York, 1974) p.415 referenced in B. Bryson, *Made in America*, (London, 1994), pp.69 (author's own emphasis). October 1787 to July 1788 saw the publication of *The Federalist*, a collection of essays debating this very issue, the most well-known being Essay No. 10 by James Madison, which expounded the virtues of federalism and dismissed the notion that republics could only work in small countries such

did not once use the word 'nation' but instead the term 'Union' appeared twenty times. By the Gettysburg address on 19 November 1863, a speech much shorter than a presidential inauguration at only 268 words, the word 'nation' was mentioned five times, and 'union' not at all.⁸ This of course must be seen against the backdrop of the Civil War.⁹ The "nation" seemed a more noble future than the union which had been part of a messy war. Thus political motivation was behind this representation of a national sentiment.

Failure of Traditional Institutions of Identity

However, the nature of Kingship was not the only bastion of identity which underwent a radical change in this period. A lot of Scotland's achievements were borne of failure at home. The social disruption Scotland faced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries eroded any sense of identity there may have been. Up until this time, Scotland was divided regionally, the national institutions of the church, education and the law providing the focus for any sense of identity. The nineteenth century in particular saw these traditional institutions lose influence, either from English intervention or internal Scottish problems.¹⁰

The education system at all levels was losing ground on its European counterparts by this time, and this problem was compounded in the early nineteenth century with the problems of the church. The Kirk had traditionally controlled school level education but by the 1870s this was taken from its hands, as the church lost influence. A very destructive force against any pre-Highland Scottish identity that did exist was the Disruption of 1843. This was a disintegration of the biggest

as the Netherlands. Additional material from G. B. Tindall with D. E. Shi, *America A Narrative History*, 3rd Ed. (New York, 1992), p.285

⁸ Bryson, *Made in America*, pp.96-97

⁹ Lincoln had started his presidency stressing the history of the Union prior to the Constitution, but the Gettysburg address followed three great Unionist victories in the Civil War during 1863 at Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and indeed Gettysburg itself. The speech was made at the commemoration of a cemetery for civil war soldiers and Lincoln was probably trying to enable the relatives of the deceased to look forward beyond the war to the building of the nation - 'for those who gave their lives that that nation might live'. *Ibid.*, p.95, which reproduces Lincoln's address at Gettysburg. Additional material from Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, pp.636-638, 680-684

¹⁰ H.J. Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and radical', in R. Robson (ed), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in honour of George Kitson Clark*, (London, 1967), pp. 143-179

common factor in the life of the everyday Scot, and the Disruption saw previously united communities divide over their religious affiliations.¹¹ Furthermore, the urbanisation and industrialisation of Scotland at the same time served to weaken the whole practise of churchgoing, despite the moral standards of the Victorian era. Increasing religious dissent, particularly in urban areas, meant that there were many churches to choose from, causing a fluidity in churchgoing - 'hearing sermon promiscuously'.¹² That it lost its significance can also be attributed to the rise of the new Highlandism - Womack states 'The Kirk was not a central part of the new popular image of Scotland as it was developing...'¹³, but Highlandism was not a challenge to the established Church as a focal point for identity, it was a replacement.

The reason that the Kirk was no longer so strong in Scotland though is not just rooted in the ideological differences that were eventually to cause the schism. Colley's argument that a common Protestantism gave Britain an identity is unlikely to apply to the north.¹⁴ Scotland was rapidly changing from being a rural county to one of heavy industry, and this brought much social upheaval, again detrimental to any real cohesive identity. It is interesting to note that many commentators lament the modern lack of regard for religious history - George Rosie comments 'God is hardly to be found in the Scottish museums'¹⁵ but God is to be found in the stories of many of the missionaries from Scotland who contributed to the Empire - see for example, Michael Fry's *The Scottish Empire*.¹⁶

Class also became a factor in identity. The middle class aspired to the aristocracy, and as such, thought that to dress in the tartan and indulge in "Highland" past-

¹¹ Whilst it has been argued that on a local level the Disruption created more aspects of a 'civil society', the Church was no longer a truly national institution. See G. Morton, 'What if?: the significance of Scotland's missing nationalism in the nineteenth century', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: the making and re-making of Scotland through the age*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.157-176

¹² C. G. Brown, 'Religion and Social Change', in T. M. Devine and R. Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland, Volume 1, 1760-1830*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 143-162, quote p.152

¹³ P. Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, (London, 1989), p.104

¹⁴ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (London, 1992)

¹⁵ G. Rosie, 'Museumry and the Heritage Industry', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 157-170, p.169

times was a fashionable way of illustrating their position and aspirations in society, again ingraining Highland symbolism as Scottish identity. In the lower classes, the influx of Irish labourers was influential in the working class turning to a symbolic identity to give themselves some sense of cohesiveness. As their jobs and religion appeared threatened, the only answer would seem to be to grasp onto a sense of national identity, to band together against the immigrants. However, what banner were they to unite under? The myth of Highlandism had no class connotations, and the easiest option was to take on board the Highland symbolism which was so popular, yet, as we will see, so sterile. Whilst the lower class and particularly Lowlanders could find a kindred spirit in Burns, his work became subsumed by the Highland whole as we shall see.

Safety Net of a Mythic Identity

By basing Scottish national identity in an albeit mythical past, this gave a stable ground for a country which found itself not only embroiled in internal disharmony, but in a Europe which was also facing upheaval. Because the past (Scotland's history of historiography) could not be changed, such a fabricated national identity was under no threat from Radicalism. A Monarchy could fall, but a myth of nationalism could not. Again then, Scotland is peculiar in Europe, and some claim it was this uniqueness within Europe, this lack of being embroiled in European conflict, which had caused a lack of identity in the first place. Whilst the rest of Europe had been forced into finding a national identity by war, Scotland had remained safely separate, but on the flip-side, this isolation meant Scotland developed a Highland nationalism which was much more stable than national identities adopted by the rest of Europe at times of pressure from without.

Jacobitism

Allan Macinnes has suggested that the appeal of Jacobitism lay in its support for the hereditary principle of Kingship, against the changes forced on the Scottish people resulting in the House of Hanover taking over the British crown.¹⁷ Scotland's last foothold on its identity, the small comfort that the absentee King was still of the

¹⁶ M. Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, (Edinburgh, 2001), pp.135-251

House of Stuart, was gone. As Macinnes says 'the lawful exercise of government and the maintenance of justice in Scotland were imperilled by the sundering of genealogical continuity'.¹⁸ This is ironic considering that the perceived fall of Jacobitism is a prime force behind some modern genealogical interest in Scotland, as Celeste Ray in particular discusses.¹⁹ Jacobitism represented the old ways of doing things, the ideas which had seen seven centuries of unbroken royal line until 1249, and then a succession of Kings resulting in the Union of Crowns in 1603, all through the laws of primogeniture. Macinnes also points out that, although the later Jacobite cause was seen as one of rightful succession and religion, the Divine Right of Kings was not so much of an issue as the continuation of the House of Stewart²⁰ yet again highlighting the fact that the Scottish people were in favour of constitutional Kingship, rather than a supreme Monarchy.²¹

The Jacobite risings were not supported by all the clans, but certainly the majority of clans took part in the rebellions of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, after the '45, there was no longer a glimmer of hope that the Stuart Monarchy would be restored. The last tenuous link of Scotland with the crown, its last hold on this symbol of national identity, was irretrievably lost. Macinnes translates the poet Alasdair MacMhaighsteir Alasdair on the failure of Charles Edward to reclaim the throne:

We've lost our tiller and our rigging,
Our sheet-anchor's torn away,
We've lost our charts, our compass with them,
Our pole-star, our daily guide.²²

¹⁷ A. I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, (East Linton, 1996), p.188

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ C. Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill, 2001), pp.40-41

²⁰ Macinnes, *Clanship*, p.189, uses the example of the poetry of Angus McDonald of Glencoe

²¹ See for example the discussion surrounding the succession of James IV - good summaries in chapters 16 and 17 of R. Nicholson, *Scotland, The Later Middle Ages*, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, Vol. II, (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 472-575 and chapter 10 of M. Lynch, *Scotland A New History*, (London, 1991), pp. 152-168

²² *Ibid.*, p.189

From these words we can see that Highland identity and Scottish national consciousness were severely affected by the demise of the Jacobite cause, and with it the possibility of an independent Scotland with an independent Scottish King. However, at the same time a new force was beginning to take hold in Scotland - commercialism. The erosion of kin ties meant that tenant farmers became economic units and helped justify the transformation of the traditional structure of society and landscape.²³

The English had always felt the threat of Jacobitism, but 'Romanticism's influence on Jacobitism was in the end to be a negative one, adopting Jacobite images on a symbolic level, but scorning them on a political one'.²⁴ The Highlanders had always been linked with the rebellious elements of Jacobitism, even by Scottish Lowlanders, but the work of the new Scottish authors robbed Jacobitism of its threatening nature, instead redefining the Jacobites as the loyal supporters of the Monarchy.²⁵

The Concept of Improvement

As Kidd shows, in the eighteenth century Scotland was perceived as a primitive and feudal land, its history deconstructed by the Whigs and Jacobites, and eventually abandoned as anarchic and barbarian, before the Union had arrived to save it. This deconstruction had encouraged the Scottish intelligentsia to look forward, and brought inspiration for the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment itself was a brief flame, but it helped ignite the ideas which were to lead to the turnaround in the perception of the Highlands. Pittock remarks 'Macpherson's Ossian took the world by storm. At the height of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scotland was presented as an anti-Enlightenment culture ...'.²⁶ Despite all the forward looking ideas of the Enlightenment, here appeared a society that was yet to be civilised, a perfect opportunity to observe the process of civilization in action. Scotland and her history

²³ J. R. Gold and M. M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*, (Aldershot, 1995), p.39

²⁴ M. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart myth and the Scottish identity 1638 to the present*, (London, 1991), p.80

²⁵ Ironically Jacobitism was a national phenomenon, with highland and Lowland support. However, it became 'Highlandised' in the attempt to distance this "cult" from the nation of Scotland and its relationship with England within the Union. For a full discussion of this see M. G. H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, (Edinburgh, 1995)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.73

were becoming the subject of interest of customers, and this commercial dimension will be clear when we look at the reasons for early Scottish tourism.

Womack highlights this "Improvement" view as complementary to the ideas of Romance.²⁷ Throughout the 1760s, the view prevailed that the Highlanders were at a stage the rest of society had passed through some time previously: 'The myth of the Highlands is a myth of nature in this particular sense - nature as left behind, as lost wholeness.'²⁸ Edwin Muir called this a 'simple vision of life', and the Enlightenment philosophers found this particularly fascinating. For example, David Hume in his *Enquiries* writes that the 'chief use' of history:

is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature, by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations and become acquainted with the regular springs of human action and behaviour.²⁹

But although Scotland provided much fuel for the Romanticists, Simpson argues that 'Scotland failed to experience Romanticism in its fullest and purest forms'³⁰, claiming that the inherent Calvinist traditions of Scotland, and its ideology of predestination, could not be reconciled with the redemptive function of true Romanticism. However, Scottish Romanticism was not trying to redeem for the future, it was trying to redeem its past. By this I mean that this redemption, based wholly in the past, did not change the material facts in such a way as to threaten Calvinist opinions. Simpson also claims 'Denied the fruits of Romantic idealism, the Scot became the fore-runner of modern alienated man'³¹, but it was the growing alienation of the Scots which had contributed to the rise of Romanticism in the first place. The Lowlanders, having failed to assimilate themselves into a "North Britain" after the Union, had become alienated from the English, and needed some kind of identity to grasp. Smith's idea of concentric loyalties may hold firm, but to

²⁷ Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.3

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.174

²⁹ D.Hume, *Enquiries concerning human understanding and concerning the principles of morals*, reprinted from the 1777 edition. (Oxford, 3rd edition 10th impression 1989, 3rd edition © 1975) p.83

³⁰ K. Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature*, (Aberdeen, 1988), p.150

be Scottish within being British needed a starting point. The turmoil of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries meant that the Scottish people needed some symbol to latch on to, and what better than the attractive Romantic view of the Highlands?

Romanticism of the Highlands

Hume Brown, in 1891, published his *Early Travellers in Scotland*, a collection of works from travellers in Scotland prior to the eighteenth century. Although this collection has since come in for some criticism, for example that it is mainly representative of visitors with political motives,³² it is still a useful source for perceptions of Scottish identity prior to the changes of Romanticism. It is also useful in a search for “national identity”, using, as it does, sources prior to the era of “modern” nationalism, as defined by social scientists.

Nicander Nucius travelled to England in 1545, and although it is unknown as to whether he visited Scotland, he does remark upon the nature of Scotland. However, his remarks must be seen in the light of his being principally a visitor to England, and thus as a reflection of English opinion. This is apparent in several of his comments.

... they are most hostilely bent against the English. And being tributary to the English, they have often stirred up war, to free themselves from the tribute; but they have been unsuccessful, since the English kept them down by superior skill in war and force. For the Scotch are a more barbarous people in their manner of living than the English.³³

Prejudice is a problem with many of the accounts Hume Brown presents. The Frenchman Estienne Perlin is quite gracious about the Scots due to their relationship

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² J. K. Cameron, ‘Some Continental Visitors to Scotland in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries’, in T. C. Smout (ed) *Scotland and Europe 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 45-61, p.46

³³ N. Nucius, ‘*Travels of Nicander Nucius*’ extract from *Second book of the Travels of Nicander Nucius of Coreyra*, (translated and published by the Camden Society, 1841) in P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1978, facsimile of original of 1891), p.60

to France. But even he remarks that 'Also it is to be noted, that there are some savages in some of the counties of Scotland'.³⁴ However, other accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show Scotland to be a destination for young noblemen from continental Europe, and they found it to be a cosmopolitan society on a par with that found in their own countries,³⁵ although it should be noted that their main destinations were sites of academia.

In 1730, Edward Burt had observed the Highland countryside as 'a dismal, gloomy Brown, drawing upon a dirty Purple; and most of all disagreeable, when the Heath is in Bloom'.³⁶ In 1773 Dr Johnson noted the 'wide extent of hopeless sterility' of the Western Isles,³⁷ and even in 1800, the Highlands were described as 'chiefly an assembly of vast dreary mountains'.³⁸ These same mountains were soon to be lauded by the Romanticists as stunning, their barrenness becoming a thing of beauty. Many English artists, for example Landseer, found inspiration in the sweeping scenery of the Highlands. The Romantic movement though did not just change the aesthetic perceptions of the Highlands. Its effects ran much deeper. They in particular saw the landscape as shaping the character of its inhabitants, and the artwork of many visitors to Scotland reflected this, from Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen*, to the changes observed in Sandby's works on the view of Strathtay. Over a period of thirty-three years, the same view veers from an almost English vision of rolling hills, to a typically Highland view of jagged peaks and brooding clouds. Undoubtedly this was linked with the changing perception of the Highlands at the time. Land became symbolic of identity, but only a typically 'Highland' landscape. The nature of Lowland countryside, with its increasing industrialisation, was too like its southern neighbour to be adopted as symbolic of Scotland. Particularly important to this kind of imagery is the fact that the Highland landscape is in many ways a product of its history, and vice versa. Early forts and holy sites occupy areas of geographic significance, for example, the fork of a river, or the top of a hill -

³⁴ E. Perlin, extract from *Description des Royaulmes D'Angleterre et D'Ecosse*, in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, p.79

³⁵ Cameron, 'Some Continental Visitors' p.46

³⁶ E. Burt, quoted in Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.1

³⁷ Dr Johnson, quoted in T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*, (Manchester, 1994), p.85

³⁸ Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*, p.85

Dunadd, Dumbarton Rock, Stirling or Edinburgh Castles to name but a few. At the same time, people leave their mark on the land - the most obvious example of course being the Highland Clearances, and the deforestation of much of the Highland landscape. In modern terms, "natural" heritage is becoming of increasing importance.³⁹

Ossian

The Romantic movement in Scottish literature was really launched with the publication in the 1760's of Macpherson's *Fingal* and *Temora*, a mish-mash of myths and stories supposedly chronicling the adventures of the Gaelic hero Ossian. These tales, hugely popular throughout Europe, have been hailed as a romantic Jacobite history thinly cloaked in antiquarianism. Withers claims the effects of the 'Ossianic controversy' were threefold: the Highlands were established as a Romantic entity, the fabricated world of Macpherson eclipsed real Gaelic literature, and the symbolism of this created Highlandism was borne of the conflict of old and new.⁴⁰ The idea of conflict was to be common to many of Scotland's literary giants.

Ossian was also important in that it linked the idea of Celticness with the image of the Highlander. As Leneman has highlighted, not only did Ossian impact on perceptions of the Scottish landscape, it also linked the Highlander to the ancient landscape, implying that Highlanders were a race of antiquity.⁴¹ As we shall see in a later chapter, modern perceptions of Celticness are an important new factor in perceptions of Scotland as a nation.

Translated into 26 languages Ossian rode a wave of fascination with European Romanticism and had fans as diverse as Napoleon, Tolstoy, Goethe, Beethoven and later Mendelssohn. The debate over the authenticity of the poems was an integral part of their appeal. The first "literary tourists" flocked to Scotland to seek out the landscapes described, whilst others came to find evidence to the contrary, for

³⁹ C. Palmer, 'Tourism and the symbols of Identity', *Tourism Management*, Vol 20, (1999), pp. 313-321, see pages 316-317 in particular for summary

⁴⁰ C. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*, (London, 1988) p.54

⁴¹ L. Leneman, 'The Effects of Ossian on Lowland Scotland' in J. J. Carter and J. H. Pittock, (eds), *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* (Aberdeen, 1987), pp. 357-62 cited in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p. 54

example, Samuel Johnson. Fingal's cave and the Narrow Glen became places of pilgrimage because of their links, spurious or otherwise, with Ossian, and this new commercial opportunity did not pass by unnoticed. 'Whether pro- or anti-Macpherson, such travellers provided a ready market for landlords who created "attractions" to draw travellers to particular sites' – for example Dunkeld, where remodelling work began in 1758 and by 1783 created 'the equivalent of a modern theme park' complete with "Ossian's Hall", "Ossian's cave" and mirrors cleverly designed to highlight the waterfalls which were the original distinguishing feature. Even in 1797 this was scorned as 'tinselled frippery' by some visitors, whilst lauded by others.⁴² Ironically, the success of Ossian deterred other genuine collectors of Gaelic stories, such as the Reverend Archibald MacArthur: 'Sadly the legitimate article did not match the Ossianic ideal and so was rejected',⁴³ a clear case of the forces of consumerism impacting on perceptions of "real" Scottish history. At the same time, European "grand tours", which had been a popular tourist pastime, and had led to a lack of interest in British travel, were impossible due to the wars on the continent.⁴⁴ The British delighted in finding that they did not need to go further than their own backyard to see Romanticism in action.

One interesting aspect of this was the interest in the supernatural. The idea of seers and fairies was of great interest, and travellers sought out examples of this in their interest in science.⁴⁵ This is paralleled today with an increasing interest in the more esoteric Celtic rituals, and also another factor. Whilst it is widely known that Scottish birth records are amongst the best in the world, it is less well known that they also record the time of birth. This is of particular interest to followers of astrology or other fields where planetary alignments are considered important, and is a growing area for research today.⁴⁶

⁴² J. M'Nayr, *A guide from Glasgow to some of the most remarkable scenes in the Highlands of Scotland and to the falls of the Clyde*, (Glasgow, 1797), quoted in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.56

⁴³ M. Colgan, 'Ossian: success of failure of the Scottish Enlightenment?' in J. Carter and J. H. Pittock, (eds), *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* (Aberdeen, 1987), cited in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p. 59

⁴⁴ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.41

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.42

⁴⁶ Anne Warren is currently researching segmentation at Glasgow Caledonian University

In the 1760s then the Highlands became increasingly popular with tourists. Ironically this not only coincided with the beginnings of Clearance, but also the burgeoning intellectual growth of the Enlightenment. In a way, Enlightenment thinkers such as Ferguson and Smith were prompting more tourism to the Highlands, with the opportunity to take a scientific interest in the commercialising of a backwards society – the catch-22 being that these academic tourists were in part responsible for causing the very phenomenon of commercialisation they had come to observe. From the 1790s the first guide books in the guise of personal journals and recollections became available, themselves a symbol of the increasing customerisation of travel, for example, The Honourable Mrs Murray of Kensington's guide published in 1799.⁴⁷ By 1777 the Gaelic Society of London was started, which morphed a year later into the Highland Society when the rule for those who were members to be fluent in Gaelic proved too restrictive.⁴⁸

There is also evidence of the cult of Jacobitism before Walter Scott became popular. Flora MacDonald was a figure of interest when Dr Johnson visited her in 1773,⁴⁹ and her fame was also acknowledged overseas. In the American South, tales have been told of how Flora visited the troops of Loyalist Highlanders on the night before the Battles of Moore's Creek Bridge, an event which came to be termed the "American Culloden", and many Americans in the area who share her name consider themselves direct descendents.⁵⁰ Even by 1815 the Glenfinnan monument had been erected, with the addition of the statue of the Highlander in 1843.⁵¹ Furthermore, this monumentalism also highlights the role of the people in establishing national icons.⁵²

⁴⁷ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.49

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.71-72

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.78

⁵⁰ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p. 56. Ray points out that when in 1976 the BBC did a show called *The Valley of the Scots* they filmed one such resident proclaiming her direct descendancy. This clip was replayed throughout the programme in a humorous way, however, American viewers did not understand this, as they considered that she was probably telling the truth. There is a large misconception that sharing a surname implies direct descendancy, and Flora Macdonald 'descendents' were in evidence as early as 1868, although the fact that her age, her brief stay and the return of her family to Scotland makes this highly unlikely.

⁵¹ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.79

⁵² For example, Hobsbawm indicates the failure of the German Empire to turn William I into 'William the Great' and contrasts this with the immediate populism of Bismarck by comparing the number of monuments erected to the pair within a particular timespan,

This is very important because pre-Walter Scott, there was already a *market* for “Scottishness”. This increasing appetite for Scottishness encouraged Scott. After all, he needed to earn a living, and if the public wanted to read historical Highland romances, then he could provide – the commercial tenet of supply and demand. There was already a demand for things Scottish pre-1822, and the willing customers who had already bought in to the Highland image through Ossian or Burns or Scott were a ready market for an expansion of Highlandism.

Robert Burns

Robert Burns was known to be sympathetic to the Jacobites, and his songs were an aspect of Romanticism which spread into popular culture. He clearly linked Jacobitism and Nationalism, and his song *Scots Wha Hae* has been taken by twentieth century Nationalists as a national anthem.⁵³ Burns is important to perceptions of Scottish identity in a number of ways. Not only was he an early, pre-Scott tourist attraction, he also demonstrates how a working class and Lowland Scottish identity became subsumed into a Highland Scottish and predominantly middle class identity.

Whilst Romanticism has always been associated with Scotland, Burns was part of a movement which dated back to Spenser and Milton termed the “Pastoral Vision”, the view of life and nature by the common man. Importantly, the pastoral vision was complementary to the romantic vision. Literary tourists went as far as visiting his widow, and as early as 1817 Americans were visiting Alloway to see his birthplace. Indeed, by 1827 early souvenir hunters had already made the inscription on his father’s graveslab illegible by chipping pieces away.⁵⁴

Ironically this fascination with pre-commercial society could not operate in isolation. The mere practice of going to observe Highland society created a new commercial aspect in the experience. As soon as tourists, whether they were literary, scientific, genealogical or whatever, appeared, the infrastructure to support

Bismarck ‘winning’ hands down. E. Hobsbawm, ‘Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914’, in D. Boswell and J. Evans (eds) *Representing the Nation: A Reader - histories, heritage and museums*, (London, 1999), pp.61-86

⁵³ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.82

them, and to provide them with what they were looking for, arrived.

Burns Night began as a Lowland tradition in men's literary and social clubs. Overseas it was revived in the 1950s and now is celebrated by Scottish associations of varied origins, and normally in Highland dress - note the "tradition" of using a *sgian dhu* to stab the haggis at such events. Overseas Burns societies have also widened their remit to the customs of Scotland in general which again tend to be Highland in their presentation.⁵⁵ It has been argued that Burns has remained more in the popular consciousness than Scott, an assertion supported by the fact that there are over 180 Burns monuments worldwide, more than any other poet, or even Shakespeare.⁵⁶ However, it should be noted that we do not know either when these were erected, and it is also possible that the aspect of the class in the literature of Burns is more a subject of monumentalism than his Scottishness.

Walter Scott

Sir Walter Scott was to have a huge impact on perceptions of the identity of Scotland. He was lauded throughout Europe by writers such as Balzac, Hugo, Manzoni, Pushkin, Goethe and Byron, some of whom were also personal friends, and his reputation spread rapidly to North America and Canada. Sales of Scott's novels reached millions in the nineteenth century and this was aided by the introduction of cheap paperbacks available to the middle classes. Interestingly, the pictorial cover of the sixpence edition of *Rob Roy* has not a kilt in sight.⁵⁷

His influence was not just confined to his heavily marketed books which were shipped as far as India and the Holy Land, but the works these in turn spawned in theatre and opera. Theatre companies raced to be the first to bring a Scott story to the London stage on release of his books, with over 4,500 derivative productions between 1810 and 1900, when interest in this aspect of Scott began to fade.⁵⁸ In

⁵⁴ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.64

⁵⁵ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, pp. 51-52

⁵⁶ J. Mackay, *A Biography of Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.688, cited in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.84

⁵⁷ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, Figure 4.1, p.66

⁵⁸ H. P. Bolton, *Scot Dramatised*, (London, 1992) cited in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.74

Opera, composers such as Donizetti (e.g. *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Maria Stuarda*), Rossini (e.g. *Robert Bruce*, *Ivanhoe*), Bizet (e.g. *La Joie Fille de Perth*) and Verdi (*Araldo*) adapted Scott's work or wrote new works on Scottish themes. Even some performances of *William Tell* were performed as William Wallace in Rossini's native Italy, due to the heavy censorship of works with overtly nationalistic tones. Setting these works in a distant land sterilised them in this respect.⁵⁹ This is ironic considering the portrayal of William Wallace as such a nationalist icon in *Braveheart*.

In 1838 his countryman Thomas Carlyle said that Scott was the first to teach 'writers of history and others' that the past was 'filled by living men ... History will henceforth have to take thought of it'.⁶⁰ The success of Scott though came on the back of the Ossian books, and the general appetite in Europe for all things Scottish at the time. At the age of only 15 Scott was already moving in Edinburgh's fashionable circle, meeting Robert Burns at the house of Professor Adam Ferguson, the father of one of his friends.⁶¹ His early works were poetry, but he became more popular, and successful, as a novelist. Although Scott is credited with revolutionising the way people viewed Scotland, it has been suggested, for example by Paterson, that it is interesting that he does not describe scenery more in his works. Indeed, it seems that 'what interested Scott in the Highlands was their *cultural reconciliation* with the Lowlands: the extent to which they could be redeemed for or by civilisation' – a view reinforced by Scott's love of the Perthshire countryside. He rarely ventured north into the Highlands themselves, and indeed, of his 25 works with a Scottish theme, only 5 are specifically set in the Highlands.⁶² However, his poetry did take a particular interest in the landscape, a fact which did not escape the notice of contemporary critics such as John Taylor, who presciently notes that:

⁵⁹ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.75

⁶⁰ P. Scott, 'The Legacy of Waverley' in G. Donaldson, A. M. M. Duncan, and D. Dunnett, (eds), *The Story of Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1988), pp.961-963, p.961

⁶¹ K. Hardie, *Sir Walter Scott: An Illustrated Historical Guide*, (Norwich, 2001), p.7

⁶² J. H. Paterson, 'The Novelist and his Region: Scotland through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 81, no. 3, (December, 1965), pp.146-152, quote from p.151. For a recent view on contemporary newspaper reports and opinions on the Highland Clearances amongst Lowlanders, see K. Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland*

And hence in fondness folk declare
They such a time were there and there
And, with the zeal of patriot pride,
Proclaim the record far and wide.⁶³

It is recorded that the first novels available at Australia's first library in Sydney in the 1820s were those of Scott.⁶⁴ Scott's popularity as a novelist lasted well into the 1920's, before his books came to be seen as difficult to read - ironic in that they were so popular as the first books of a new genre in the nineteenth century, which were considered the height of accessible literature. However, it is as the creator of a new chapter in Scottish identity that Scott is best remembered now, although not everyone was impressed with the new identity. Thomas Carlyle departed Edinburgh for the duration rather than observe such 'efflorescence'.⁶⁵ An article in *The Scotsman*, stated that 'even Scott's devoted son-in-law and biographer, J. G. Lockhart, was taken aback by this collective "hallucination"'.⁶⁶ However, these views did not appear to be widespread - at a dinner in 1827 Lord Meadowbank described him as 'He ... who has conferred a new reputation on our national character, and bestowed on Scotland an imperishable name'.⁶⁷ Little must Meadowbank have realised how prophetic these words were. But although the romanticised Highland image is now scorned, and Walter Scott castigated for his role in its creation, at the time Scott wrote from his heart, with little embroidery of the Scottish situation. Only the most salient points of his influence have been taken, and inflated into their current position in the psyche of Scottish national identity.

Scott was the most famous of the Scottish Romanticists and skilfully brought out the

perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the famine years, 1845-1855, (East Linton, 2000)

⁶³ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, poem of John Taylor, quoted p.70, no original source noted

⁶⁴ J. Hewitson, 'Idea which didn't get off the ground', *The Herald*, July 27 1996

⁶⁵ F. Morley, *Literary Britain: a readers guide to writers and landmarks* (London, 1980) citing Thomas Carlyle, p.341, and quoted in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.73

⁶⁶ H. Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp.15-42, p.31, also cited in Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, (London, 1999), p.235, referring to an article by Highlander Lord Macauley.

⁶⁷ Scott, 'the Legacy of Waverley', p.962

best aspects of Jacobitism, which culminated to form part of the Highland symbolism which was to become so popular. Throughout Scott's novels is the recurring theme of a idealistic character, for example Edward Waverley, drawn to the romance of Jacobitism, but in the end turning to the stability of the Union.⁶⁸ The novel *Waverley* aroused great interest not only because of the style of writing, but also because of its treatment of a recent past, which could still be remembered. In linking Jacobitism with Nationalism, Scott glosses over the English reaction to Jacobitism, and even repaints the Hanovers in a favourable light - in *Waverley* again, the Jacobite landowner Bradwardine is allowed home with no repercussions.⁶⁹ Jacobitism as the analogy for nationalism is portrayed as the glorious, but defeated past. However, other events in Europe throughout this period were also enhancing the reputation of what was left of Jacobitism.

Other Literary Figures

Popular fiction remained an important advocate of Highlandism well into the nineteenth century with the export of the popular kailyard novel. Jacobitism is acknowledged in the work of Burns as no longer being a political force, but its ideology is married with the Republican ideal of Liberty, and these songs became a potent force of propaganda throughout Scotland.⁷⁰ Hogg continued the culture of the Jacobite song well into the nineteenth century, and blurred the distinction of Highlander and Lowlander. Instead, to borrow Smith's analogy, the literature moved out a circle, to Scotland against England. Although Scott was to highlight what he termed as the 'Celtic/Teutonic divide', Hogg moved outside this to represent all Scots as Celts, so giving a homogeneity previously lacking, and this "Scottish" view became strongly identified with Highlandism. Hogg saw the Scots as forever trapped by their past, whereas Sir Walter Scott tried to reconcile this Romantic past with the present state of Union.⁷¹ Ironically, Scott realised the idealised society of the Highlands had no place in the modern world, but it was the idealised and historic Highlands which were to prove the enduring images.

⁶⁸ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.84

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.85

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.84

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.98

Robert Louis Stevenson was another author who idealised Jacobitism and the Highland landscape in a fictional format - the most well known exponent of this being *Kidnapped* published in 1886. Kailyard literature which also evoked a different kind of Scottish landscape, the less magnificent, more "twee" kind, was also very popular, particularly in the North American market. However, elite landscape driven tourism such as literary tourism began to decline due to the introduction of the new medium of photography.⁷² One of the best known Scottish photographers was George Washington Wilson, who won awards for his pioneering techniques in photography and in particular his landscape photography, to which he applied mass production techniques. He is also noted for his chronicling of the Tay and Forth Rail Bridges.⁷³ However, whilst this reduced the number of elite tourists, it increased the visibility of Scotland's landscape to both British and International customers, and is credited with increasing general tourism.⁷⁴

Tourism through the Nineteenth Century

Other technological developments were to prove vital to Scotland's tourist trade. From the 1830s steam passenger liners linked America to Scotland, with a direct route to New York in 1850, and by the end of the nineteenth century, travel time, and accordingly fares, had dropped from fourteen days in 1850 to five days. From 1872 'cheap package tours' were being offered to Americans keen to visit Scotland and the improvement of the rail network also opened up Scotland to a wider class of tourist.⁷⁵ Also particularly influential in the birth of the Scottish tourism where the first 'package' tours, operated by Thomas Cook. These began in 1846, and by 1866 school tours were also being organised. The attractions advertised by Cook were locations popularised by Scott, and, from the 1850's, Balmoral also became a point of interest. By the 1890s there were so many Americans amongst the literary tourists to the Trossachs that the hotel at Inversnaid on Loch Lomond regularly displayed the American flag.⁷⁶ The first holiday brochure to use photographs rather than engravings was the 1901 publication for "Cook's Tours in Scotland" and it depicts three pictures of: the Scott Monument in Edinburgh with castle in the background, a

⁷² Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.90

⁷³ J. Keay and J. Keay (eds), *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, (London, 1994), pp.983-984

⁷⁴ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.91

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.91-96

view of Loch Katrine and the mountains, and Fingal's Cave, all intertwined with thistles. Gold and Gold point out that this imagery, whilst in the new medium of photography, was the same as that which had gone before.⁷⁷ Thus Scotland's earliest commercial representation to tourists was a Highland one.

Hobbies such as mountaineering, photography and deer-stalking were popular, and deer-stalking in particular had a certain cachet amongst the upper classes. The first commercial letting for deer-stalking took place in 1800. Interestingly, Lieutenant-General Henry Hope Crealock writing in 1892 in his *Deer-Stalking in the Highlands of Scotland* lauded deer-stalking for, amongst other reasons, social grounds, as he claimed it brought culture to the area and money to the economy resulting in the rescue of the semi-barbarous locals.⁷⁸ Grouse shooting became popular into the twentieth century as well as fishing. Tourism diversified to cater for a new class of tourist, but the important fact remains that Scotland had begun to cater for tourists with what they wanted to see. People had become customers. It is important to note that they visited places popularised in Scott's novels because he had written about them rather than because of their historical connotations. In this way tourists were consuming heritage, because they were visiting a place because of Scott's interpretation of the events there. Scott may have used historical landmarks, but it was his dramatic interpretation of them which made them tourist destinations on a large scale. This is much the same as the documented twentieth century effect of films and modern books on tourism to related sites, see for example Riley, Baker and Van Doren, 'Movie Induced Tourism'⁷⁹ which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Visit of George IV

The Scottish visit of George IV was seen to have set the seal on the tartan romanticised Highland vision of Scottish identity. This has a rather poignant irony in that the King, a position once the symbol of national identity in itself, should now sanction the creation of a new identity based on symbolism, not personal leadership.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.76

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.101-104

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.111

Indeed, the royal blessing of the new image of Scotland was to lend it the credence it needed to survive. Before George IV visited Edinburgh, there had been no visit from a Monarch since 1651, a period of 171 years. Little wonder then, that some contemporary estimates suggest that half the population of Scotland saw the King on his visit, and that over 300,000 people were present at his arrival in Edinburgh. However, these figures must be tempered by the fact that this was an era of limited communications.⁸⁰

After the Jacobite rising in 1745, Highland dress had been banned, but even by the 1820s George IV was clad in tartan to meet the Clan Chiefs.⁸¹ Pittock points out that George first wore tartan in 1789, claiming George: 'had a bit of a liking for the dynasty his own had defeated ...'⁸², but fails to emphasise, as Devine does, that this was also the year of the French Revolution. Devine quotes Donaldson 'the spectre of Republicanism rendered the traditional opposition of Hanoverian and Stuart obsolete at one stroke'.⁸³ The revolutions of the late eighteenth century were part of a process which destabilised Monarchy across Europe. To the Monarchy, Republicanism was a very real threat. Previous to this point, national identity in France had been centred on the King, and now loyalty was centred on the nation itself. Kohn points out that *La Marseillaise* (anthem of the revolutionaries and later of France itself), begins with the words 'Allons enfants de la patrie' - 'March on children of the fatherland', and in the same year the Estates-General of the clergy, aristocracy and commoners was transformed into a National Assembly, wiping out the last vestiges of regionalism in France.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the perceived 'dandyism' of George was certainly not a facet which would give the Highland vision long-lasting credence. Instead, the solemnity of the Victorian endorsement of Scotland's Highland identity was far more important in the long term adoption of this

⁷⁹ R. Riley, D. Baker and C. S. Van Doren, 'Movie Induced Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 25, No 4, (1998), pp.919-935

⁸⁰ Cadell, 'A Triumphant Tour', p.957. These figures have been contradicted by Prebble, (cited by Finlay), and their assertion is that in fact very few Scots actually witnessed George's visit. R. J. Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the Cult of Scottish Monarchy', in E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002), pp.209-224

⁸¹ M. Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*, (London, 1978), p.13

⁸² Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.88

⁸³ G. Donaldson, quoted in Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*, p.89

⁸⁴ H. Kohn, 'Nationalism' *Microsoft Encarta*, (1994)

identity.⁸⁵

Pittock warns us that 'England was not immune to the fancy-dress school of history largely pioneered in Scotland'.⁸⁶ Nostalgia for England's own past swept the nation, with returns to medieval jousting tournaments. Scotland again proved itself equal in the "reinvention" school of history, with the "revival" of the Highland Games. These were largely a sop to the later Victorian travellers who flocked north, and which Smout calls 'vulgar tourists'.⁸⁷ The Braemar Gathering was founded in 1832 and the Games Day at Aboyne, established in 1867, was not the revival of a pre-1745 gathering as it claimed to be.⁸⁸ However, as we shall see later in this chapter, the new pastime of tourism was to have a defining role in presentations of Scottish history and identity.

Travellers and Tourists

From the late eighteenth century, travel was very much a fashionable pastime. The tours of Boswell and Johnson were a prime example of this. The European wars of the early nineteenth century meant travel in the continent was much more difficult, and Scotland was an alternative close at hand.⁸⁹ The opening up of the Trossachs and Loch Katrine, away from the well beaten path to Loch Lomond, gave tourists a sense of exploring, of discovering new places.⁹⁰ Devine quotes Chapman 'The Highlands of Scotland provided a location for this role that was distant enough to be exotic, but close enough to be noticed'.⁹¹ As Queen Victoria enthused about the 'dear, dear Highlands',⁹² more and more flocked north. Her admiration of the Highlands served to strengthen what Hanham termed the 'cult of Balmorality'⁹³, and this cult spread far and wide. An article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of

⁸⁵ Finlay, 'The Cult of Scottish Monarchy', p.214

⁸⁶ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.103

⁸⁷ T. C. Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries', *Northern Scotland*, Vol. 5, no. 2, (1972), quoted by C. J. Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 143-156, quote p.146

⁸⁸ Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism', p.148

⁸⁹ Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*, p.97

⁹⁰ Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.159

⁹¹ Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*, p.95, citing Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision*, p.19

⁹² M. Brander, *The Making of the Highlands*, (London, 1980), p.164

⁹³ Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism', p.145

1868 entitled 'Highland Life of Victoria and Albert' liberally quotes Queen Victoria's Journal, and points out that

It is not the Queen who writes, we feel, ... but the woman, the wife, the mother, who has, as it were, fled to the Highlands to escape royalty and to live as the happy, uncrowned women live. Thus our sympathies are profoundly affected.⁹⁴

Victoria, predictably, enthuses about the Highlands. Highlanders are described as 'so amusing, and really pleasant to talk to - women as well as men - and the latter so gentleman-like'. She also goes on to describe their visits to Scottish games, including 'tossing the caber' and the dancing of 'reels'. Ironically, Helps comments that 'Victoria appears to have a genuine appreciation of Sir Walter Scott, to whose poetry she often alludes'.⁹⁵ Victoria was a marketing man's dream to the burgeoning Scottish tourist industry.⁹⁶

Tartanry was again readily embraced by the Royals, and even the Scots used the Romantic notions of Highland symbolism to stake their claims to the Monarchy, instead of traditional Jacobite lines of argument. The Sobieski brothers, though weak claimants, were a prime example of this, using Highland Romanticism to support their cause. Hanham claims that 'Scottish nationalism consisted of an outpouring of emotions about the past rather than of political aspirations for the future'.⁹⁷ Tartanry was by now so synonymous with Scotland as a whole, that even Macbeth was traditionally performed with the hero clad in plaid.

As Pittock says 'The kilt, the pipes, haggis and the music hall Scot became increasingly popular, but with little consciousness of the nationalist overtones the

⁹⁴ A. Helps (ed) 'Highland Life of Victoria and Albert', extracts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI, no. 214, (March, 1868), pp.492-499, p.493 available at <http://library5.library.cornell.edu/moa/> the 'Making of America' website and digital library which carries nineteenth century texts which have been OCR'd and is hosted by Cornell University Library. 25 November 2002

⁹⁵ Helps, *Harper's* quoting Victoria's journal, p.496

⁹⁶ Interestingly, Victoria also describes Welsh women in their 'curious high crowned hats', a stereotypical representation of the Welsh also. Helps, *Harper's*, p.495

⁹⁷ Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism', p.147

tartan had possessed in the eighteenth century'.⁹⁸ The further the myth of Highlandism went on, the further from the literary link with nationalism it became. From the 1820s to the 1840s this symbolism split so far from the Jacobitism which had proved such an inspiration, that the radical undertones of Jacobitism, glossed over by the Romanticists, began to resurge to combat the saccharine view of Scotland even its own people were beginning to believe, but this resurgence did not occur until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Although this may be an explanation of what Highland symbolism actually was, and how it came about, it does not explain how this view became so synonymous with Scottish identity. Although the Highland Society of London had been founded in 1778, intending to preserve old Highland customs, and repeal the Disarming Act, the first Scottish manifestation of such a society did not appear until 1854, with the St Andrew's Society of Glasgow.⁹⁹ More often such expressions of Scottishness (represented by Highlandism), were to be found abroad, which was a strong factor in the continuing use of Highland symbolism today.

The Spread of Scottish Identity

We have seen how the Highland image of Scotland became accepted within Scotland, but how did it become so well known throughout the rest of the world? Although visitors to Scotland during the nineteenth century undoubtedly took this new identity on board, it is unlikely this was enough to spread such a perception globally. The main impetus behind the spread of the new Scottish identity must rest largely with the Scots themselves, and this appears to have happened in four main ways. Firstly, as has been shown, literature, and literary fashion played a large part in spreading a perception of Scotland, but literature could still not be considered to have had a mass audience at this time. The ordinary man in the street came to know of Scottish identity through other main conduits; military exploits of the Highland regiments; personal success of the enterprising Scot abroad, and perhaps most significantly in the long term, through the network of migrant Scots and their descendents created as many Scots left their homeland to forge a new life abroad.

⁹⁸ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.99

⁹⁹ Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism', p.148

Duncan Bruce has estimated the number of people of Scots descent worldwide by using census information and applying a statistical technique to telephone directories, to give an approximation of Scots worldwide in the 1980s. Although these numbers are by no means scientific, they do give an approximation of the percentage of Scots, and those of Scots descent, around the world, and they have been adopted by Scottish institutions such as VisitScotland.¹⁰⁰ More up to date statistics are available - the 2000 US Census indicated that of a total of 281,421,906 Americans on 1 April 2000, a staggering 5.4 million (nearly 2%) claimed to be of Scottish descent (rising to 11 million if 'Scotch-Irish' were included.) This is an increase of 2.1 million, or 40%, on the 1990 census.¹⁰¹ It is however, less than the numbers that Bruce estimates in the 1980s, when one would expect an increase. However, as was mentioned in the first chapter, estimates of Americans with Scottish ancestry fluctuate wildly, with a recent newspaper article claiming there were 40 million of them.¹⁰² The Scottish Executive seems to have adopted the 28 million figure as a fair approximation as their Ancestral Scotland website claims there are 28 million people worldwide of Scottish descent.¹⁰³ Henry McLeish, in his 2000 Tartan Day message addressed the '15 million Scots-Americans living in the United States'¹⁰⁴ though it is not known how this figure was arrived at.

Scotland and North Britain

The fact that the Empire played a large part in spreading a Highland Scottish identity is ironic in that many Scots were aspiring to be North British at the time, to fully be part of the Empire, whilst at the same time, the Empire gave Scotland an

¹⁰⁰ D. A. Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots*, (Secaucus, N. J., 1996), pp.280-281 See Table H1, Appendix H for full table. These figures are also those used by VisitScotland. Figures from Table at <http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/Niche/Genealogy2.asp> visited 28 July 2002

¹⁰¹ US Census 2000, reported in G. Kerevan, "More Americans want to make mark as Scots", *The Scotsman*, 8 September 2001, with additional figures from the US government census home page at <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/BasicFactsServlet>, visited 8 September 2001. Together the Scots-Irish are only beaten in size in the US as a distinct national group by Italians: 16 million; English: 28 million; Irish: 33 million and Germans: 47 million. Of those claiming Scottish lineage average of 33.6% had degree from uni with us average of 25 % - highest ancestral group save for recent Israelis.

¹⁰² T. Crichton, *Sunday Herald*, October 14 2001, article reporting on Helen Liddell's attempts to increase visitors to Scotland

¹⁰³ <http://www.ancestralscotland.com> visited 1 April 2002

¹⁰⁴ H. McLeish, 7 April 2001, speech, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/news/2000/04/se1013.asp> visited 23 September 2001

opportunity to make a name for herself on the world stage.¹⁰⁵

The concept of Scotland as North Britain was a one sided affair - one sided on the side of the Scots being prepared to be North British, but the English being unprepared to be South British - and Linda Colley's claim that by 1837 "Britain" had been welded from the common denominators of Protestantism, and trade and militarism in the form of Empire cannot be accepted.¹⁰⁶ Although Colley does not fully define the terms of nationalism she is using, she falls into the trap of using political rather than cultural criteria for national identity. Many Englishmen felt threatened by the increasing power of the Scots in the capital, as exemplified by the activities of the Wilkites in the eighteenth century. This English, and indeed, colonial xenophobia can be counted as a further piece in the puzzle of the sea change in Scottish identity in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁷

Highlanders in the Military

In the European wars, the military abilities of the Highlanders were lauded, their "barbaric roots" equipping them well for warfare. Womack claims that 'Highlanders impressed themselves on British consciousness first of all as warriors'¹⁰⁸, and the overseas exploits of the Highland regiments only took this impression to a wider audience. This was one area in which the savage qualities of the Gael could be safely vented. Popular culture reflected this, for example songs such as 'The Gathering of the Clans'¹⁰⁹ which chronicled the Highland clans ready to support the Hanovers in Europe. On their return from the Napoleonic wars, the Highland regiments were given a rapturous welcome throughout Britain. Jacobitism

¹⁰⁵ Finlay highlights that the British Empire provided an outlet for Scots national aspirations. Scotland was so successful in the Empire on a contemporary level, there was no need for historical justification of Scottishness. R. J. Finlay, 'Controlling the Past: Scottish historiography and Scottish identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 9 (Autumn, 1994), pp.130-145

¹⁰⁶ Colley, *Britons* pp.367-368

¹⁰⁷ It is important to note that whilst Scotland's Highland identity was exported overseas, at home interest in this kind of Scottish identity died down. By the end of the nineteenth century 'national identity had become proper nationalism, the -ism of course meaning politically active', G. Morton, 'What If? The significance of Scotland's missing nationalism in the nineteenth century', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay and M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: the making and re-making of Scotland through the age*, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.157-176, quotation p.159, author's own emphasis

¹⁰⁸ Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.27

thus became linked with the safeguarding of the Monarchy, and the rigid hierarchies of the clans were transported into the armed services. The harsh and primitive lifestyle of the Romanticised Highlands were the very factors which had produced such warriors and Empire builders. The ironic fact was that the Clearances at home were destroying these roots, whilst they became preserved in the institutions of Empire and the growing myths of Highland symbolism. Muir pointed out the juxtaposition of the Scottish 'romantic legend' and its 'sordid reality'.¹¹⁰ Many were given the stark choice of 'kings shilling' or migration.¹¹¹ A further irony was to come when in 1857, a property in Ross-shire which had been cleared to provide £400 per annum as a sheep farm was let for five times that as a deer forest.¹¹² The Romantic Vision made land cleared of inhabitants even more valuable for sporting estates. Because the Highlanders were seen as coming from a previous age, they were assumed free of the vagaries of Radicalism and Republicanism which were sweeping the rest of Europe. As such, by 1797 the government was happy to put its trust of the Highland regiments in writing,¹¹³ though it is interesting to note they would not trust these regiments in Scotland in the 1820s to put down the workers risings. However, militarism abroad emphasised the growing link of Highlander and Scot, and the adoption of regimental tartans was only part of this process, but one which made the Highland regiments easily identifiable world-wide. For a discussion of the history of tartan and Highland dress, and its role in the military, as well as a discussion of the role of bagpipes as a cultural symbol, see Appendix B.

Whilst the military exploits of the Highlanders were gaining worldwide renown, there was a side effect. The wearing of Highland dress by the regiments became firmly linked with Highland heroism, and by the 1880s all Scottish regiments were ordered to wear the tartan.¹¹⁴ Highland dress became synonymous with valour,

¹⁰⁹ Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*, p.89

¹¹⁰ Simpson, *The Protean Scot*, p.246

¹¹¹ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p.27

¹¹² I. Grimble, 'Clearances', in D. S. Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (Oxford, 1983), p.47

¹¹³ Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.50

¹¹⁴ Wearing Highland Dress in battle was banned in 1940 due to the effects of Mustard Gas on soldiers with exposed skin. However, this did not stop some soldiers from continuing to wear their kilts into battle during WWII. *The Herald*, August 2002

loyalty and bravery, and became a powerful aspect of Highland symbolism which was to spread throughout British society.

It is important to remember that Scots were regarded as militaristic long before the eighteenth century. For example, in the reign of Louis IX (1226-1270), the King had Scottish bodyguards¹¹⁵, and, as was shown in chapter three, Scots had been active in the First Crusade and in action with Scandinavian armies for some time. Scots, and in particular the Highland regiments were seen as the decisive factor of many great battles. For example, at Waterloo, Napoleon is said to have remarked upon 'The brave Scots', as he lamented the lost battle.¹¹⁶ Even the "Wild West" saw the Highlanders as militia, for example in 1758, General John Forbes led 800 Highlanders against Fort Duquesne in Ohio in 1758.¹¹⁷ Between 1793 and 1815 the Highland regiments gained over 37,600 men prepared to fight in North America, India and Europe.¹¹⁸

The military exploits of Scots have had a long lasting effect. For example, in 1419, John Stuart of Darnley was rewarded with an area of France to rule for his exploits in the Hundred Years war, and this continued until his line died out in 1672. To this day, the main town of the area, Aubigny, celebrates its "Scottishness" with a Franco-Scottish festival, its own Pipe band, whisky and two tartans.¹¹⁹

The fact that by 1758 the Black Watch Regiment had become The Black Watch Royal Highland Regiment shows how quickly there was a change in attitude following Culloden. The Highland Regiments though were not just raised in Scotland. By 1862, the foundations for The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada

¹¹⁵ R. Gayre of Gayre, *The Lost Clan, Sant'Andrea Degli Scozzesi of Gurro Novarra, Italy*, (Edinburgh, 1974), p.12 quoted in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.151

¹¹⁶ D. E. Harmon, *Highlander*, May/June 1996, p.39 referenced in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.133

¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, the troops were massacred by a combined force of French and Indians, and the heads, and kilts of the Highlanders were strung from the walls of the stockade. Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots*, p.46

¹¹⁸ M. McBride, 'Norman McLeod A Calvinist Ayatollah (1780-1866)' in C. Walker (ed), *A Legacy of Scots: Scottish Achievers*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.128-139, p.130

¹¹⁹ A. Peregrine, 'Where Frenchmen wear kilts', *The Sunday Times*, 20 October 2002

had come into being, to protect the rights of British North America.¹²⁰ In Nova Scotia alone at least three regiments were founded in 1871 - the Pictou Highlanders, The Cape Breton Highlanders and the Cumberland Highlanders¹²¹, a tradition which has continued in to the twentieth century, and which sees an active interest in Scottish regimental history. Both Edinburgh and Stirling Castles' have part of their visitor presentations devoted to the Scottish Regiments and their exploits.

The Cult of the Famous Scot

The Scots have always been acknowledged as a race of Empire builders. They had a major role to play as explorers and administrators, traders and diplomats, in the creation of the Empire, which to an extent continues today. The important fact about this is that each of these Scots who have made a name for themselves abroad have to an extent shaped perceptions of Scotland.

One aspect of the 'famous Scot' approach to Scottish identity is the irony of the term itself. These men and women became famous because of their chameleon-like ability to adapt to foreign surroundings. The numbers of famous Scots abroad are many, and they are gaining increasing recognition with recent publications such as Stewart Lamont's *When Scotland Ruled the World*, Duncan A. Bruce's *The Mark of the Scots: Their Astonishing Contributions to History, Science, Democracy, Literature and the Arts* and Jan-Andrew Henderson's *The Emperor's New Kilt: The Two Secret Histories of Scotland*. Most recently, and most popularly, this also includes Arthur Herman's *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World and Everything in It*, which has also spurred other similar contributions, for example. *America's Founding Secret: What the Scottish Enlightenment Taught Our Founding Fathers* by Robert W. Galvin.¹²² Whilst varying

¹²⁰ The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada Home Pages, <http://www.blackwatchcanada.com/en/about.htm> visited 18 October 2001

¹²¹ R.A. MacLean, *A State of Mind: The Scots in Nova Scotia*, (Hantsport Nova Scotia, 1992), p.20

¹²² S. Lamont, *When Scotland Ruled the World; The Story of the Golden Age of Genius, Creativity and Exploration*, (London, 2001); D. A. Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots: their astonishing contributions to history, science, democracy, literature and the arts*, (Seacaucus, N.J., 1996); J.-A. Henderson, *The Emperor's New Kilt: The Two Secret Histories of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2000); Herman, A., *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World and Everything in It*, (New York, 2001); R. W. Galvin, *America's Founding Secret: What the Scottish Enlightenment Taught Our Founding Fathers*,

in academic value, these books are part of a growing trend, reflected on the Internet as sites such as <http://www.rampantscotland.com/famousscots.htm>, <http://www.scran.ac.uk/frieze/> where one can click on the famous person you want to find out about from a pictorial frieze, taken from the 1898 frieze from the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, http://www.highlandermagazine.com/famous_scots.html and even <http://www.findagrave.com/country/50.html>, which will direct one to the graves of famous people, from which a typical entry is:

Wallace, William [Right half of his body, without the arm, leg or head] d.
August 23, 1306.

Braveheart - "Guardian of Scotland."

Saint Machars Cathedral, Aberdeen, Scotland.

Cause of Death: beheaded after various tortures.¹²³

But however much individuals have had an impact on the rest of the world, it was those who were ordinary emigrants who had the greatest impact in terms of the Highland image of Scottish identity.

The union of the parliaments was accomplished in 1707, and the resulting loss of Scottish sovereignty became America's gain, as Scots in substantial numbers began to leave their bankrupt land for the formerly English, now British, colonies in the New World.¹²⁴

Although this statement is somewhat contentious, given the myriad reasons behind Scottish Emigration, the sentiment of other countries gaining from the migration of Scots is common.

Scottish Emigrants and Empire

Massive numbers, given Scotland's small size, emigrated. In 1811, there were 250,000 sheep in the Highlands - this had grown to almost a million by the 1840s. By 1884, a tenth of the area of Scotland was given over to deer, a total of 1,975,209

(Lanham, M.D., 2002)

¹²³ <http://www.findagrave.com/country/50.html> visited 19 October 2001

acres, and by 1912 this had increased by over a million acres, despite the major percentage of this land being suitable for cultivation. This left many destitute – 4000 in the decade of the 1860s in the areas of Kilmallie, Ardnamurchan and Glenelg. Between 1815 and 1838 Nova Scotia saw an influx of 22,000 Scots. As Pittock says: ‘In 1750, more than a third of Scotland’s population lived north of the Highland line; today, the proportion is 5 per cent.’¹²⁵ Although the total number of Scottish emigrants between the 1820s and the First World War was 2 million, this appears low when compared to the 8 million who left Italy in the same period. However, as Devine points out, a proportionate analysis shows that for her size Scotland was the ‘emigration capital of Europe’ for a large part of this period.¹²⁶ As we will see in chapter seven the notion of Clearance is an important aspect of the diaspora.

In America, early migrant Lowlanders went to an area south of Connecticut, whilst Highlanders tended to go to the Carolinas, and Gaelic was for a time spoken in six of the counties of North Carolina¹²⁷, which still today has a strong Scottish identity. Indeed, Celeste Ray’s recent book *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* examines how this particular area of America has strong Scottish roots which are still active today, as does work by, amongst others, Valentina Bold and the Kellys.¹²⁸ Scots were unpopular with other settlers as they were successful very quickly, a trait regarded with suspicion by those who had settled the area before them, and the Virginian tobacco trade was one example of this. Scottish traders, who only arrived post-1707, were prepared to travel through wild mountain areas to deal direct with farmers, and dealt in cash and extended credit, both practises the English had not done.¹²⁹ Indeed, the Scots success boosted the Virginian economy, but the “tobacco lords” of Glasgow were also to profit, as by

¹²⁴ Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots*, p.21

¹²⁵ All figures from Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, quote from p.107

¹²⁶ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.468 These figure include emigration to England from Scotland

¹²⁷ P. Ross, *The Scot in America*, (New York, 1896), p.ix, statistics quoted in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.21

¹²⁸ V. Bold, ‘Grandfather Mountain and the Acquired Family’, National and Transnational Scottish Identity: Hollywood and Beyond conference, papers at <http://www.sfu.ca/~leith/panel.htm> visited 15 March 2001. D. F. Kelly and C. S. Kelly, *Carolina Scots: an historical and genealogical study of over 100 years of emigration*, (Dillon, South Carolina, 1998)

¹²⁹ Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, pp.21-22

1771, Glasgow was receiving over 35 million pounds of Virginia tobacco.¹³⁰ The Scots as a group were unpopular even from the mid-seventeenth century, and the Dutch and English governments took action against them, the Dutch restricting their trade in 1660, and the English prohibiting them from colonial office from 1697-1699.¹³¹ In this the colonies were the predecessors of the Scottophobics of England, particularly John Wilkes, but this anti-Scottish feeling was not widespread until the 1760s, a full century later.¹³² In the colonies, the Scots were 'certainly the most unpopular national group ... never lost their clannish instincts, always sided together, supported each other, and never really trusted anyone who was not a fellow countryman.'¹³³ Indeed, when the American Declaration of Independence was composed, a clause complaining that the King had sent to America 'not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries', had to be retracted, although it neatly illustrates the "American" perception of the Scots at the times of the American War of Independence in the late eighteenth century.¹³⁴

The Scots were definitely determined to support their countrymen, and from 1729, numerous St Andrew's societies were founded in America and indeed worldwide. Two such organisations which are still in existence today are the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Organisation and the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia. The Sons of Scotland Benevolent Organisation was founded in June 1876 in Toronto, Canada. This was initially a financial institution, with members paying a levy and widows and families of members receiving financial assistance from this fund. When this became too costly, the Organisation branched out into insurance which it still provides today.¹³⁵ The original remit of the organisation was for Scots immigrants who 'banded together to help one another in times of need and to preserve their Scottish Culture with Highland Games, Highland Dancing, Highland

¹³⁰ C. H. Haws, *Scots in the Old Dominion*, (Edinburgh, 1980), p.118 statistic quoted in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.22

¹³¹ Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.22 The information cited is from other sources, but the referencing provided is unclear

¹³² See Colley, *Britons*, pp.113-132 for a discussion of this in England

¹³³ A. Hook, *Scotland and America*, (Glasgow, 1975), p.48, quoted in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, p.22

¹³⁴ Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots*, p.23

¹³⁵ P/2/CAN, (See chapter six for an explanation of identifiers assigned to survey respondents), Secretary and Treasurer, Sons of Scotland Benevolent Organisation, Correspondence October 1997

Dress, Music and Literature'¹³⁶ and by the 1920s women were admitted to the organisation as 'sisters'.

In 1881, the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia was founded, the Royal prefix being granted in 1927 due to the 'untiring efforts and devoted service of the Society's Pipe band'.¹³⁷ Pipe Bands certainly seem to have been popular in the late nineteenth century, particularly in the southern hemisphere. The City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band of New Zealand was founded in November 1896, with the encouragement of the Caledonian Society of Southland.¹³⁸ Invercargill is at the southernmost tip of New Zealand's South Island – about as far from Scotland as it is possible to get. Not only is the Pipe band, which still operates today, the oldest in the Southern Hemisphere, it is also the largest pipe band in the world. An interesting facet of the band was that it was a purely *civilian* venture, and as such very unusual in this period. On 19 January 1901, *The Southern Cross* newspaper reported on the aftermath of the Federal meeting of the Caledonian Society in Sydney, which took place amongst the Commonwealth celebrations of Australia. The report remarked that:

there is no disgrace in being beaten by men holding the position of Pipe-Majors to crack Imperial Regiments ... Yet had the judges been in a closed box and judged the music independently of the *personnel* of the players, the result would probably have been satisfactory to N.Z.¹³⁹

It is fascinating to look back at the photographs of the pipers dating from the 1890s, in uniforms which have not changed to this day, proving that by the late nineteenth century, the enduring image of kilted Scotsman had been spread world-wide, and that such institutions as Pipe Bands meant that there was a standardised appearance of "Scottishness" globally.

¹³⁶ *The Scotian*, Vol. 30, no. 2, (1996), p.3

¹³⁷ P/1/AUS, quoting Royal Charter of 1927, in correspondence, 14 September 1997

¹³⁸ F. W. G. Miller, *City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band Centennial History 1896-1996*, (Invercargill, 1996), p.11 (Note the number of societies started in November – perhaps due to the proximity to St Andrew's Day).

Pre-Twentieth Century Emigrant Societies

Emigrant societies were to provide fertile ground for the Highland view of Scotland. While the course of the nineteenth century saw a decline in such literature at home, new impetus came from the emigrant Gaels. This literature was published and took

as its theme the homeland, *An Gleann 'san robh mi og* - My native Glen - or praise of their language and land, and too often is overly sentimental. The rise of the many Highland societies in the cities and abroad encouraged the composition of sentimental, nostalgic, humorous and light-hearted verse¹⁴⁰

The situation in the 1880s with the sweeping land reforms, reminded many of the emigrants of their home in the Highlands, and produced a rich vein of overly romanticised verse. Many have tried to identify the basic "Scottishness" which emerged from emigrant societies, but, paradoxically, cultural diversity in the way of region of origin, religion and even language was something that all Scots emigrants had in common.¹⁴¹ However, as we shall see, there were homogenising influences on migrants which saw them begin to designate themselves as Scottish rather than, for example, Lowlanders.

As can be seen from the many letters that emigrant Scots sent home, they were homesick and wanted to be reminded of Scotland. As Archibald Scott wrote in 1845:

I feel almost as strong an affection for Scotland and my friends there as ever I did. You can scarcely form an idea of a person's feelings and emotions who has been absent from his native Country so long as I have been. Time and distance give a sort of enchantment, a melancholy pleasure which words are quite unable

¹³⁹ *The Southern Cross*, 19 January 1901. Italics as original, quoted in Miller, *City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band*, p.21. This report indicates what an oddity a non-regimental pipe band was in this period - a phenomenon which was soon to be common

¹⁴⁰ I. F. Grant and H. Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, (London, 1997), p.251

¹⁴¹ O. D. Edwards, 'North America: the Scottish Contribution', in G. Donaldson, A. M. M. Duncan and D. Dunnett, (eds), *The Story of Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1988), pp.938-943, p.940

to express.¹⁴²

Perhaps the most famous popular expression of such sentiments was the *Canadian Boat Song*, published in *Blackwoods Magazine* in 1829. One example of the transmission of Highland customs overseas can be found in the story of Norman McLeod, known to some as the 'Calvinist Ayatollah':¹⁴³

Who led his followers firstly from Sutherland to Nova Scotia, Canada, by way of Melbourne, and finally to Waipu in New Zealand.

Today in each of these...countries, there exist hardy God-fearing communities, who cherish the values and follow the ways of the Normanites - even to the holding of annual Highland Games, regular ceilidhs and the speaking of Gaelic.¹⁴⁴

But how did the "traditions" of Scotland become so widespread so far from home? Certainly the strong sense of kinship and genealogy displayed by Scots from the earliest records has played its part. Edmund Burt commented that 'The Highlands ... have a pride in their family as almost everyone is a genealogist'.¹⁴⁵ Oral tradition was certainly a feature of this. From the earliest *senchaidh* there was a place in each family for a genealogist, an oral historian. This tradition continued through the centuries for a number of reasons. Many Highland families did not learn to read or write until quite late on - indeed a bond of union of the leading men of Clan Chattan in 1609 saw only half the 26 signatories able to sign their own name, but by 1664 a similar event saw only one of the 28 unable to write his name.¹⁴⁶ The only way of passing on important information was to memorise it, particularly through the use of stories and songs, and this ability proved useful when Gaelic came under threat from a government hostile to the Highlanders. Indeed, it was under the guise of education that Gaelic was most seriously threatened. An Act of the Privy Council

¹⁴² A. Scott, from Scott, Knox and Redford family letters, Scottish Record Office Document No. 80 Ref: GD1/813/17, from *The Emigrants: historical background, list of documents, extracts and facsimiles*, Scottish Record Office

¹⁴³ McBride, 'Norman McLeod'

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.128-129

¹⁴⁵ E. Burt, from E. R. Creegan, 'The House of Argyll and the Highlands, *Scottish Studies*, p. 162, quoted in Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p.17

in 1616 stated that 'the Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the ihabitantis of the Illis and Heylandis, may be abolishit and removit'¹⁴⁷. Ironically, the Act goes on to state that 'and quhairas thair is no meane more powerfull to further this his majesties princelie regaird and purpois than the establisheing of scooles ...'¹⁴⁸. Although the Act may claim that 'his majesties' purpose was to educate the young to write and read and learn of religion, its role was clear in subduing the Highlanders that James VI had referred to in his *Basilikon Doron* as being of 'two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our mainland that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some show of civility: the other, that dwelleth in the Isles, and are utterly barbarians, without any sort or show of civility'¹⁴⁹.

Language and Identity: Songs and Stories

By the 1650s however, Gaelic speaking ministers were being actively sought to preach in the Highlands, with the language being used to control its own native speakers.¹⁵⁰ Instrumental in this was the enduring Catholicism of many of the Isles and Highlands, a cause associated with Jacobitism even in the seventeenth century.

The beginning of the advance of English as the main spoken language began as early as the thirteenth century, but the Highlands, and particularly the Islands persisted in using Gaelic as their language of law - in the case of the McDonalds as late as the seventeenth century- probably to distinguish the sovereignty of the Lordship of the Isles from the central government which had once also used Gaelic as its primary language.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Grant and Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, p.167

¹⁴⁷ 1616 Act of the Privy Council referenced in Grant and Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, p.166

¹⁴⁸ '1616 Register of the Privy Council of Scotland', in W. C. Dickinson and G. Donaldson, *A Source Book of Scottish History Volume Three: From 1567-1707*, 2nd edition, (Edinburgh, 1961), pp.671-2

¹⁴⁹ James VI *Basilikon Doron*, *Ibid.*, p.261

¹⁵⁰ There was a long gap between the first Gaelic printed book, the Gaelic translation of the Genevan Book of Common Order in 1567 to the next, which occurred nearly a century later. Lynch, *Scotland A New History*, p.363

¹⁵¹ Although the Lordship of the Isles formally forfeited in 1493, aspirations for its resurgence remained alive in the Islands until Culloden. Keay and Keay, *Encyclopaedia*, p.548

The line of the *senchaidh* was also one of antiquity – as late as 1800 Lachlann MacMhuirich claimed to be a direct (although illiterate) descendent of the well known bard Muireadhach (an older form of MacMuirich) Albanach who composed in Scotland from about 1215AD. There was a long line of MacMuirich poets over the intervening period, as chronicled by travellers such as Martin Martin, and some evidence that this tradition, although dying out in mainland Scotland by the nineteenth century, was transplanted to Nova Scotia in the twentieth century.¹⁵² Song in particular was to prove an enduring image of Highland solidarity – for example, songs such as *Emigration of the Islanders* by Calum Bàn MacMhannain, who emigrated to Prince Edward Island in Canada in 1803 from Flodigarry on Skye, speak eloquently of the wrench of leaving, evoking familiar geography seen as the boat departed.¹⁵³ Although the experience was particular to the writer of the song, many of the 800 people on the same ship, the *Polly*, would have experienced the same last glimpses of their homeland. Whilst song is an emotive topic, it is useful in demonstrating how seriously “Scots abroad” take their heritage. Celeste Ray highlights such an incident whilst researching her book *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*:

In Scotland, ceilidhs are known for their boisterous fun and spontaneity. Scottish-American ceilidhs, in contrast, may be carefully planned with moments of striking solemnity. Participants do not laugh, talk or even smile during the singing. When I tried chatting on a few occasions where I thought it might go unnoticed, I was quickly hushed ... Song singing sessions elicit a certain deference and sobriety similar to a religious service.¹⁵⁴

The images of the Highlands of Scotland were strong in the minds of the emigrants – one Kildonan emigrant is described as ‘dying from longing for her old home in the Highlands: “Oh, if only I could see a hill, I think I would live!”’.¹⁵⁵ This was a sentiment echoed by one of Nova Scotia’s most famous Bards, the emigrant John MacLean (1787-1848). In fact he is credited with putting off other inhabitants of

¹⁵² Keay and Keay, p.405

¹⁵³ D. Craig, *On the Crofters’ Trail*, (London, 1990), pp.79-80

¹⁵⁴ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p.66

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in Craig, *Crofters’ Trail*, p.238

Tiree from emigrating with his poem *The Gloomy Forest* which laments the loneliness and harshness of emigrant life. However, in later years he was to change his tune when he moved to the settlement at Glenbard and wrote poems such as *Am Bal Gaidealach* (The Gaelic Ball) about his enjoyment of a ball at Merigomish at which they toasted those that had been left behind.¹⁵⁶ Another of the Cape Breton Bards was James D. Gillis, a man credited with mythologising and romanticising Scotland to the people of Canada - notable because he was a twentieth century poet as opposed to the others of the previous century.

The first Gaelic book was printed in 1567, a translation of the Book of Common Order by John Carswell, setting the tone for the religious nature of all books published in Gaelic until the late eighteenth century, and indeed it was not until the late 1820's that the appearance of Gaelic periodicals saw secular Gaelic prose in print. Kelly suggests that the migration of a large number of tacksmen from the eighteenth century was instrumental in this late flowering of written Gaelic, as these sections of the family tended to contain those to whom the oral traditions had been passed.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, Grant and Cheape suggest that 'the lesser country gentry rendered invaluable service to the preservation of the Highland traditions and poetry', particularly as the anglicising influences were spreading from the top of society down.¹⁵⁸ The role of the tacksmen in military exploits was also no doubt instrumental in their migration from their homeland, and it is a vital point that it was these members of the middle ranks of Highland society that played a large part in continuing to record in literature and other media the traditions of the Highlanders wherever they found themselves, often by the way of Highland Societies.¹⁵⁹

At the same time, Scotland itself saw the creation of a number of Scottish societies with cultural aims. The Society of True Highlanders was founded in 1815 by Alastair Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry with the avowed aim of promoting 'Dress, Language, Music and characteristics of our illustrious and ancient race in the

¹⁵⁶ Maclean, *Scots in Nova Scotia*, p.54

¹⁵⁷ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p.22

¹⁵⁸ Grant and Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, p.152

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.152

Highlands and Isles of Scotland, with their genuine descendents wherever they may be' and part of this included the holding of Highland Games. The Lonach Highland and Friendly Society, founded in 1823, combined the preservation of these Highland "traditions" with the social values which were the cornerstones of many overseas Scottish societies.¹⁶⁰

Highlanders were well known for their traditions of songs and story telling, often integral parts of a *ceilidh* or gathering. Travellers to the Isles in particular recorded the importance of such events, for example Alexander Carmichael, John Francis Campbell, and Martin Martin. Throughout the seventeenth century growing literacy saw the erosion of traditional distinctions between classical and colloquial Gaelic poets, Bards and Musicians, and Historians and Genealogists.¹⁶¹ Indeed, it has been noted that authors from all strata of Gaelic society reflected the same essentially aristocratic values in their work, making it almost impossible to distinguish songs by the background of their writer.¹⁶² David Craig, in his travelogue history *On the Crofters' Trail: In search of the Clearance Highlanders* remarks on this facet of Gaelic life and identity on several occasions. For example, in 1982 on a visit to North Uist he chronicles the oral testimony of Archie Morrison, whom he describes as the '*seanchaidh*, the annalist of the community'.¹⁶³ Published in 1990, *On the Crofters' Trail* highlights the gaps in our knowledge of the stories of the people involved in migration, a view shared by James Hunter.¹⁶⁴ Indeed oral tradition is so strong amongst the Highlanders, particularly of the Outer Hebrides, that one surviving ancient heroic ballad still shows the links between P-Celtic(Welsh) and Q-Celtic(Gaelic) - *Am Bròn Binn* (The Sweet Sorrow). It is known that this ballad has been carried by oral tradition for at least three centuries if not longer.¹⁶⁵

The tripartate of institutions which preserved Gaelic in Nova Scotia were the home,

¹⁶⁰ E. Bray, *The discovery of the Hebrides: voyagers to the Western Isles 1745-1883* (London,1986), p.204, quoted in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.77

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.174

¹⁶² J. MacInnes, 'Folksong, later (1645-1800)' in D. S. Thomson (ed), *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), pp.79-82, p.80

¹⁶³ Craig, *Crofters' Trail*, p.58

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3

¹⁶⁵ H. Henderson, 'The Oral Tradition', in Paul H. Scott (ed) *Scotland, A Concise Cultural History*, (Edinburgh, 1993) pp. 159-171, p.160

the church and the social setting of the ceilidh:

Its strength in all three institutions was enhanced by the impressive corpus of poetry and songs, printed works, periodicals and even newspapers, which emanated from several local communities. Every settlement had its own *seanachaidhean* ... literate and illiterate ...¹⁶⁶

Poetry was one of the aspects of Gaelic life which helped maintain a strong sense of family and identity. Gaelic poets were known as *aos-dàna*, men of art. It is held that the precise definition of this term has been lost:

leaving the term free to be applied to poets who held a position of some importance in a chief's household at about the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. This accords well enough with the circumstances of the age, in which a cultural vacuum was being created by the decay of the schools of poetry and rhetoric.¹⁶⁷

These poets were writing in vernacular Gaelic, and a representation of their work can be found in the *Carmina Gadelica* a 44 year work by Alexander Carmichael between 1855 and 1899 to collect Gaelic material. The range of topics covered is comprehensive, and the antiquity of some of the language itself gives clues as to the survival of many of the pieces through the ages. The language used also betrays the origins of the pieces - many were literary as opposed to popular in composition, and originated from throughout Scotland, although Carmichael claimed the Western Isles was where he made most of his collection.¹⁶⁸ This contradictory evidence would therefore seem to suggest that by the late nineteenth century, the Western Isles were a last remaining bastion of Gaelic culture and knowledge, a fact not surprising from today's standpoint. Storytelling at home in Scotland is also a

¹⁶⁶ Sister M. McDonnell, 'Nova Scotia, Gaelic Language in' in D. S. Thomson (ed), *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), pp.214-217, p.215

¹⁶⁷ John MacInnes, 'Aos-dàna (Men of art)' in D. S. Thomson (ed), *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), pp.4-5, p.4

¹⁶⁸ Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, p.36

continuing tradition.¹⁶⁹

An interesting aspect of the migration of Scots was their destination. Many Scots migrated to rural areas, for example the North Carolinas in America, and it is possible that this kind of migration particularly lent itself to the establishment of Highland traditions abroad. Highlanders did tend to stick together, but whilst many cultural groups settled in cities, for example, the Irish in Chicago, Scots tended to head for the countryside, an area where they were familiar with agricultural practises, and able to continue working the land as they had done at home. Indeed, the modern fascination with Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina has a great deal to do with its topographical resemblance to Scotland.¹⁷⁰ Whilst on Prince Edward Island in Canada, groups from within Skye maintained their distinct local and linguistic distinctions in their new home, whereas in the Carolinas there tended to be mixing amongst different Highland origins.¹⁷¹

A lot of this was due to the fact that Scottish rural migration was mainly an eighteenth century phenomenon, whilst the urban migrants tended to be a feature of nineteenth and early twentieth century migration. It must not be forgotten that a great many of the Scots emigrants were not coming directly from a rural background. Indeed, Tom Devine among others has shown that many migrants moved to urban areas in Scotland before they emigrated.¹⁷² Estimates of the number of Scots migrants to the US vary, however, US census figures show that by 1790 there were 250,000 Scots and between 1820 and 1950 750,000 Scots are recorded as arriving in the US. Academics have argued that census figures and arrivals records were not a true reflection as Scots were often classified Irish or English. For a summary of the argument over the number of migrants to the USA, see Hague.¹⁷³

It is possible that Scottish communities were able to flourish in America because

¹⁶⁹ STARN articles about storytelling available online at <http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESSL/STELLA/STARN/journal.htm> visited 21 November 2000

¹⁷⁰ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p.150

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.6

¹⁷² T. M. Devine, 'Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760-1860', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol LXII, 2. No. 174, October 1983, pp.137-149

they were there before the cult of “Americanisation” took hold. ‘Until late in the nineteenth century there had generally been a laissez-faire attitude towards the integration of immigrants into American society’.¹⁷⁴ Although the verb ‘to Americanise’ had been rarely used from the 1890s, it really become common parlance from 1915 – no coincidence that these were also the war years and the large number of immigrants particularly from Eastern European countries were felt to require a degree of naturalisation. Interestingly, it is the mid-nineteenth century which saw, again in America, the blurring of divisions amongst Highlanders, Lowlanders and Ulster Scots against the influx of new immigrants, particularly Irish famine refugees. Religion was also a factor with the new refugees being predominantly Catholic, or Jewish Eastern Europeans.¹⁷⁵

Destinations of Scottish Emigrants

Margaret I. Adam wrote that: ‘emigrants from the same district in the Highlands sought the same part in America ... In general it is rare to find the Highland emigrants departing from the orthodox routes opened up by their former neighbours’.¹⁷⁶ To an extent this was due to the family connections of the Highlanders – many travelling to be with kin groups who had written and provided a foothold for those looking to start a new life. This has been seen as a significant reason for continuing Scottish identity in migrant settlements, for example the Glengarry community in Canada. Other factors which helped early migrants included the fact that many had some capital to start their new life and Scots already established at their destinations provided financial assistance. Furthermore, as the earliest arrivals they had the pick of the available land, unlike those that arrived in the great waves of migration from the 1830s onwards.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ E. Hague, ‘The Representation of Scotland in the United States’, *The Journal of The Scottish Association of Geography Teachers*, No. 28, (1999), pp.86-93

¹⁷⁴ D. Hermann, ‘Making Americans: conceptions of the ideal American in campaigns to Americanize new immigrants in early 20th C’ (sic), in K. Krakau (ed) *The American Nation – National Identity – nationalism*, (Münster, 1997), pp.169-184, quote p. 170

¹⁷⁵ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p.2

¹⁷⁶ M. I. Adam, ‘The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803’, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 66, (January, 1920), p.75, quoted in Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p.87

¹⁷⁷ M. McLean, *The People of Glengarry*, (Montreal, 1991) cited in M. D. Hill, ‘Review Essay: Highland Scots’ Settlement in Eastern Canada, 1745-1900’, *Scotia*, Vol VI (1992), pp.42-52

Family groups were a very potent reason for many Scots to emigrate in the later waves of emigration, with the security of relatives to greet them. Indeed, Lord Selkirk, who arrived on the *Polly* in 1803 not only learned Gaelic to communicate directly with his charges, but 'tried to overcome the worst alienation by laying out the new settlements as villages occupied by related-family groups'.¹⁷⁸ Highland place names were also transplanted to the new world in an attempt to maintain links with the homeland. R. A. MacLean points out that many settlers were inspired by tales of the New World from those who had experienced military service, not always voluntarily, but who had returned to Antigonish and Cape Breton after their service in Canada.¹⁷⁹ Again the reasons for emigration are highlighted as indicators for the kind of communities which grew up to maintain their Scottish Identity. The isolated nature of the settlements in eastern Nova Scotia allowed the communities' distinctive identity to survive. Importantly 'The few who were content with little, or saw little prospects of success ... remained relatively static economically but they also helped to preserve the language, the folklore and the music'.¹⁸⁰ Those who were more competitive and eager for success were more likely to forget their roots. This parallels with the New Zealand and Australian experience of emigrants who wanted to better themselves being less prepared to continue their Gaelic and Scottish traditions, and again highlights the differences between those forced to emigrate and those who wanted to leave Scotland. However, it must be remembered that it was not until about 1815 that the first migrants were forced to leave Scotland.

The Focal Point of Religion Overseas

A main feature in the lives of the transplanted Scots was the Church. From 1758 the people of North Carolina (after much petitioning on their part) received their own Presbyterian Minister. Importantly, the Church used Gaelic for services, although English was gradually introduced. In some Churches Gaelic preaching continued until the First World War, although this point has to be balanced against the fact that the use of English Bibles by the Presbyterian Church in Scotland meant that those who wished to keep up with religious developments had to be able to use

¹⁷⁸ Craig, *Crofters' Trail*, p.85

¹⁷⁹ MacLean, *Scots in Nova Scotia*, pp.10-11

English, a fact which no doubt helped the spread of the language in Gaelic speaking areas. In 1902, it was recorded that on Cape Breton, of 39 Presbyterian places of worship, 33 had Gaelic preaching with 29 of the 35 ministers preaching in Gaelic, and of 37 Catholic parishes, 31 had Gaelic, with 31 of the 40 Priests speaking Gaelic.¹⁸¹

Religious denomination has also been used by some authors to demark different approaches in the history of "Scottishness", particularly in Canada. The Catholic settlers tended to live in more rural areas, thus helping to consolidate their cultural traditions, and maintain the Gaelic language. Their gatherings were characterised as being more frivolous than their Presbyterian counterparts, and the lack of the Protestant "work ethic" has again been given as an explanation for their continuing reliance on Gaelic instead of English. In contrast, it tended to be the Presbyterians who set up the Benevolent Societies which were the forerunners of today's Highland Societies, and who had a more structured approach to maintaining their Scottishness.¹⁸² There was not much friction between the Catholics and Presbyterians abroad - rather the harsh climate they had to face together gave rise to a tolerance unknown back home in Scotland.

Religion was also an important factor in the continuing Scottish identity of migrants to Australia. In a study of Port Philip (modern Victoria) in Australia, Cliff Cumming showed that Presbyterianism was an important factor in migrants maintaining a distinctive Scottish identity within the colony. By 1839 there was the national focal point of a St Andrew's Society which was established to promote Scottish identity, and the spiritual and educational needs of Scots. Other societies sprang up with benevolent aspirations, and although there were several societies with similar aims, it is difficult to judge exact membership. It was a source of pride that Scots did not have to look outside their own circle to seek charity in the colonies, and significantly lower numbers claimed aid than other ethnic groups such as the English or Irish Catholics. From the 1840s the activities of these societies extended to social functions proclaiming the antiquity of the Scottish national

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.11

¹⁸¹ *Mac'Talla*, 1902, Vol. 53, translated and quoted in McDonnell, 'Nova Scotia', p.215

identity, with little regard for divisions such as that between Lowlander and Highlander. It is interesting that religion played such a large part in the establishment of Scottish identity abroad especially given the increasing secularisation of society.¹⁸³ It would be interesting to correlate modern participation in Scottish societies with religious following to see if this link still remains, and this factor has been remarked upon by some researchers, for example, Ray. This is also a facet of the white supremacist angle of Scottish identity abroad under the study of Euan Hague amongst others, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Use of Gaelic Abroad

Gaelic was in use as an everyday language – in 1828, a tourist noted the use of Gaelic as the primary language in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and it was even used in the law courts from time to time, although more as a device to sway the sympathies of the Jury than as a legal tool. Kelly reckons that Gaelic continued as a living language through at least three generations of Scots immigrants, with knowledge of songs and poems by rote lasting another two or three generations – up until the 1970s in some families.¹⁸⁴ This contrasts with Nova Scotia where Gaelic still survives as a living language. In 1931, as many as 24,303 Nova Scotians had Gaelic as their mother tongue, a number that has been declining ever since.¹⁸⁵ This has been attributed to the work of Rev. McLean Sinclair, who gathered and disseminated the written Gaelic of the area.¹⁸⁶ In 1957 the Beaton Institute of Cape Breton Studies was founded as the Cape-Bretoniana Collection at the College of Cape Breton and has collected a huge amount of oral and written testimony of Scottish immigrants. Nova Scotia (New Scotland) was the first British Colony to have its own flag, and this stemmed from the Royal Charter granted by James VI & I to Sir William Alexander in 1621. It was felt that as there was already a “New

¹⁸² MacLean, *Scots in Nova Scotia*, pp.68-69

¹⁸³ C. Cumming, ‘Scottish National Identity in an Australian Colony’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol LXXII, 1, No. 193, (April, 1993), pp.22-38

¹⁸⁴ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, pp.103-111

¹⁸⁵ Census of Canada 1934-1973, quoted in McDonnell, ‘Nova Scotia’, p.216. Interestingly, a similar pattern is exhibited in the decline in Gaelic speaking in Nova Scotia. Between 1931 and 1941, this number effectively halved, and halved again by 1951, in fact halving in every census until 1971 at least. This was not necessarily reflected through out the rest of Canada though, where the number of people with Gaelic as their mother tongue fluctuated from a high of 32,708 in 1941, down to 7,533 in 1961, then back up to 21,200 in 1971.

¹⁸⁶ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p.114

England" and a "New France", there should also be a "New Scotland". The settlement survived until 1632 when it reverted to the French, but the name Nova Scotia was to remain, even though the next significant wave of Scottish emigrants did not arrive until 1773 with the arrival of the *Hector* at Pictou.

Interestingly, Nova Scotia is always seen as being a stronghold of the Gaelic language, but MacLean in his 1992 work *A State of Mind: the Scots in Nova Scotia* claims that it is doubtful if there are even 1000 fluent speakers of the language, and that there are few in the Highland Society capable of conversing in the language even though there has been a marked effort to promote the language.¹⁸⁷ He makes the pertinent point that though there is a strong tradition of Scottish Heritage in Nova Scotia, it is one more immersed in tartan and dancing and games. 'If ... the Scottish cultural element in Nova Scotia is to retain some measure of credibility, efforts must be made now to foster a greater knowledge of the Gaelic language'.¹⁸⁸ Although this may be a personal bugbear of the author, it is a salient point. Such manifestations of Scottishness are becoming more popular and simultaneously more distant from their origins. The argument is that such popular culture expressions of identity must be backed up by a knowledge of their origins for them to have any real meaning. Kenneth MacKinnon, in his study of the sociology of Gaelic speaking, has identified several similar trends between Nova Scotia and the Highlands of Scotland, with mirroring in demographics, religion and Gaelic Fluency.¹⁸⁹

Interestingly, in the mid-1980s David Craig remarks on the people of Prince Edward Island, Canada, that in the town of St John's 'the sub-culture was so close-knit that the Church and the Historical Society were almost one'.¹⁹⁰ In Craig's experience, people were very aware of their heritage, and introduced themselves as being 'a South Uist MacInnes from Garrynamonie' when their family had in fact been resident in Canada for at least a century.¹⁹¹ This is a facet reflected in the questionnaire responses found in this research, as detailed in chapters six and seven.

¹⁸⁷ MacLean, *Scots in Nova Scotia*, pp.49-51

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.94

¹⁸⁹ C. W. J. Withers and K. MacKinnon, 'Gaelic Speaking in Scotland, demographic history', in D. S. Thomson (ed), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), pp.109-114, p.114

¹⁹⁰ Craig, *Crofters' Trail*, p.89

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.91

It was mainly in Canada and the United States that Gaelic continued as a living language. In the Southern Hemisphere this was not the case until a recent revival. For example, in the late 1800s, the New Zealand Gaelic Society formed in Dunedin. Gaelic speakers were invited to join, and 400 did, yet within a generation the language had practically died out in the area. 'They did not teach their children a language which carried with it the stamp of poverty'.¹⁹² This was a situation paralleled at home - David Craig reports that Margaret Hughes, in the 1980s, stated that:

My own grandmother ... had been very close to her granny ... as a child: she remembered happy times tucked up in beside Granny in a cosy bed, and that was when she asked her to teach her the Gaelic. Granny's reply was that Gaelic was the language of the past, but English was the language of the future, and she was determined that none of her offspring would learn Gaelic.¹⁹³

It is possible that this phenomenon of New Zealand and Australian emigrants not preserving the Gaelic language is due to two things - firstly, the later timing of emigration to the Southern Hemisphere meant that the dying use of Gaelic at home was reflected in this, and secondly, and relatedly, later emigrants were more likely to have come from an urban lifestyle where Gaelic would not have been in use as much as in the Highlands, and that this urban and more cosmopolitan background was a better preparation for those who wanted to emigrate and integrate into their new country than the earlier migrants who were forced to leave their homeland en masse.¹⁹⁴ Australian identity in particular has seen much work on migrant identity, for example, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity 1788 to the Present*, and *From Many Places: The History and Cultural Traditions of South Australian People*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² P/1/AUS in correspondence, September 16 1997

¹⁹³ M. Hughes, quoted in Craig, *Crofters' Trail*, p.126

¹⁹⁴ St John Skilton is currently researching the use of Scottish Gaelic in twenty-first century Australia, for a summary of research so far visit <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/~stjskilt/> visited 11 December 2002.

Decline in Gaelic

Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there has been a decline in the number of Gaelic speakers within Scotland.¹⁹⁶ This may be due to migration, but the fact that there was also a proportional decline shows the lessening influence of Gaelic in its home country. Not only were migrant colonies undergoing social change, but the increasing urbanisation and secularisation of Scotland itself began to impact upon migrant groups, particularly as migration from Scotland continued well into the twentieth century on a large scale. By the end of the nineteenth century, migrant societies began to fulfil a new purpose and a number of factors led to the homogenising of Scottish identity abroad, and the blurring of the distinctions of class, language, regionalism and religion which had been a feature of the first generation of Scots to migrate. By the turn of the century it has been argued that Scots had become invisible within the US, unlike other groups, such as the Polish or Irish. 'Scots could not easily identify an alien oppressor: they saw only aristocratic, industrial or anglicised privileged groups of their own kind at home'.¹⁹⁷ In fact, this ability to blend in also gave the Scots a head start in making a successful life in the US.¹⁹⁸

However, the homogenised Highland view of Scottish identity is now materially visible all over the world, and chapter five will highlight how a rising interest in identity in the latter half of the twentieth century was an important factor in this. One of the most salient manifestations of Scottish Identity abroad today is the enactment of Highland Games.

¹⁹⁵ M. Dixon, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity 1788 to the Present*, (Sydney, 1999) and Migration Museum, *From Many Places: The History and Cultural Traditions of South Australian People*, (Kent Town South Australia, 1995)

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix H, Table H2. Declining Numbers of Gaelic Speakers within Scotland, adapted from Withers, and MacKinnon, 'Gaelic Speaking in Scotland', p.111

¹⁹⁷ B. Aspinwall, 'The Scots in the United States, pp.80-110 in R. A. Cage (ed), *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), quotation p.81

¹⁹⁸ It was their English language, Protestant background that enabled Scots to blend in without problems of religious and language discrimination, unlike for example, the Irish Catholics, or Eastern European migrants. Furthermore, the Scots came from an advanced capitalist society, as nineteenth century Scotland was at the forefront of European commercial advancement. See Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.471

Twentieth Century Representations of Scottishness Abroad

Euan Hague has undertaken the most recent research into the rising number of Highland Games throughout the United States in the twentieth century. He performed a spatio-temporal analysis using data from five sources which showed that prior to 1950 Highland Games and Scottish Festivals were only held in the states of New York, California, Oregon, Wisconsin and Michigan – all traditional destinations for Scottish migrants. Between 1950 and 1979 this spread down the eastern and western seaboard and also to southern states such as Texas. Between 1980 and 1999, the end of Hague's analysis, the games had spread to every State save Minnesota and Wyoming, and now in 2002, both of these states have Scottish games.¹⁹⁹ He also discovered there existed a '... quantitative difference between the two halves of the 1990s. The first half carried on the trend of the 1980s, namely a few inaugurations per year, but the post-*Braveheart* years saw a surge of new events'²⁰⁰. This is confirmed by the third largest Highland Games on the US Scots top ten Highland games list, the Texas Scottish Festival and Highland Games, which reported a 30% increase in attendance the year *Braveheart* was released.²⁰¹

The largest Highland games in the world is currently held in Pennsylvania, USA – the Celtic Classic Highland Games and Festival, with a total of 150,000 visitors over the three day event. According to figures from US Scots there has been a total rise in attendance at the top ten largest Highland Games of 77,000 over three years from 1998 to 2001. The top eight of these are all based in the US, with Cowal making it into ninth place.²⁰² Euan Hague claims that it is the last 25 years which have seen a surge in Scottish societies in the USA, and highlights this fact with a graph depicting the rise in the numbers of Highland games in the US, which shows that between 1849 and 1969 there were less than 20 games, rising through 40 by 1981 and then

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.usscots.com> visited 10 September 2002

²⁰⁰ E. Hague, 'Haggis and Heritage – Representing Scotland in the United States', *Leisure Cultures, Consumption and Commodification*, (Eastbourne, 2001), pp.107-130, quote p.117

²⁰¹ US Scots Magazine Online Top Ten Lists of Largest Highland Games or Scottish Festivals, at <http://www.usscots.com/guides/topten.html> visited December 31 1998. Despite adding the proviso that they also changed Sponsor that year to the Dallas Morning News, this is still a huge increase, and one that is borne out by other societies as Hague has highlighted

²⁰² US Scots Magazine Online Top Ten Lists of Largest Highland Games or Scottish Festivals, at <http://www.usscots.com/games/lists/topten.html> visited December 31 1998 and October 9 2001

exploding up to almost 150 in the 1990s.²⁰³

We have seen the geographic distribution of games in the US, but ten Canadian Provinces and five Australian States also hold Highland Games, as well as countries as diverse as Chile, Japan, Jamaica, Barbados, the Netherlands, Finland, Indonesia and South Africa, to name but a few.²⁰⁴ Furthermore this listing relies on users submitting their games details, so in reality there could be many more. Thus Highland Games reach a huge audience annually worldwide, portraying a very tartanised image of Scottish identity.

A survey by Rowland Berthoff in 1982 found that the US Northern States Games were primarily that, games with music, dancing and athletics, whilst in the Southern States, (and remember these were generally “newer” games), genealogy and clan societies were approximately ten times more prevalent than in the north.²⁰⁵ Hague suggests that the Southern concentration on genealogy is still evident, although not to the same extent, as genealogical interests at heritage events US-wide have grown. This southern fascination with genealogy is possibly because some members of the Southern states have their own agenda in participating in Scottish Events. A growing area of research is the link of Confederacy with Scottish events. Euan Hague has highlighted the “Celticness” of Scottish events in the US, and whilst, as we shall see later in this chapter, other researchers have stressed a Jacobite interest, the notion of Scots as Celtic does not preclude an interest in Scottish Jacobitism, by, for example, characterising Scots at Culloden as displaying “Celtic” traits, for example the Highland charge. Indeed the particularly masculine and martial qualities of the Scots celebrated at Highland games with re-enactments and bagpipe parades are two of the aspects which appeal to the Confederate element.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ E. Hague, ‘Places of Memories and Memories of Place: Scotlands and Scottishness in the 1990s’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Syracuse, New York, (1998), p.136 adapted from US Scots figures of 1996

²⁰⁴ US Scots Magazine Web site at <http://www.usscots.com>

²⁰⁵ R. Berthoff, ‘Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground’, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 1, no. 2, (1982), pp.5-29 cited in Hague, ‘Haggis and Heritage’

²⁰⁶ Confederacy has several basic tenets. Essentially it is felt that the American government illegally adopted certain laws during the period following the Civil War, including the extension of citizenship to all including African-Americans. Furthermore, neo-Confederate groups such as the League of the South think that the Southern States, which are ethnically ‘Celtic’ (for example, Scottish, Irish, Welsh or Cornish) in origin, should be able to split from

This association of Scottishness with white supremacists has begun to impact elsewhere. For example, in 1998 the San Diego Scottish Games and Gathering of the Clans was targeted by neo-Nazis distributing pamphlets to the (approx) 10,000 attendees.²⁰⁷ It is important to note that this link of Scottishness with Confederacy is beginning to impinge on the national consciousness with increasing newspaper reports linking symbols traditionally perceived as “Scottish” to Confederacy.²⁰⁸ However, whilst it is important to acknowledge this aspect of Scottish associations in the USA, it would be misleading to represent this faction as anything but a minority,²⁰⁹ and there are Highland games and Scottish societies all over the world which do not have this association.

There is a recognition amongst games-goers in the US that such events are a commercial concern, and that images of Scotland are promoted by commercial

the northern ‘English’ states. E. Hague, ‘The Scottish Diaspora: Tartan Day and the appropriation of Scottish identities in the United States’, in D. C. Harvey, R. Jones, N. McInroy and C. Mulligan (eds), *Celtic Geographies: Old Culture, New Times*, (London, 2002), pp.139-156. Interviewees at games have dismissed Native Americans as having the same face-painting and symbols as the Celts, and argued that if the Vikings came to America, is it not possible the Celts got there first? This of course suggests a Celtic historical supremacy over the US. E. Hague, ‘The Representation of Scots in the United States’, *The Journal of The Scottish Association of Geography Teachers*, No 28, (1999), pp.86-93, citing p.89 The Confederate movement also promotes a “traditional” male dominated white society, and have particularly adopted the presentation of Scottish males in Rob Roy and Braveheart, even likening Rob Roy to the Imperial Wizard General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who was head of the Klu Klux Klan during the post-Civil War Reconstruction. E. H. Sebesta, ‘The Confederate Memorial Tartan: Officially approved by the Scottish Tartan Authority’, *Scottish Affairs*, No. 31, (Spring 2000), pp.55-84 The Confederate flag is made up of a blue St Andrew’s cross on a red background, similar in appearance to the saltire, and J. Michael Hill, president of the League of the South, has certainly given the impression to some researchers that ‘Clan or Klan, evidently to Hill they are the same’. Sebesta, ‘The Confederate Memorial Tartan’, p.72 It should also be noted that these Confederate organisations are not just “redneck” in their make-up. Most of the most notable public figures such as Hill and Grady McWhiney were or still are college professors.

²⁰⁷ Hague, “Haggis and Heritage”, p.125

²⁰⁸ Sebesta, ‘The Confederate Memorial Tartan’, pp.81-82. Events of December 2002 could unfortunately link Confederate racial ideals with Scottish identity in the US with the resignation of Senator Trent Lott, the proponent of the “Tartan Day” resolution, after racist comments.

²⁰⁹ Indeed, Celeste Ray and Sebesta have both engaged in criticism of each other’s conclusions, and this has been noted elsewhere, e.g. N. Ascherson, *Stone Voices: the search for Scotland* (London, 2002), pp.251-252 highlights the argument carried on in Scottish Affairs over the potency of Confederacy, with Ray arguing that games attendees include African-Americans, Native Americans and other ethnic groupings. Certainly going by country of birth and residency of the websurvey respondents, her multi-cultural view of Scottishness appears to be borne out.

agencies. Notably one interviewee 'implies that this vision of Scotland should not be dismissed as 'wrong' or 'false' by those back in Scotland, precisely because the major source of the production of this image and its commodities is Scotland itself'²¹⁰. Thus the use of such images by Scotland's commercial agencies authenticates and legitimises them to the wider world.

This is an important factor. Whilst Scottish Societies developed their own activities to enact their Scottishness, they did so against the backdrop of the mass commercialisation of culture which took place in the twentieth century. The medium of entertainment, through theatre, film and television helped ingrain an imagery-based stereotype of Scotland, and agencies came into being to use this imagery to "sell" Scotland to the wider world for commercial purposes. The impact of these media and agencies will be assessed in the next chapter.

²¹⁰ Hague, 'The Representation of Scots in the United States', p.92

Chapter Five: The Impact of the Twentieth Century on Perceptions of Scottish Identity

The Build to the Twentieth Century

As we have seen, the Highland vision of Scottish identity proved very pervasive throughout the world. The military, Empire and emigrant societies were all fundamental in spreading this perception of Scottish identity throughout the nineteenth century, particularly to areas where these groups were active. However, the twentieth century has seen the advent of the most pervasive and persuasive form of information about Scotland - the media, and in particular multimedia such as film, television and increasingly, the World Wide Web (WWW). As R. A. Maclean has pointed out, 'Today the first image often conveyed when one hears the term Scot is that of someone in a kilt ... that modern image of the Scot is largely the invention of modern script writers and advertising personnel willing to trade off a bit of romance for commercial gain.'¹ However, as we shall see, Scotland itself has reproduced and thus legitimised and authenticated the tartan vision.²

Tartan Day

A very recent phenomenon has been the development of "Tartan Day". Although unofficially observed for some years, particularly in Australia and America, only recently has this celebration been ratified. In Canada, and following the lead of other Canadian Provinces, 6 April was officially pronounced "Tartan Day" by the Ontario Legislature on 19 December 1991. In the USA, Senate Resolution 155, presented to the House on November 10 1997 by Senator Trent Lott, wanted to designate 'April 6 of each year as "National Tartan Day" to recognise the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States.'³ For a statement of the Resolution in full, please see Appendix C.

¹ R. A. MacLean, *A State of Mind: The Scots in Nova Scotia*, (Nova Scotia, 1992), p.35

² For example, the catalogue for the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition stated that 'some critics may go to the length of saying that while tartans in themselves may be old, the distinctive patterns to which clan names are attached are only an affair of the day before yesterday and cannot be traced further back than the early part of the present century. This view is too absurd to require refutation', quotation from H. Cheape, *The Tartan Habit*, (Edinburgh, 1991), p.67 and cited in J. Morrison, 'Scottish Art and the Post-colonial quest for identity in the United States of America, 1895-1905', *Scotlands*, Vol. 2, no. 1, (1995), pp.44-60, reference from p.55

³ Senate Resolution 155, presented November 10 1997, passed March 20 1998, downloaded from http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/useftp.cgi?IPaddress=wais.access.../105_cong_bill,DOCID:f:sr155is.txt and confirmed at <http://www.tartanday.com/about.htm>

Of all the names that could have been given to 6 April, why “Tartan Day”? The single designated day now seems to have turned into a week, with the dates April 3 through 10 being dedicated to Scottishness across the USA and Canada in 1999, with New York celebrating its first Annual Scottish Heritage parade.⁴ The subject has also raised heated debate, for example in the online discussion forum of *The Scotsman* newspaper.

2000 saw the celebrations expand, with Saturday 8 April the designated date for the various events. For example, on the steps of the US Capitol building there was a ceremony, to which visitors were kindly asked not to bring their *sgian dubhs*, which included prayers from the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland the Right Rev. John B. Cairns. This ceremony was followed up with the Euan D. Baird Symposium: The Living Legacy of Scotland - The National Tartan Day Forum on the Scottish Influence in the Development of America (to give it its full title), attended by many notable historians of Scottish history, including Ted Cowan and James Hunter.

Tartan Day - or Tartan Week as promoted by Scotland the Brand, has spread across the USA, with events organised in Chicago, and increasing newspaper coverage at home and abroad.⁵ President of the American-Scottish Foundation, Alan Bain, says ‘Tartan Day is not a Scottish Event. It is a Canadian event, it is an American event, it’s about to be an Australian and a New Zealand event and that’s how these hyphenated Scots feel their attachment to their country’.⁶ This article from *The Herald* goes on to trumpet Scotland's modern diversity, with contemporary bands, comedians and products taking centre stage, and various native Scots taking part trumpeting Scotland’s identity, in a venue with kitsch images to welcome visitors. This “ironic iconic” take on tartantry though, of traditional images with a twist, is interesting. In presenting this “Scotland Distilled” image Scottish agencies may think they are presenting an ironic take on Scotland’s perceived identity - however,

⁴ PRNewswire, filed April 1 1999, 3:28pm EST., *Tartan Day Observances Scheduled Around North America*, at http://library.northernl.../FC19990401530000157.html.no_highlight=1&cbx=0%253B100

⁵ Whilst a study in 2001 found that the American national press does not actually give that much coverage to Tartan Day, local papers do report on this phenomenon, and there is a discernable increase in interest in Scotland. C. McCracken-Fraser, ‘Stealth Scottishness? Studying Scotland in North America’, *Scottish Studies Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2, (Autumn, 2001), pp.134-139

the tartan and castles are still there to see. As Ruth Wishart comments '... you hope very hard that rumours of most Americans having had an irony bypass have been greatly exaggerated'.⁷

The ironic appreciation of Scottish kitsch commented on by Magnus Linklater is also an aspect which has been raised by Anthony Cohen, with reference to the participation in Burns Suppers by Scots:

I would not wish to suggest that when people sit down to their [Burns] supper they are necessarily consciously contemplating their sense of nationhood, rather than enjoying a good night out ... but then, perhaps they are. Perhaps the sense of shared humour, or of a common ability to appreciate the language and the imagery of Burns' poetry and the supper speakers, the knowledge that others are moved by the pipes of the sung melodies as is oneself, is precisely what the sense of nationhood is about.⁸

Grant Jarvie has also commented on there being an "ironic" portrayal of stereotypical images of Scotland by the Scots themselves, for example his claim that exaggerated 'highlandism' by attendees at 'highland gatherings' were actually a cultural form of resistance.⁹ This is magnified when faced with the open hypocrisy of some "cultural commentators" come academics who take part in propagating the stereotypical view of Scotland and then safe at home in Scotland, sneer at the whole thing. Michael Fry says 'I supplement my own income by lecturing to clan societies in the US ... they are never less than rapt. I lay it on with a trowel, piling the stuff up till it drips down all over them and still they cry: "More! More! Give us more of our heritage!"'¹⁰

Maureen Barrie of the Museum of Scotland admits that the top three images of the

⁶ Alan Bain, quoted in A. Hicklin, 'Scotland on a winner for tartan day', *The Herald*, 5 April 2002

⁷ R. Wishart, 'Follow the tartan carpet to the wizard of UZ', *The Herald*, 4 April 2002

⁸ A. P. Cohen 'Nationalism and social identity: who owns the interest of Scotland?', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 18, (1997), pp.95-107, p.106

⁹ G. Jarvie, 'Culture, Social Development and the Scottish Highland Gatherings', in D. McCrone, S. Kendrick and P. Straw (eds), *The Making of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.189-206, cited in C. Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill, 2001), p.25

¹⁰ M. Fry, 'Plaid by the wrong rules', *The Herald*, 25 March 1998

country for Scottish-Americans are bagpipes, tartan and whisky.¹¹ Dr Geoffrey Scott Carroll, who is planning to launch digital Celtic TV in America, also compares the Scots with the Irish perceptions in America, and the need for Scotland to organise their image to enhance business investment in the modern technologically aware Scotland. However, his parting shot is what a 'big winner' *Monarch of the Glen* was in the States - a reversion to the tartan and shortbread image of Scotland.¹² Scotland's own attempt at a digital TV channel for the Scottish diaspora, and headed by Dave Stewart, is also highlighting a diet of Hamish Macbeth.¹³ Indeed, Jim Joyner, who works at Alberene Scottish Cashmere in New York states that 'Try as I might I can't get customers interested in anything to do with the Scottish parliament ... I can't even get them to buy Charles Rennie Mackintosh. It is too recent. For most of them, Scottish history stops at Culloden'.¹⁴

However, the American-Scots involved see the same event in a different light - 'Scotland, to a degree, came thumping in without regard for the local Scottish American community'.¹⁵ These sentiments have been expressed elsewhere, in the assertion that three years ago the Scottish commercial bodies shunned tartan day but now seem to be jumping on a successful bandwagon¹⁶. Kilt rentals have quadrupled in New York and tartan balls are all the rage, even popping up in the popular television programme *Sex and the City*.¹⁷ Around 10,000 pipers and drummers took part in the 2002 New York Street parade for Tartan Day, with participants from 26 countries in the so-called 'Tunes of Glory'.¹⁸

Some academics express caution in our interpretation of Tartan Day as a piece of kitsch - Euan Hague warns that this is not a harmless apolitical event, but instead reinforces Americans self-worth, promoting a masculine European ancestry for American nationhood by what Hague sees as spurious links with the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Arbroath.¹⁹ Furthermore, and unsurprisingly,

¹¹ R. Wishart, 'Selling the Reel thing', *The Herald*, 29 March 2002

¹² G. Scott Carroll, quoted in *The Herald*, 5 April 2002

¹³ *The Sunday Times*, 25 August 2002

¹⁴ Jim Joyner, quoted in K. Farquharson 'Cut the kitsch', *The Sunday Times*, 7 April 2002

¹⁵ Alan Bain, quoted in an article by A. Hicklin in *The Herald*, 5 April 2002, p.8

¹⁶ S. McDonald and R. Martine, 'Hey buddy, whose Scottish festival is this anyway?' in *The Sunday Herald*, 31 March 2002

¹⁷ C. H. Bruno, 'Tartan Sports', *The Sunday Herald*, 31 March 2002

¹⁸ S. McDonald and R. Martine, 'New York awash with plaid as Tartan Day takes to the streets', *The Sunday Herald*, 7 April 2002

¹⁹ E. Hague, 'National Tartan Day: Rewriting History in the United States', *Scottish Affairs*,

“Tartan Day” is not the epithet of choice for academics. Tom Devine preferred the name “St Andrew’s Day”, but admitted that the link of Tartan Day could be a good idea, if it acknowledged Scotland’s modern advanced society.²⁰ As we shall see in chapter eight, Scotland has been presented with an ideal opportunity to present its unique history and identity to the wider world whilst also highlighting its modern technical abilities, but this opportunity has not yet been taken.

Branding the Nation

However, it would be wrong to surmise that Scotland’s history and her popular identity were entirely at the mercy of external influences. Indeed, Scottish based groups such as VisitScotland and Scotland the Brand are positively encouraging such representations. The impact of the business of tourism has inspired a customer history of Scotland, but this is also reflected in the wider post-modern search for identity common to many countries. Every genealogist or proto-Scot is a customer of history. Of course, one can argue that these organisations are doing their job. However, these organisations did not create the tartan image, they are just doing their best to work with what is already an ingrained representation. To try and change perceptions of Scottish identity would be at odds with the financial motives of such organisations, but it would also be incredibly difficult. Again and again research has shown that these salient symbols of Scottish identity are ingrained in the public consciousness.

If Scotland has any ikon (sic) in France and Germany, it is a very stereotyped one: a kilted Highlander, complete with bagpipes. Other images which are universally Scottish include tartans, whisky, ruined baronial castles and the Loch Ness Monster.²¹

We shall see later in this chapter how organisations like VisitScotland and Scotland the Brand, with the backing of Scottish Enterprise and the Scottish Executive, are putting forward a predominantly Highland stereotype of Scottish identity.

(Winter, 2002), no.38, pp.94-124 and also see D. Fraser, ‘Historian attacks US Tartan Day as fake history by the racist right’, *The Sunday Herald*, 31 March 2002

²⁰ Tom Devine, quoted in W. Dowman, ‘Chequered day for tartan in America’, *Daily Mail*, 23 March 1998

²¹ Travel and Tourism Research Limited, ‘France and Germany Market Studies 1994-1995 Stage 2, Qualitative Campaign Pre-testing research Report Winter 1994/5’, prepared for the Scottish Tourist Board, Quote from Paragraph 2.4 p.5

Perpetuating the Myth

As this thesis has attempted to show, the roots of this popular identity go much deeper than Walter Scott. As mass communications enters another new age with the advent of the Internet and digital communications, Scottish identity is again being pushed onto the world stage, and as the media grows and grows, so any control over this identity that may have once remained within Scotland is proportionately reduced. Walter Scott may have proved the jumping off point for this modern identity, but it has expanded again and again to a wider audience through Highland regiments and benevolent funds, to emigrant societies and popular literature, to radio and theatre, through television to film and finally into the World Wide Web. This identity has a life of its own.

Although all this might seem ludicrous to academics of Scottish Identity, the important fact is that *all over the world* such ceremonies and events are going on, and every person who comes into contact with these events assimilates information about Scotland and what it is to be Scottish from them. If the figures from the previous chapter are correct, there are at least 23.3 million people, which equates to 94% of those who characterise themselves as Scots living outside the geographical boundaries of Scotland, and a percentage of this Scottish diaspora is very active in their activities of “being Scottish”. Highland Games and the like may provide a first hand experience for many people of “Scottishness” and this local impact is magnified by the modern mass media.

Presentations of Scottish Identity in Popular Entertainment from the Nineteenth Century

Whilst particularly “Scottish” entertainment began with rather more genteel, Walter Scott inspired plays and song recitals, the lines between high and low culture began to blur by the mid-nineteenth century. In July 1828 the Glasgow Theatre Royal presented a programme including the ‘National Melo-drama “Rob Roy”’ and by the 1880s the wider growing trend of regional stereotypes in music hall spread to Scotland; ‘Singers of Scotch comic songs had become Scotch Comics’.²² These ‘kilties’ spread throughout the United Kingdom, and indeed, abroad – for example, performers such as James Lumsden and Jack Lorimer toured Scottish ex-pat

²² J. Houston, *Autobiography of James Houston, Scotch Comedian*, (Glasgow & Edinburgh, 1889) cited in F. Bruce, *Scottish Showbusiness Music Hall, Variety and Pantomime*, (Edinburgh, 2000), p.28

communities in America.²³ However, the breakthrough came in the guise of Harry Lauder, who played on every stereotype already in existence about the Scots. He was so popular that other performers, such as Donald MacDougall, trading on his reputation, were able to carve out an international career for themselves in the likes of South Africa and Australia.

However, Lauder built on a long tradition of Scottish “popular” culture. In fact, the idea of the comic Highlander dates from the middle ages, for example Dunbar’s ‘Heleand padyane’. From 1716 the Highlander was represented as a sexual masculine figure, and romances linking Lowland women and Highland men a common sentiment.²⁴ Until the late nineteenth century Scottish theatre had been the preserve of the middle classes, but the shows which were popular at the Theatre Royal Edinburgh were quickly adapted to the “penny geggies”, makeshift theatres likened to circus tents in construction which could seat approximately 400 and which toured the country. These had developed from the theatre booths found at the Glasgow Fair, which had become well established by the 1850s. The attractions of these early popular theatres were exotic to say the least: Tam O’Shanter was a popular tale for the excuse to flash a bit of female flesh as the witch, and one budding impresario ‘apparently paid a prostitute to dress up in “Highland Garb” and perform “unspeakable acts”’²⁵ to lure punters to see what turned out to often be serious adaptations of Shakespeare. Obviously the Highland Garb was a major selling point! However, many geggy performers were very talented and resourceful, and on their country tours were appearing before more respectable audiences than those in the city, a training which stood them in good stead for the more formal theatre of Variety.

“Scottishness” was rife in this kind of entertainment, with waxworks of historical

²³ They toured in 1898. Bruce, *Scottish Showbusiness*, p.36

²⁴ W. Donaldson, ‘Bonny Highland Laddie: the making of the myth’, *Scottish Literary Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 2, (December, 1976), pp.30-50 The idea of a Highland man with a female outsider is currently proving popular in the novels of Diana Gabaldon, where not only is the female involved English, but is also from a different time period.

²⁵ A. Cameron, ‘Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth Century Glasgow: background and context for The Waggle o’ the Kilt exhibition’, K. Marshalsay (ed), *The Waggle o’ the Kilt: Popular Theatre and Entertainment in Scotland*, (a companion to an exhibition drawn from the Scottish Theatre Archive and featuring the Jimmy Logan Collection, held in the Upper Hall, Hunterian Museum, 7 December 1992 - 20 February 1993) and found online at <http://ww2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESL/STELLA/STARN/crit/WAGGLE/FOREWORD.HTM> this particular paper at <http://ww2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESL/STELLA/STARN/crit/WAGGLE/POPULAR.HTM> and visited 21 November 2000

figures and Walter Scott a popular “keek” show, as well as a theatre that was built to resemble Balmoral complete with gardens. Stereotypical portrayals abounded, although the slow-witted Highlander often turned out to be a wily character at the end of a sketch. Whilst tartanry seemed a crude stereotype, the important point is made by Alasdair Cameron that the theatre of the working class needed to use simple imagery to give national identity a meaning to a people ‘who were not receiving the direct benefits of Empire and who were uninterested in the sophistry of the apologists for Union’. Working class attendants at popular shows identified with performers who spoke like them and spoke to them in a language and symbols they could understand.²⁶

Ironically, part of the popularity of Harry Lauder (and he was able to command fees of up to US\$1,000 a night by 1911) was the fact that he could be understood, as he decided early on there was no point in using the Scottish dialect as this changed so much even within Scotland that he would not be understood if using a localised vernacular. Instead he chose to sing in English with a Scottish accent.²⁷

However, it is a vital point to understand that the kind of low-culture Variety that was popular at home was not so well received abroad.

the Irish-American communities that burgeoned in the New World also wanted to turn their backs on the appalling horrors of the Great Hunger. As they became generationally distanced from this calamity, popular culture began to view the so called “Ould Country” in a benignly maudlin light – the music halls of early twentieth century America ringing to the sounds of My Wild Irish Rose and other sentimental ballads.²⁸

A lack of respect for these stereotypes led to the Abbey Theatre from Ireland being barracked on their first tour of America in 1910 when they explored the reality behind the vision of an Ireland of little old ladies and beautiful colleens. Vitally,

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ K. Marshalsay, ‘Sir Harry Lauder (1870-1950)’, Marshalsay, *The Waggle o’ the Kilt*: this paper <http://ww2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESL/STELLA/STARN/crit/WAGGLE/LAUDER.HTM> visited 21 November 2000. It is actually W. F. Frame who is credited with exporting the tartan theatrical stereotype to America with his phenomenally successful appearance at Carnegie Hall, New York in 1898. T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, (London, 1999), p.360

This was something never risked by Scottish performers, and their appeal to the vast communities of exiles in the Empire was one of dewy-eyed memories of the country left behind. So lucrative were these markets and so genuine the feeling of loss that to challenge the exiles' vision of heather, bens and glens was impossible.²⁹

By the turn of the nineteenth century the Scottish diaspora had a firm image of a Scottish identity which was far removed from the truth, even though many would still be able to remember the circumstances of their migration. A common stance today, for example, that found in *Scots* magazine, is that there should be an element of bitterness amongst migrant Scots, but this does not seem to have manifested itself in a dislike for the country which it could be argued had abandoned its people by, in some cases, making them leave. Rather this has been seen as an opportunity, and indeed the fact that many other Scots who had already migrated created a community home from home has contributed to the continued desire to be seen as Scottish throughout many generations. It is also indicative of an ability for members of the diaspora to disassociate the country of Scotland, (their homeland), and their Scottish identity as tied to that homeland, from its rulers. This is a particularly important point considering how much the identity of Scotland was invested in the institution and personality of Kingship prior to the Union of the Crowns. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the majority of migrants were from urban areas in the twentieth century, at a time when emigration was seen as an opportunity to leave Scotland in order to get on,³⁰ and an idea which is still held by some cultural commentators to this day.

Sport as a Symbol of Identity

One area which has recently received increased interest is the role of sport as symbolic of identity, for example in the work of Joe Bradley.³¹ Whilst football had a long history in Scotland, with "internationals" against England dating from the

²⁸ Douglas Kennedy, 'Where the grass is always greener', *The Sunday Times*, 10 November 1996

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ See R. Finlay, 'National Identity in Crisis: Politicians, Intellectuals and the "End of Scotland", 1920-1939', *History*, Vol. 79, (1994), pp.242-259, also J. Garside, 'Historian Dispels Brain Drain Myth', *Sunday Herald* October 14 2001, citing the fact that with Devine estimates only 10% of migrants were Highlanders.

³¹ For example, J. M. Bradley, *Sport, Culture, Politics and Scottish Society: Irish Immigrants and the Gaelic Athletic Association*, (Edinburgh 1998)

sixteenth century, it wasn't until the late nineteenth century that it became widely popular, and in particular with the working class. Aspects of identity such as class, religion and a greater "Britishness" were all reflected in football.³² Coverage of the Scottish national football team within Scotland tends to highlight the exploits of the "Tartan Army" as being how Scotland is represented abroad by Scottish football. Indeed, it has been suggested in some quarters that the 1979 referendum failed in part due to the national depression brought about by Scotland's disastrous showing in the World Cup of 1978.³³ However, as we shall see from the survey responses gathered, it is unlikely that this aspect of sport as a symbol of Scottish identity is that widely recognised outside of Scotland herself. Even golf, one of the activities highlighted by VisitScotland as a "Unique Selling Point" for Scotland, and promoted as such, does not receive very much attention.

Impact of Modern Mass Media - Film

Whilst theatrical Scottish stereotypes helped to further ingrain the Highland stereotype of Scottish identity, they began to die out as the new media of film became the popular mode of entertainment, and also of authority. The first film performance in Scotland was in Aberdeen on 18 October 1896 by a man called William Walker. He toured the country showing films and even more importantly, actually filmed Queen Victoria at Balmoral (where he also showed his films from 1897), and the Gordon Highlanders going off to the Boer War in 1899.³⁴ The earliest years of the twentieth century saw films of Scotland consist of a few minutes of documentary style films concerning Highland dancing, Gretna Green and the bagpipe -very interesting choices for the first cinematic pieces of information about Scotland.³⁵

Hugh McDiarmid once commented 'My job, as I see it, has never been to lay a tit's egg, but to erupt like a volcano, emitting not only flame, but a lot of rubbish' - an

³² M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (London, 1991), p.360

³³ G. Jarvie and I. Thomson 'Sport, nationalism and the Scottish parliament', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 27, (1999), pp.82-96, p.84 and citing C. Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1994*, 2nd edition (London, 1994)

³⁴ D. Bruce, *Scotland the Movie*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p.10. Interestingly, it had been a young Scotsman, W. K. L. Dickson who had been charged by his boss Thomas Edison to create the first motion picture system. This he did by putting together various existing ideas, and the first public display was on 14 April 1894 on Broadway, where it proved a huge success. B. Bryson, *Made in America*, (London, 1994), pp.296-297, citing various sources

³⁵ F. Hardy, 'The Cinema', in P.H. Scott (ed), *Scotland A Concise Cultural History*, (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.267-278, p.267

appropriate metaphor for the Hollywood production of “Scottish” films.³⁶ However, it was not only Hollywood film-makers who subscribed to the Highland vision.

Scott’s popularity had declined by the time cinema arrived but by then his version of Scotland (and corruption of it by others) was so embedded in European and, indeed, World perception of the country that inevitably film-makers used it as their point of departure when dealing with Scottish subjects. So any film about Rob Roy was bound to owe something to the man who “discovered” the “Highland Rogue” whether or not the script has anything to do with Scott’s novel.³⁷

Forsyth Hardy points out that producers of early cinematic efforts wanted to use tried and trusted stories to attract viewers to the new medium, and Walter Scott was certainly seen as a proven author. However, the films which actually follow the text of Scott’s books tend to be his English romances, for example *Ivanhoe*. The first film adapted from Scott was made in America in 1908, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, closely followed by *The Lady of the Lake* (1912), *Heart of Midlothian* (1914), *Lochinvar* (1915) and *Young Lochinvar* (1923), all of which were silent films. Although films were made of the life of Scott himself, he was soon outpaced by other Scottish authors, particularly Robert Louis Stevenson.³⁸ Two films of 1926, both of which have been lost, were *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* and *The Life of Robert Burns*, which were issued together in 1928 as *The Immortals of Bonnie Scotland*.³⁹ This title in itself is quite telling, and ironic, in that the two authors could well be described as the immortalisers of “Bonnie Scotland”. J.M. Barrie was another Scottish author who was to prove popular with early film makers, with his gentle kailyard style stories. Barrie was already a popular playwright in America and silent films were made of his stories.⁴⁰

Documentary style film making was popular in the 1930s and ‘40s, with films about the Clyde Shipyards and the Scottish Herring Fleets. The Empire Exhibition in

³⁶ Bruce, *Scotland the Movie*, p.5

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.9

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.10

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.18

⁴⁰ For example, *The Little Minister*, 1915, and *What Every Woman Knows* in 1917, Hardy, ‘The Cinema’, p.268

Glasgow in 1938 showed a number of documentary films designed to 'tell the world of the other side of Scotland, tear away the tartan curtain of romance and show a nation fighting for its existence'.⁴¹ However, would people pay to see such films in the days before popular television, when much more exciting fare was on offer? Again, the stereotypes presented were predominantly masculine, and as we shall see in chapter seven, this is a situation still found in the adoption of the Highland stereotype of Scottish identity.

History held a fascination for the films makers too, with Mary, Queen of Scots, and Charles Edward Stuart both proving popular themes. Scotland also came to the attention of the Disney Corporation, who made *Rob Roy* (1953), *Greyfriars Bobby* (1961) and *Kidnapped* (1960), in a period in which Scottish films were very much in vogue. In fact, the 1950s saw many films about Scotland, the earliest example being *Whisky Galore!* released in fact in 1949, and *the Maggie* (1954) from the same director and studio, Alexander MacKendrick at Ealing. The large number of home-grown films in this period is due to the 75% tax put on imported movies, leading the Motion Picture Association of America to suspend sending their films to the UK. The Government had to appeal to British movie makers to fill the gap.⁴² This illustrates the dominance that America had over the movie industry, and the lack of internationally renowned movies made in and about this country. Even comedies such as *Whisky Galore!*, a film which proved popular all over the world, displays attributes which are stereotypical, for example the wily islanders who are a law unto themselves, and do their best to outwit the national authorities in a harmless way – and a film with international resonance due to the stereotype of a clever rural community outwitting the authorities. The closing credits of the film took the Calvinist approach that the whisky did not last long and that the islanders lived unhappily ever after. This was particularly important for the American market where the film's title was changed to *Tight Little Island* to satisfy the strict moral regulations which did not allow the name of any type of liquor to be displayed on the marquees of the movie theatres. In France, the title was changed to *Whisky, a Go-Go* and proved so popular that a night club of the same name was opened and the phrase passed into common parlance.⁴³ The film transcends a completely Kailyard approach by its self-denigrating humour, and the fact that the nature of the

⁴¹ R. Calder, quoted in Hardy, 'The Cinema', p.269

⁴² Bruce, *Scotland the Movie*, p.27

⁴³ <http://www.britmovie.co.uk/studios/ealing/filmography/53.html> visited 22 December 2002

islanders is what drives the plot, rather than the stereotype being extraneous to the plot and purely for comic effect.

However, the 1960s also saw the release of perhaps the most famous Hollywood version of Scotland and Scottish culture and identity - *Brigadoon*. Starring Gene Kelly and Cyd Charisse, *Brigadoon* was the story of the mythical village of Brigadoon which only appeared from the mists of time once every hundred years. Two Americans lost in the glens happen across the village, and one of them falls in love with a girl. At the end of the day the village disappears again into time, but the American comes back to Scotland, and his love for the girl in the village brings it back so they can live forever in happiness in Brigadoon. On top of this are the stereotypical images of heather and purple hills, and villagers with quaint accents clad in tartan who sing and dance their time away. It is easy to scoff at the film, because it was made by Americans in Hollywood, after being unable to find a location 'Scottish' enough despite having searched all over Scotland. However, it has provided an enduring image.⁴⁴

However, this does not hide the fact that the stereotypical appearance of the villagers is still presented as historical. That American film directors do look for the stereotypical image of Scotland is not in doubt, as David Bruce highlights in his story of searching Scotland for locations with the film director Harry Dugan in 1959. Dugan was convinced there did exist thatched cottages with roses round the door in the lee of heather covered mountains, and indeed, he did find one in Skye. However, this isolated example convinced the director that this image of Scotland was correct, and that indeed, all Scotland was like this.⁴⁵ The perceived impact of

⁴⁴ Ironically, Tommy Albright, the character played by Gene Kelly on first seeing the tartan clad villagers makes a remark along the lines of "It must be the day they take the photos for the tourist postcards".

⁴⁵ Bruce, *Scotland the Movie*, pp.1-2. Interestingly, if we look at postcards from the 1911 and 1938 Glasgow Exhibitions, the popular 'Highland Village' attraction does in fact have some resemblance to the *Brigadoon* representation, populated by kilt wearing highlanders. See A. Stevens, 'Visual Sensations: representing Scotland's geographies in the Empire exhibition, Glasgow 1938', *Scotlands*, Vol. 3, no. 1, (1996), pp.3-17, p.16 in particular and also p.55 in B. M. Evans, 'A Celebration Of Enterprise: expos and garden festivals' in J. M. Fladmark (ed), *Cultural Tourism*, (London, 1994), pp. 45-61. In 1888 Glasgow held its first International Exhibition in Kelvingrove Park. Over 5.7 million visitors came, with a significant proportion from North America and Western Europe. 'Much of the North American Interest came from the Scottish expatriates and their descendents - an early manifestation of the encouragement of Scots to "return home"'. J. R. Gold and M. M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*, (Aldershot, 1995), p.179

Brigadoon may have outweighed its Box Office performance however – it does not even make the list of the top 50 MGM musicals of all time, even though its stablemate, *7 Brides for 7 Brothers* which was released the same year, gets in at no. 9 with a US\$5 million gross.⁴⁶ Indeed, contemporary critics were none too complimentary either, with one describing it as ‘a bagpipe of a musical’.⁴⁷ However, an example of how enduring an image Brigadoon was to prove to be can be found in the tag line advertising the Colorado Scottish Festival and Rocky Mountain Highland Games ‘A Bit of Brigadoon in your Own Back Yard’.⁴⁸ Interestingly 1998 saw the 35th Anniversary of these games, which mean they were started in 1964 – perhaps even with the same tag-line? America is not the only country to promote such an image. The annual Highland Gathering at Bundanoon in New South Wales Australia sees even the local train station change its sign to proclaim ‘Bundanoon is Brigadoon’ – and with over 20,000 visitors in 2001, this does not seem to be doing them any harm. Ironically they seem unaware of the origin of the word, the ‘Brig o’ Doon’ (Bridge of Doon) in Alloway, Scotland, as they give directions for visitors to cross ‘Brigadoon Bridge’ to get to the games parking area.⁴⁹ Brigadoon was also revived as a 1966 TV movie, which won 4 Emmys.

The 1960s also saw *Seawards the Great Ships* win an Oscar for Best Short Subject (Live Action) in 1961⁵⁰, and 1965 saw the nomination of *The Forth Road Bridge* a film produced by Peter Mills in the Documentary category⁵¹. Again, like the 1930s and ‘40s it seems as if the successful films about the real life of Scotland rather than its stereotype were documentaries.

Gaelic has not fared so well in the movies, with only two films being made in Gaelic

⁴⁶ Figures compiled from *Variety* at <http://members.aol.com/mgmfan4/boxoffice.html> The site author admits that the list is not definitive due to the varying box office of films re-released from year to year. Care must be taken when comparing statistics from different sites, as they are often based on different criteria visited 22 December 2002

⁴⁷ C. Herschhorn, *The Hollywood Musical*, quoted at <http://members.aol.com/movieboy5/brigadoon.html> along with similar reviews from *Variety* and P. Kael, *5001 Nights at the Movies* visited 22 December 2002

⁴⁸ <http://www.scottishgames.org/scothistory.html> visited 22 December 2002

⁴⁹ <http://www.highlandsnsw.com.au/brigadoon/adayin.html> visited 12 September 2001 and <http://www.durham.net/~neilmac/brigadoon.htm> visited 12 September 2001

⁵⁰ It was shown in Rank Cinemas alongside *Tunes of Glory*, a popular film about a Highland Regiment starring Alec Guinness. Ironically Oscar success led to a wider distribution deal in which the original voiceover by Scottish actor Byrden Murdoch was dubbed by an English voice. A. Brown, ‘Scotland’s Forgotten Oscar’, *The Sunday Times, Ecosse*, 12 May 1996, pp.1-2

⁵¹ <http://awards.fennec.org/years/Y-1965.html> visited 22 December 2002

by 1996. *As an Eilan* (1993) and *Hero* (1982) are the only two cinema films made with the principle language being Gaelic.⁵² However, many short films are made in the language, and a major initiative in this was the mobile cinema circuit of *Cinema Sgìre* (Community Cinema), which toured the islands in the late 1970s, and grew into an annual Film and Television Association for Celtic Countries.⁵³

The major film of the 1980s on an international scale for Scotland was Bill Forsyth's *Local Hero* (1983) which again played on the same stereotypical themes as *Whisky Galore!*, the wily Highland villagers outwitting big business, showing greed and idiosyncrasies against a backdrop of stunning scenery. The American twist was to add Burt Lancaster as Felix Happer, head of the American oil company the villagers try to outwit, thereby guaranteeing something for the international audience. Again, the themes explored are international in resonance, indeed the film is said to have given rise to the idea behind the quirky American TV series *Northern Exposure* which was a gentle comedy about a rural community in Alaska – also echoing the wily rural community of *Whisky Galore!*⁵⁴

Perhaps more accurate representations of Scottish identity appear in the theatre - for example, John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil* or Bill Bryden's *The Ship*, a beneficiary of Glasgow's status in 1990 as 'Cultural Capital of Europe', which was staged in the Harland and Wolff shed in Govan – a company which had, ironically, closed in 1963 along with many other Clyde shipbuilders.⁵⁵ However, these tend to be seen in Scotland alone, and even though the play *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil* was filmed in 1974, it never received widespread international recognition. Indeed, this seems to be the problem with Scottish identity and film. The films which are seen to represent the most accurate sense of a Scottish national consciousness are those which are made by Scots, in Scotland. However, the lack of a vibrant Scottish film industry has meant there is

⁵² Bruce, *Scotland the Movie*, p.24 An Internet search in December 2002 does not find any other Gaelic films since these.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.34

⁵⁴ The most well known exposition of the appearance of Scotland in the movies is found in C. McArthur, (ed), *Scotch Reels*, (London, 1982). However, this has been criticised by Cairns Craig amongst others for its antipathy to towards the Scottish vision, and the fact that it ignores important parts of Scotland's cinematic history such as the Bill Douglas trilogy. It is also now well out of date, particularly with the impact of *Braveheart* in the mid 1990s. For a more modern review of Scottish film see D.Petrie, *Screening Scotland*, (London, 2000).

⁵⁵ *The Ship* by Bill Bryden ran from 15 September to 27 October 1990 and was commissioned by the City of Glasgow District Council. All information taken from the Official Programme

simply not the funds to implement the kind of distribution and advertising the Hollywood blockbusters have. Thus it is impossible for such films to reach an international audience wide enough to have a clear impact on entrenched perceptions of Scottish identity. It is a simple question of economics. However, one international film which did have the financial backing and distribution to make a major impact was the 1996 release, *Braveheart*.

The *Braveheart* Phenomenon

As Ludovic Kennedy pointed out

Every day the world is shrinking before our eyes, getting to be what Marshall McLuhan in a famous phrase called a global village. ... Audiences in Bangkok and Bournemouth and Bogota are gaping at the same internationally tailored films and in a hundred developed and underdeveloped countries James Bond has become the folk hero of our times. We are entering the age of common culture, where uniformity was all.⁵⁶

This was before *Braveheart* was released, and it is not stretching things too far to suggest that William Wallace (in the guise of Mel Gibson) become a folk hero of our times, and a representation of Scotland seen throughout the world. Indeed, in one of the International arrivals corridors at Glasgow Airport, a banner depicting 'Scotland's Kings and Queens' not only included William Wallace, but Bonnie Prince Charlie as well.⁵⁷

One aspect to remember about *Braveheart* though is that although it was seen in Scotland as being an anti-English movie, with political overtones concerning the political climate, this is not a perception shared by other audiences of the film. To many, *Braveheart* is seen as a story of the personal struggle for freedom and justice of William Wallace, who happened to be a Scot. The film was not seen as a Scottish-nationalistic film by its global audience. They were attracted by the universality of the piece and its moral lesson of fighting for personal beliefs.⁵⁸ It should be noted

⁵⁶ L. Kennedy, *In Bed with an Elephant A Journey Through Scotland's Past and Present*, (London, 1995), p.351

⁵⁷ Seen by the author, Glasgow Airport International Arrivals, 11 May 2001

⁵⁸ *Braveheart* has become synonymous with Scotland, but it should be noted this is not the first film to bear this name, a 1925 western starring Rod La Rocque as an Indian chief protecting the fishing grounds of his tribe from a treaty breaking corporation.

that *Braveheart* has also been seen as an example of Catholic moral values and as an example of a racially “pure” group overcoming government oppression,⁵⁹ and this latter topic is one currently being investigated in the United States by Euan Hague. *Braveheart* may have increased interest in Highland Games and Scottish societies in the US, but is also preceded an increase in membership of white supremacist groups in the American South.⁶⁰

Commentators such as Bill Scott and Colin McArthur are not impressed by *Braveheart*. They decry its historical inaccuracies and its liberties with visual imagery - for example, the use of woad by Wallace. Furthermore, *Braveheart* may have taken a few historical liberties, but compare this to other cinematic ‘historical’ fare in the early twenty-first century - for example the U-boat film *U571* which portrays an American crew stealing the Enigma encryption device which was to enable Turing and his colleagues at Bletchley to finally break the Nazi codes. The fact that the Americans were not even in the war at the point that this event occurred, and that it was a British crew which risked their lives to get the device, although acknowledged in the credits, is obviously not as important as a good story - and the superior economic clout of having American heroes to British ones. *Saving Private Ryan* and the Spielberg backed television *Epic Band of Brothers* again take the stance that World War II (WWII) was an American story. Commentators may have criticised *Braveheart* for its inaccuracies, but others realised it was just a film, and to quote Michael Fry on the ‘ludicrous’ history of *Braveheart*: ‘I might as well have criticised *The Sound of Music* for inadequate analysis of the Anschluss.’⁶¹

Ironically the spark for the film’s screenplay came from the spurious link of the name of the screenwriter with Wallace. The story goes that Randall Wallace saw a statue of William Wallace at Edinburgh castle, and because they shared the same name Randall dug a bit more into the story as had a vague knowledge he had Scottish or Irish ancestors: ‘although unable to trace the exact link, Randall is convinced he is descended from his clan’s most famous son. “I don’t know in fact”

⁵⁹ F. Watson, ‘Braveheart: More than just Pulp Fiction?’ in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture*, (Shaftesbury, 1998), pp.129-140

⁶⁰ E. Hague, ‘Scotland on Film: Attitudes and Opinions about Braveheart’ in *Etudes Ecosaises Visual Arts in Scotland*, no. 6, (1999-2000), pp.75-89, p.78

⁶¹ M. Fry, ‘The Stigma Scots History has to Bear’, *The Herald*, 19 Feb 1997

he says, "but in spirit I am. And sprit is greater than fact".⁶² This is a theme which will recur in the survey findings discussed in chapters six and seven.

Braveheart did have an effect on the material enactment of Scottishness both at home and abroad. In the US, there was a noticeable increase in the number of games attendees dressing in the manner of the film, and in particular adopting the blue face paint sported by Mel Gibson in the movie, although the historical accuracy of this was 'curiously undiscussed' at these events.⁶³ As we shall see in chapter six, this presentation of Scottishness is now in common use to market commodities, in this particular instance a pipe band, to the world as Scottish. This new, Celtic, presentation was replicated within Scotland. The annual Bannockburn nationalists rally in 1996 saw a marked move from "traditional" Highland dress to the rough plaids favoured in *Braveheart*. It has been suggested that wearers may have been doing this because they felt that such dress was less stereotypical and also more authentic. Thus film is again seen as authenticating and legitimising certain portrayals of Scotland. However, the plaid style of dress still fits in with the overall association of tartan and warlike Highlanders with Scotland.⁶⁴

Although *Trainspotting* did not have the international box office impact it did in the UK, the next film from the same stable of writer, director and producer John Hodge, Andrew MacDonald and Danny Boyle, *A Life Less Ordinary*, released in October 1997, saw the story of a Scottish cleaner in a large American corporation who kidnaps the boss's daughter when he is replaced by a robot. In this American funded film, clichés about Scotland are still in evidence. Not only does the cleaner, Robert, wear a kilt to his wedding, he and his bride ride off into an animated sunset of the romantic Scottish castle perched in a misty glen. So, the romantic Highland image is still being used, even by film makers today, and such images are backed up by the high profile of Madonna's Highland Wedding at Skibo. When one of the great chameleons and indeed icons of pop culture jumps on the *Braveheart* bandwagon, people take notice.

The debate over film and history is one with a long pedigree. As Robert A.

⁶² A. Smart, 'Wallace Scotland's Braveheart', *Big Issue*, special publication, (1996), p.7

⁶³ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p. 231,

⁶⁴ T. Edensor, 'Reading Braveheart: representing and contesting Scottish identity', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 21, (Autumn, 1997), pp.135-158, p.149

Rosenstone has commented 'the history that finally appears on the screen can never fully satisfy the historian as historian'.⁶⁵ And he should know, having authored two works which have been made into films, most notably *Reds* (1982). Indeed, although Rosenstone retained a hand in the film-making process of his works, he could not stop the devices employed by the directors to forward the narrative, even when they created completely fictional events. For example in *Reds*, having the film's main character (the historical subject), making a train journey from France to Petrograd that would have been impossible in the historical period of the film, 1917. As we can see from the terminology used in the above paragraph, film differs from history in its determination to tell a story, and a linear one at that. Indeed, this is one of the two sides of the main arguments over the merits of history in film, as characterised by Ian Jarvie, who argues that film can never replicate the complexity of what he regards as 'real' history, the debate between historians of all the possible outcomes from the evidence.⁶⁶ On the other side of the conflict are historians such as R. J. Raack, who argue that films serve a purpose in that they *can* represent vast amounts of information in a non-linear and real world way through the very flexibility of the medium.⁶⁷ Film has always been a medium for swaying public opinion, and has often been used knowingly so, particularly in the early years of cinema. *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Wilson* (1944) are both early examples of this phenomena in relation to American history. Indeed, it was hoped that *Wilson* which presented the League of Nations in a favourable light, would encourage Americans to embrace the idea of a United Nations.⁶⁸ Of course film has also been of historical interest in itself when we examine the context in which it was made, a famous example of this being the Cold War views evident in Stanley Kubrick's 1964 *Dr Strangelove*.⁶⁹

Add to this the larger philosophical question:

⁶⁵ R. A. Rosenstone, 'History in images/history in words: Reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, no. 5, (1998), pp.1173-1185, reproduced by *Screening the Past* at <http://www.Latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/reruns/rr0499/rrrr6a.htm> visited 12 January 1999

⁶⁶ Rosenstone referencing I. C. Jarvie, 'Seeing through Movies', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, no. 4, (1978), pp.374-397

⁶⁷ R. J. Raack 'Historiography as Cinematography: A Prolegomenon to Film Work for Historians', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 18 (1983), pp.411-438

⁶⁸ P. C. Rollins (ed), *Hollywood as Historian: American film in a cultural context*, (Kentucky, 1983), p.2

⁶⁹ Rollins, *Hollywood as Historian*, p.4

Surely, I am not the only one to wonder if ... our history – scholarly, scientific, measured – fulfils the need for that larger History, that web of connections to the past that holds a culture together, that tells us not only where we have been, but also suggests where we are going.⁷⁰

and we begin to see the minefield that awaits the historian working in the medium of film. Although some films are held up as examples of “good” historical filmmaking, for example, Sergei Eisenstein’s *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), or Jill Godmilow’s documentary *Far from Poland* (1985)⁷¹, these films have simply not had the impact in terms of mass viewing figures which the historical epics of the big studios have. Perhaps the best description I have come across of the role of cinema regarding history, is that it ‘incarnates and transubstantiates’.⁷² Interestingly, in the same article, the author also claims that ‘Myth transubstantiates’ thereby effectively equating cinema and myth with regard to history.

However, we should not dismiss films purely because of their inaccuracies. The simple fact is that more people learn their “history” from films than they do in the education system. Prior to the release of *Schindler’s List*, four out of five American children had never heard of Auschwitz. A survey of Scottish school children showed that they thought that John F. Kennedy led the allies in WWII and that D-Day was the German invasion of Britain.⁷³ The relevance of ‘historiophoty’, ‘the creation of valid or useful historical narrative in film’⁷⁴ has long been debated. With the recent spate of historical films, for example, *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *YEARS Amistad* (1997), *U571* (2000), *The Patriot* (2000) and *Pearl Harbour* (2001) it is a subject which is once again in the public eye. An article in *The Sunday Times* of 4 June 2000 titled ‘Lies, Damned Lies and Hollywood’ reviewed the current state of affairs and

⁷⁰ Rosenstone, ‘History in Images’, Rosenstone’s own use of caps in second history

⁷¹ Both cited by Rosentone – *Battleship Potemkin* because it manages to convey a history in which the group is vital, rather than being character-led, and *Far from Poland* because it uses many different types of representation to illustrate the many levels of the narrative thread of the documentary

⁷² C. Eipper, ‘The “Big Fella” on the big screen, cinema, charisma myth and history’, *Screening the Past* at

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1199/cefr8b.htm> visited 12 January 1999

⁷³ Figures quoted in J. Harlow and N. Hellen, ‘Lies, Damned Lies and Hollywood’, *The Sunday Times, Focus*, 4 June 2000, p.113 – American children from a Gallup poll, Scottish children from a survey in Summer 1999

⁷⁴ Ar. Lindley, ‘The ahistoricism of medieval film’, *Screening the Past*, at

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fir598/Alfr3a.htm> visited 29 May 1998

concluded:

We [America] are the top nation and we need history to explain how we got there. If that means stealing your history and heroes to do it, then Hollywood will think it's a small price to pay for success at the Box Office. ... Your Lord Puttnam was right: it's up to you guys to make your history more interesting than our version of your history. Otherwise you are going to lose – forever.⁷⁵

Tim Edensor has identified four ways in which films link tourism and heritage:

1. tourism marketing campaigns use film images
2. films stimulate knowledge of other places e.g. the surge of interest in Australia post *Crocodile Dundee*
3. the emotional charge of this and
4. the use in heritage of audio-visual presentation⁷⁶

Film has also had an impact in a commercial sense on Scotland itself. Visitor numbers in the wake of the *Braveheart/Rob Roy* double-whammy soared, for example, numbers visiting the Wallace monument in 1994 pre the “kilt-movies” was 55,000; the year of the film release, 1995, saw this increase to 80,000, and in 1996, 150,000 visitors went to the monument.⁷⁷ It should be noted that as 1996 was also the 250th anniversary of Culloden, and this could have contributed to generally increased visitor numbers at Scottish historical monuments, however, other research has noted this effect in relation to film releases. Studies of movie-induced tourism show that such increases last at least four years after the release of a major films, and that in the case of Devils Tower in the US over 20% of visitors knew of the Tower from their viewing of *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, a movie released 12 years prior to the research. Indeed, in the immediate aftermath of the release of *Close Encounters*, Devils Tower experienced a 74% increase in visitor numbers.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ S. Bearlstrom, author of *Hollywood and History*, quoted in Harlow and Hellen, ‘Lies, Damned Lies and Hollywood’, p.113

⁷⁶ Edensor, ‘Reading Braveheart’ p.142

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.145. In terms of US visitors alone, the 6 months following the release of the film in the States saw a four-fold increase in visitors. ‘Reel Films: Braveheart’, *Radio 4*, 20 October 2001, 3.30pm

⁷⁸ R. Riley, D. Baker and C. S. Van Doren, ‘Movie Induced Tourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 25, no. 4, (1998), pp.919-935, p.923 and p.927 citing C. Workman, J. Zeiger and

Subsequent visitor numbers decreased but never to a level found before the release of the movie. This kind of effect has been replicated by locations for television series, for example Castle Howard, location of *Brideshead Revisited* saw a 30% increase.⁷⁹

Television

Film is not the only medium which has a far reaching visual impact. Another medium with a growing global audience is television. Several series have become popular abroad, for example *Dr Finlay's Casebook* of the 1970s, and more recently, *Hamish Macbeth*, which is particularly fondly regarded by expatriate communities, for example in New Zealand, where the scenery is an aspect of this series which is particularly identified with its Scottishness.⁸⁰ Indeed, in 1997 *Hamish Macbeth* was the fifth most popular programme on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC).⁸¹ This trend for interest in "Scottishness" continued into the mid year results for 1997 which showed the Edinburgh Military Tattoo as the tenth most popular programme in the preceding 6 months, and it crops up again as the sixth most popular programme in the half year 1 July to 30 December 2000, having risen from a viewership of 987,000 in to 1,276,000. In the same period *The Bill* rated at number two then number four (the top two places in the second poll being taken by the Sydney Paralympics bookend ceremonies), dipped from 1,475,000 to 1,406,000, indicating an increased interest in the Tattoo and not just an increased overall viewership. Interestingly, this second half of 1997 poll also showed that *Ballykissangel* was at number six in the half year results - another whimsical television series, this time based in Ireland.⁸² However, whilst *Ballykissangel* continues to hover at number seven in the most popular metropolitan programme chart for the year 2001 on ABC, number one on the chart is *Monarch of the Glen*. *Monarch* was also in second place on the charts during 1999-2000 in both

L. Caneday, '1990 Analysis of Visitation: report to the Devils Tower Tourism Association', (Oklahoma, 1990)

⁷⁹ Riley et al., *Movie Induced Tourism*, p.923. Areas tie themselves in with TV series - for example, Bedonoch and Strathspey is currently marketing itself as 'Monarch Country'.

⁸⁰ Correspondence with both P/1/AUS (City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band) and P/7/NZ, the New Zealand Gaidhealtachd Summer School at Whangarei Heads, October 1997

⁸¹ Australian Broadcasting Corporation, similar to the BBC in that it does not carry advertising. Other main Australian channels are Nine, Seven, Ten and the much smaller SBS

⁸² Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Annual Report 1996-1997*, p.26, <http://abc.net.au/corp/ar97/ar97.pdf> downloaded 29 July 2002

metropolitan and regional analysis.⁸³ In New Zealand *Monarch* has been described as a 'runaway success'⁸⁴, and in the US, where it is broadcast on BBC America, whole days have been devoted to *Monarch of the Glen* marathons.⁸⁵

Monarch has also been popular at home, with an audience share of 30% in Scotland and 27% of the whole network for series two, and the highest rated drama for 2000⁸⁶, with series five currently in pre-production, and with exports to countries as diverse as Iceland and the USA. Other Scottish based BBC television drama series currently preparing for transmission in Winter 2002 include *Rockface*, about a Highlands mountain rescue team, and *2000 Acres of Skye* about the fictional island of Ronansay⁸⁷, as well as the new Scottish soap *River City*.

Scottish Television (STV) is also a successful exporter of "Scottish" drama. The long-running back catalogue of Glasgow based drama *Taggart*, first broadcast in 1983, has recently been licensed to Hallmark Entertainment for international broadcast, expanding the list of 40 countries the series is already sold to. They have also had recent success with the dramatisation of Ian Rankin's *Rebus* novels starring John Hannah. However, neither of these seem as popular abroad as the more "twee" confectionary of *Monarch* and *Hamish MacBeth*. *Rebus* manages to get number 11 in the second half of the year 2000 on ABC's metropolitan figures, but is still nearly 200,000 down on *Monarch's* figures.⁸⁸ It is notable that both of these detective dramas are city based, whilst the more popular series are those based in the Highlands. It is difficult to think of a Lowland based drama of any equivalent success.

The zeitgeist of the new millennium has sparked Scotland to look at herself and her

⁸³ Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Annual Report 2002*, television section, p.59 <http://abc.net.au/corp/ar01/tv-nmedia-pp58-75.pdf> and also Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, section 1, p.41 <http://abc.net.au/corp/ar00/section1.pdf> both downloaded on 29 July 2002

⁸⁴ TV New Zealand, *Annual Report 2001*, http://images.tvnz.co.nz/tvz/pdf/tvz_annual_report_2001.pdf p.6, downloaded 30 July 2002

⁸⁵ http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/entertainment/monarch/glenbogle_bugle/knowall.shtml visited 17 September 2002

⁸⁶ http://www.bbcamerica.com/genre/drama_mysteries/monarch_of_the_glen/monarch_of_the_glen.jsp downloaded 17 September 2002

⁸⁷ BBC Scotland, *Annual Review 2001-2002, Television* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/aboutus/review/site/television/1.shtml> downloaded on 29 July 2002

⁸⁸ Scottish Television, *Drama*, <http://www.scottishtv.co.uk/drama/> downloaded on 29 July 2002 and Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Annual Report 2002*, television section, p.59

identity. This has manifested itself in the BBC2 serial *In Search of Scotland* or STV's more light-hearted *Scottish Legends*, and the numerous serialisations of our history such as Michael Fry's history in *The Herald*, *Scotland's Story* or *Scotland on Sunday's 'The Story of a Nation'*. Scotland is not alone in this, as other European countries have also used the turn of the millennium as a reason for reappraisal. For example in The Netherlands, the TV documentary *Herinneringen aan Nederland* attempted to capture a snapshot of Dutch identity by interviewing present day inhabitants of Heiligerlee, a village which was the site of a victory against the Spanish, and as such, seen by historians as the birthplace of Dutch national identity. France had its *lieux de memoire*, launched by the French minister of Culture, and continued by the historian Pierre Nora.⁸⁹ Canada also produced a popular television history of the nation at the turn of the millennium, and New Zealand is currently preparing a history of the nation for transmission.⁹⁰

It should be noted that television can have a major impact on events. On a basic level this may be transmitting information in a way which gives it more immediacy and impact, for example the Tiananmen Square incident or the first Moon landing. These though were both factual incidents. A good example of a fictional television show having an impact on the wider world is when the first Space Shuttle, originally supposed to be named *Constitution* was actually named *Enterprise* after fans of the television sci-fi series *Star Trek* wrote over 400,000 letters to the White House demanding the name change.⁹¹ This shows that even fictional television can have a large enough impact on public perceptions to move them to change events.

Television content can also of course be deliberately manipulated to produce a desired effect. Countries are not above manipulating their history through the media, for example, Turkey is promoting a Turkish Muslim identity to the former

⁸⁹ T. Elsaesser, "One train may be hiding another': private history, memory and national identity', originally published in J.Deleu et al. (eds), *The Low Countries: arts and society in Flanders and the Netherlands - a yearbook, 1997-1997* and reproduced at <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/reruns/rr0499/terr6b.htm> visited 16 April 1999

⁹⁰ The History Group of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage is preparing the outlines for *Frontier of Dreams* a 13-episode history of New Zealand to go out on Television One in 2004. <http://www.mch.govt.nz/History/project/tv-history.html> visited 16th September 2002. Also see chapter 8 for more information on the History Group's activities

⁹¹ Ironically *Enterprise* was a pilot craft and never actually flew in space. Since 1985 it has been the property of the Smithsonian Institution. Information from <http://www-pao.ksc.nasa.gov/kscpao/shuttle/resources/orbiters/enterprise.html> and <http://www.enterprisemission.com/tran4.html> visited 4 October 2002

soviet states such as Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.⁹² Finland, which has had to “change” its identity on several occasions during the twentieth century due to its international relations with Germany and the USSR, also used the media, and in particular the print media, to do so.⁹³ Price makes a point of highlighting the fact that Benedict Anderson’s views on national identity are in many ways based upon the era of print and Empire, not television and globalisation.⁹⁴ Indeed, Chris Barker, utilising Anthony Giddens’ idea of identity projects, in which identity is always built upon a trajectory for a hoped for future, states that: ‘...the globalisation of television has provided a proliferating resource for both the deconstruction and reconstruction of cultural identities. That is, television has become a leading resource for the construction of identity projects’.⁹⁵

Fictories

Although film and television are especially important in that they are visual media, and thus important in terms of perceptive persuasiveness, literary representations of Scotland and her history and identity are still extremely popular. One line of argument is that before the rise of academic history, the *only* history was ‘fictory’, that is, fictional history, where ‘there was no clear distinction between what was said to have happened and what had actually happened’, of the sort used to justify lines of Kings and Emperors, which is rife in Scottish history, and is indeed rife still in a literary sense with authors such as Diana Gabaldon.⁹⁶ Indeed, Gabaldon’s fictional series begun in *Cross Stitch* (titled *Outlander* in the US) has proved incredibly popular. These fictories have historical value only in that they give us information about the time and context in which they were written. ‘Faction’, that is, work based on historical fact, as characterised by Sir Walter Scott and Nigel Tranter in Scottish terms, and authors such as Tolstoy and Alexander Pushkin in the wider world, has certainly had a huge impact in spreading well researched Scottish history, if somewhat embellished, to a mass audience. Indeed, it is this embellishment, this imagination for which the audience has an ‘atavistic craving’,

⁹² M. E. Price, *Television, the Public Sphere and National Identity*, (Oxford, 1995), p.50

⁹³ H. Luostarinen, “‘The Quiet Finn’ National Stereotypes, politics and the media in a small country’, *Scottish Affairs*, no. 20, (1997), pp.116-132

⁹⁴ Price, *Television, the Public Sphere and National Identity*, p.48

⁹⁵ C. Barker, *Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities*, (Buckingham and Philadelphia, 1999)

⁹⁶ ‘Fictory or Faction’, *History Today*, Issue 49, no.9, available on-line at http://www.historytoday.com/article/article.cfm?article_id=1556 (no author named)

and which the new media like television and film have been able to fulfil.⁹⁷

Academics are increasingly producing historical novels, for example Umberto Eco and *The Name of the Rose*. Wilson notes that it is important to understand that popularising and fictionalising are two different things. He cites Walter Scott as someone whose Scottish novels were all the better for his historical knowledge rather than his novels set elsewhere, and in comparison to the kind of fiction practised by the Gothic novelists which had little regard for historical fact. In the increasing democratisation of culture by the mass media, Wilson holds that historical novelists are allies in encouraging a fascination with history as a subject.⁹⁸ Whether historians can come to consider the commercial agencies of heritage and identity as allies is another matter.

Tourism

One of the largest manipulators of Scottish identity in the twentieth century has to be the Scottish Tourist Board, now known as VisitScotland. Films and television have provided the impetus for people to be interested in the history of Scotland, but the vision they get when they actually come here is to a large extent controlled by VisitScotland and its contemporaries such as Scotland the Brand and Scottish Enterprise, and it is this conscious manipulation of Scottish history for the sake of identity which is an important issue to address. As McCrone et al. remark 'the Scottish Tourist Board is in many ways the central nervous system of the Scottish heritage industry'⁹⁹.

As we saw in chapter four, tourism became a growth industry in Scotland during the nineteenth century. Graeme Morton has highlighted the move from history to heritage in this period by using the case of perceptions of William Wallace:

It was in the nineteenth century that the actual metamorphosis of "history" into "heritage" took over the Wallace story. It was then that we discover the ease with which conflicting and contradictory histories can coexist through "heritage". This is a process of advancing the consumption of an "accepted

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ D. Wilson, 'Stronger than Fact?', *History Today*, Vol 49, no.1, (January 1999), p.44 available at <http://www.historytoday.com/index.cfm?articleid=13854> downloaded 29 August 2002

⁹⁹ D. McCrone, A. Morris, R. Kiely, *Scotland - the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.77

story".¹⁰⁰

However, by the beginnings of the twentieth century the interest in romanticism which had fuelled so much of Scotland's early, and elite, tourism was on the wane, particularly in the aftermath of the First World War, when cosmopolitan cities and modern art became the main cultural focus. The number of "literary" tourists declined, with the kailyard school lasting the longest with tourists still visiting sites they had identified into the 1940s. However, as the Golds point out, 'Twentieth-century writers ... have all used identifiable regional settings for their fiction, but none has resurrected literary tourism as a leading preoccupation *unless* their works were also adapted for radio and later the cinema and television'.¹⁰¹ The broadcast of *Dr Finlay's Casebook* in the 1960s enabled Callander, the location of filming, to style itself as Tannochbrae, the fictional setting for the books¹⁰², much as Pennan is now seen as the embodiment of Local Hero.¹⁰³

Although there is no record of the formal organisation of the "Come to Scotland Association", it is known to have been in existence prior to 1930.¹⁰⁴ In December 1945, the Scottish Tourist Board was formed with the following remit:

- 1 To collect statistics and other data
- 2 The promotion of new and the modification of existing legislation, as it affects the tourism industry
- 3 The co-ordination of the industry
- 4 Assisting the industry in overseas representation and publicity
- 5 The improvement of travel facilities

¹⁰⁰ G. Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: the heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth Century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXVII, 2, no. 204, (October, 1998), pp.224-251, quotation page 230

¹⁰¹ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.119 (italics authors' own emphasis)

¹⁰² B. James 'Dr Finlay, I presume', *Radio Times*, 27 February 1993, pp.35-36, cited by Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.120

¹⁰³ The 'phone box at Pennan featured in Local Hero now needs a car park to support the number of visitors to the village, so TV and cinema shapes the world around us. D. Nicholson, 'Images of Reality', *Geographical Magazine*, no. 63, (April, 1991), pp.28-32, and cited in Hague, 'Scotland on Film'. As Hague also points out, this is reflected in the Mel Gibson-alike statue of Wallace at the Wallace Monument in Stirling, and, as we shall see in chapter eight, this is a factor remarked upon by those surveyed.

¹⁰⁴ when it was replaced by the "Scottish Tourist Development Association", which acted as an agent for the "Travel Association of Great Britain and Ireland".

6 Representation of Great Britain's tourism industry with the other countries¹⁰⁵

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the STB faced difficulties with funding and representation on legislative bodies. In 1953, the idea of "Welcome" Signs at Scotland's border was rejected as being too 'low class' for Scotland.¹⁰⁶ In 1961, perhaps indicative in a sea-change in perceptions of Scotland abroad following the film hey-day of the 1950s, the STB reported that there was 'overwhelming evidence that visitors from the USA and Canada "were tired of publicity concerning Hogmanay and Haggis and a new approach was necessary"'.¹⁰⁷ In 1963, the first television promotion of Scotland as a holiday destination was broadcast in a one hour programme on the BBC.¹⁰⁸ It is also in this year that a "National Tourist Plan for Scotland" was proposed, which would concentrate on the natural physical beauty of Scotland. It was not until 1984 that the STB gained the power to market Scotland overseas itself, instead of having to go through the greater British Tourist Authority, and for the first time the STB's main guide was translated into six languages and distributed overseas, with the emphasis being on markets from North America, Australia, Northern Europe and Japan.¹⁰⁹ By 1990, it can be seen that interest in Scotland was starting to pick up, when *Good Morning America* was broadcast live for two days from Princes Street Gardens in Edinburgh, to an audience of 40 million people.¹¹⁰

It is not only the Scottish Tourist Board, now known as VisitScotland which has a role in shaping perceptions of Scotland. Scottish Natural Heritage and the National Trust for Scotland are just two of the organisations which manage and maintain Scotland's heritage. Indeed, Roger Wheeler, the recently appointed head of the National Trust for Scotland sees the role of the NTS as 'trying to maintain some of the wonderful heritage which is the historical backbone of Scotland'.¹¹¹ The importance of these agencies will be assessed in chapter eight. Whilst work has been done from a sociological standpoint of the "branding" of Scotland, most

¹⁰⁵ G. Adams and B. Hay, 'History and Development of the Scottish Tourist Board', (paper at the 'Tourism: the State of the Art Conference', 11 July 1994, Scottish Hotel School, University of Strathclyde), p.6

¹⁰⁶ Adams and Hay, *Scottish Tourist Board*, p.8

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.9

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.15-16

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.17

notably by McCrone, Morris and Kiely in *Scotland – the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, the definition of heritage adopted and the subsequent fieldwork structure, whilst useful, tell us little about global as opposed to Scottish perceptions of Scotland's history and identity.¹¹²

Heritage

Heritage, the commercial presentation of history, is not something peculiar to Scotland or indeed Britain. David Lowenthal highlights the analogy that in Australia the heritage quest is a secular religion. This ties in with the findings of Paul Basu that the quest for personal heritage through genealogy is a spiritual pilgrimage rather than merely a tourist experience.

The attraction of heritage sites is that of "living history", even though chapter two showed that this is really not possible. Specific historical facets are pulled together to present a homogenous heritage identity.

'This does not mean that the owners and managers of heritage sites have not consulted historical sources (upon which they base their presentations) but that their main aim in doing so is to find the elements with which to tell an exciting story.'¹¹³

Palmer cites David Starkey's (1998) television series on Henry VIII as a prime example of how history can be linked with modern events to provide an enthralling historical analysis. Indeed, the burgeoning interest in history on television is reflected in the 2002 launch of UK History, a new free-to-air digital channel devoted to the subject.

An aspect which will be discussed further in chapter eight is the continued blurring of the lines between "academic" and "popular" history - 'lucrative lecture tours, glossy coffee-table books and television appearances are eagerly-sought perks

¹¹¹ Roger Wheeler, Chairman of the National Trust for Scotland, in an interview with J. Cunningham in *The Herald*, 23 May 2002

¹¹² McCrone et al., *The Making of Scotland*, defined heritage within a very formalised structural framework. Their fieldwork was based on interviews with 97 life members of the National Trust for Scotland.

¹¹³ C. Palmer, 'Tourism and the symbols of identity', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 20 (1999), pp.313-321, p.318

within the profession, which suggests that the rigid division between “scholars” and “popularisers” is breaking down¹¹⁴, although whether this is due to the personal desire of the historians involved regarding fame and monetary reward or some greater purpose of educating the nation (or indeed a combination of the two) is not discussed. Pittock has suggested that History is ‘produced and consumed’ on three levels; professional, popular and socio-cultural,¹¹⁵ and as the commercialisation of culture blurs these demarcations, historians are taking on a role which transcends traditional boundaries.

What is implied therefore is that better history would mean better heritage, and that history must be prepared to enter the commercial arena if it wishes to have an influence in how the nation’s identity is presented.¹¹⁶

As a key component of Scotland’s tourism industry, heritage centres increasingly need to have an economic impact, to be viable and generate wealth. Competitiveness and the development of a marketing strategy are now notions with which they have to be familiar. As a result, the customers-cum-audience targeted are crucial to the choice of topics tackled and displays created.¹¹⁷

Indeed, ‘history like heritage has become less and less synonymous with professional historians and the realm of books. This is reflected in the shift away from narrow scholarly appreciation towards history as a form of entertainment, as “infotainment”.’¹¹⁸ With this has come the criticism that media and heritage presentations are talking the imagination out of history. Presenting an “experience” on a plate for visitors means they do not use their imagination, they readily accept the image they are fed, and in this way new heritage experiences are very like films.¹¹⁹ It has been recognised for some time that heritage is a commercialisation of

¹¹⁴ D. Wilson, ‘Stronger than Fact?’, *History Today*, Vol 49, no.1, (January, 1999), p.44

¹¹⁵ M. G. H. Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, (Basingstoke, 2001), p.1

¹¹⁶ Note the irony that only seven years earlier, Starkey was castigating media studies and the new media in D. Starkey, ‘Chasing Shadows’, *The Sunday Times*, 2 July 1995. He claimed that Plato foresaw the media and its impact on history. ‘for Plato ... proposed to ban poets writers and perhaps even artists from his ideal republic. The reason was that their artful representation of reality confused the real work with that of illusion.’

¹¹⁷ L. Gourievidis, ‘Heritage Centres’, in M. Lynch (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, (Oxford, 2001), pp.289-90

¹¹⁸ McCrone et al., *The Making of Scotland*, p.8

¹¹⁹ Edensor, ‘Reading Braveheart’ p.143 The idea that tourists are shallow and satisfied by entertainment is one also proposed by Boorstin and Hewison. Urry and Erik Cohen have

culture. Hewison, holds that the 'heritage industry' has hijacked a new popular consciousness of our collective history, and as such differing aspects of the heritage industry are in competition to supply these customers.¹²⁰

Authenticity is an important factor in the heritage experience. People want authenticity, but this is not always possible for a variety of reasons, such as the frailty of original objects, or the ecological sensitivity of original sites. Furthermore there is always the problem of knowing exactly where something happened. The debate over the site of the Battle of Stirling Bridge is well known, but new research suggests that the delineation of the battle site at Culloden, a common site for genealogical pilgrims, could be wrongly placed. Whilst the National Trust holds that dykes used in the battle have been reconstructed on their original sites, they admit that incomplete historical sources often inspire guesswork. The use of modern technology suggests that areas of the battle site are up to 80 meters out of position.¹²¹ However, whilst this is a refining of known historical fact, to the question: "is this something which will alter the heritage experience of Culloden as a whole?", the answer must be "no". 'Authenticity is conferred by interpretation, not the object per se'.¹²²

This is also applicable in the search for personal heritage. Importantly the landscape holds meaning for visitors. Paul Basu followed two Australian sisters on their visit to Pabbay, an island which their ancestors had migrated from. Once there, they wanted to take something from this special site to memorialise their visit, and expressed a desire to take a plant, probably so a living piece of the place could grow with them somewhere else.¹²³ Due to Australian quarantine laws this was not possible, so pictures had to suffice, however, such sentiments are not restricted to Scots. Research has found that in Israeli, Maori and Apache culture, stories and

argued against this, stating that tourists understand staged tourism and sometimes seek it for that. Authenticity can not be objective, it is subjective, and it the perception of the consumer as to whether an experience is authentic. For a full discussion of this see G. Moscardo, 'Cultural and Heritage Tourism: the great debates' in B. Faulkner, G. Moscardo and E. Laws (eds), *Tourism in the 21st Century: Lessons from Experience*, (London, 2000), pp.3-17

¹²⁰ Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.141

¹²¹ 'Culloden Wrongly Marked on Maps', *Sunday Times*, September 1 2002, and *Two Men in a Trench* BBC2. At least this is more scientific than the fact that the Scottish Historical Society asked Uri Geller to fly over Scotland on 22 October 2002 to try to define the 1298 Battlesite at Falkirk, BBC Radio Scotland, 8 October 2002

¹²² McCrone et al., *The Making of Scotland*, p.7

histories which are grounded in a particular spot in the landscape acquire an authenticity.¹²⁴ Also, the physical evidence of, for example, a stone from a deserted house, aligns an individual's experience with the wider experience: 'meaning is individualised; culture becomes autobiography'.¹²⁵ This is an important aspect. Personal history is the driving force behind this kind of heritage experience, as opposed to the formalised expressions of the heritage industry.

Personal expressions of identity, of "being Scottish", are also increasing in popularity. Recent publications include Carl MacDougall's *Painting the Forth Bridge: A Search for Scottish Identity*, which retraces the footsteps of Edwin Muir's 1935 Scottish journey, Neal Ascherson's *Stone Voices: The Search for Scotland* and Tom Devine and Paddy Logue's *Being Scottish*.¹²⁶

Whilst historians have expressed concern at the commercialisation of our heritage: 'Scotland is in danger of becoming a national theme park for historical heritage, with heritage hijacked and repackaged for the instant consumer market at the expense of serious historical study', there has also been an admission, again by Devine, that 'There is so much myth and ignorance about the Scottish past that careful archive-based empiricism probably had to be the sine qua non of any mature development of the subject.'¹²⁷ Thus this myopic view of academic history as documentary analysis seems to have left the way clear for the heritage industry. Ironically the myths of Scotland's history that led to her academics embarking on a rigorous socio-economic approach has also meant that these very same myths are left to fester unchecked in the heritage arena. This unwillingness to engage with Scottish history on a general and popular basis is an aspect of Scotland's historians which has been emphasised elsewhere. James Hunter's review of Paul Hopkins *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* begins by stating that the second paragraph (a litany of primary sources used) is:

¹²³ <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/ancestral/ac-text.html> visited 16 August 2002

¹²⁴ <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/narratives/ac-text10.html> visited 16 August 2002

¹²⁵ E. M. Bruner and P. Gorfain, 'Dialogic narration and the paradoxes of Masada' in E. M. Bruner, *Text, play and story: the construction and reconstruction of self and society*, 2nd edn, (Illinois, 1988), p.73, cited by Basu, <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/narratives/ac-text04.html> visited 16 August 2002

¹²⁶ C. MacDougall, *Painting the Forth Bridge: A Search for Scottish Identity*, (London, 2001); T. M. Devine and P. Logue, (eds), *Being Scottish*, (Edinburgh, 2002); N. Ascherson, *Stone Voices: the search for Scotland* (London, 2002)

¹²⁷ Both quotations from E. King, 'The True Story of Braveheart', *The Herald*, 6 September 1997

meaningless gobbledygook ... and had Paul Hopkins wished to minimise both his sales and the impact of his findings, then he could scarcely have hit on a better device for so doing.he is an exemplar of an approach to the past – currently dominant ... among academics with an interest in Scotland’s history – which considers archival-based research to be virtually the beginning and end of scholarship. ... Should academic historians not have written into their job descriptions some responsibility to communicate clearly with the public who, after all, pay their wages? ... anyone simply wishing to get some idea of what the Massacre of Glencoe was about would do much better to turn to John Prebble’s thirty-year old account of that particular episode.¹²⁸

Whilst Hunter admits that Hopkins does bring out inaccuracies in Prebble, the accessibility is the key issue here. This is also an issue picked up elsewhere. Basu found little evidence of ‘folk memories’ of Clearance in his research, and instead his evidence was that most Highlanders use histories of the Clearances for their information – particularly Prebble. Bangor-Jones has stated ‘the accounts of historians such as John Prebble have become the new oral tradition’.¹²⁹ Other interviewees, notably a Helmsdale school teacher, highlighted the importance of Prebble and Ian Grimble’s *The Trial of Patrick Sellar* in communicating the history of the Clearances to her charges. Sellar was notorious in (unproven) tales as a factor in the Sutherland Clearances who told his men to burn down a house with it’s 90 year old inhabitant still in it.

The Clearances are a good example of how Scotland’s history is being “heritage-ised”,¹³⁰ and how perceptions of Scottish identity are shaped by perceptions of historic events. Hague and Ray have confirmed in correspondence that perceptions of the Clearances tend to be very black and white in their experience in the US. Landowners are castigated for forcing families to leave, and the notorious Patrick Sellar incident is seen as indicative of the treatment of those who were cleared. The

¹²⁸ J. Hunter ‘Review: Glencoe and the end of the Highland war’ in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 27, (1999), pp.105-107

¹²⁹ M. Bangor-Jones, ‘The incorporation of documentary evidence and other historical sources into preservational and management strategies’, in R Higley (ed), *Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland: management and preservation* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.40, quoted by Basu, <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/narratives/nl-text01.html> visited 16 August 2002

¹³⁰ The Clearances as a historical event will be used throughout this thesis to demonstrate differing approaches to Scotland’s history and identity, and particularly in chapter eight with reference to the Internet.

following extracts from an article in *Scots* magazine, which has over 70,000 readers worldwide,¹³¹ illustrates these perceptions:

Between 1785 and 1850 the Highlands and Islands of Scotland witnessed a brutal social upheaval in which tens of thousands of clansmen and their families were forcibly removed from their ancient homes and smallholdings to make way for large-scale sheep farming. The Highland Clearances were often conducted in a merciless, autocratic manner by the Clan Chiefs, the very people who were expected to be responsible for the protection of their kinsmen.

... despite the passage of time, the Clearances have left a legacy of great bitterness and anger ...

... the first extraordinary thing one notices about Dennis Macleod is that he is a man who harbours no bitterness, quite the contrary. Although in the early years of the nineteenth century his Macleod forbears were hunted out of the Strath of Kildonan ... his vision for the Highland Clearances Memorial speaks not of rancour or retribution, but of a noble ideal, an opportunity as he puts it "to embark upon a healing process, to put conflict behind us and go forward in friendship"¹³²

Now, whilst many modern Scots would probably wonder why someone should be bitter about something which did not actually happen to them, but to a relative 200 years ago, McLeod is not prepared to forget his past. He has plans in place for a 30 foot high bronze of kilt-clad father and son looking out to sea from Helmsdale, with the mother and infant daughter looking back to their home (which it could be argued is yet another stereotypically male vision of the Highlander), and a Clearances centre. McLeod goes on to comment that:

the Clearances represented the deliberate, systematic destruction of a culture. Homes were burned to the ground and taken apart stone by stone, their crops and their livestock were destroyed and families were forced to flee. After Culloden that was the ruthless policy which was pursued throughout the highlands. The clans were smashed, a way of life destroyed

... we expect that thousands of people will come to the centre every year and

¹³¹ <http://www.robert-de-bruce.com/advertising.htm> visited 20 December 2002

¹³² I. Gunn, 'The Clearances Memorial', *Scots: Celebrating our Scottish Heritage* (The Journal of the Scots Heritage Society) no. 17, August 2002, pp. 18-22

that hundreds of thousands more will visit through the Internet.

However, this represents a stereotypical view of the Clearances. Sutherland was by no means representative of all Clearance. Many “clearances” saw people moved to the coast to farm kelp, and this gave birth to crofting communities which did not exist before. Commercialism had existed on the Highland estates since the 1730s and in fact landlords were at one point anti-emigration as it got rid of their labour force – for example, consider the 1803 Passenger Vessel Act which deliberately raised the price of transatlantic passage beyond most Highlanders. Urban migration within Scotland was also a major factor. Once commercial kelp farming began to decline by the 1820s, then emigration became a factor, and by the 1840s famine exacerbated this.¹³³ Whilst there are some arguments which liken the Clearances to “ethnic cleansing”, others such as Michael Fry have gone so far as to say that the term Clearance is a misnomer and no such event took place. Fry has recently received an advance to write a new history of the period and his comments are already provoking a storm of protest in the letters pages of Scotland’s broadsheets. The views expressed by McLeod are also echoed within Scotland. Fergus Ewing, MSP for Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber (SNP) thinks the Scottish parliament should express its regret for the Clearances as other countries where ‘genocide and ethnic cleansing that has taken place, against the Indians in America and the Aborigines in Australia, was acknowledged long ago’.

Other in the Scottish Parliament favour the idea of a Clearances memorial for different reasons. Jamie Stone, MSP for Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross, (Lib Dem) has argued in favour of the museum and its situation on commercial grounds: ‘why not take these people up to Helmsdale? If they discover that their ancestors came from Ayrshire, let them go back down the road. In the meantime, let us get them north to ... boost the economy ...’¹³⁴

Again an episode in the nation’s history is being used on a commercial basis, whilst at the same time conferring identity. An alternative presentation of the Clearances will be discussed in chapter eight which will show how the Internet, whilst

¹³³ E. Cameron, ‘Clearances of the highlands and islands’, in M.Lynch (ed), *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, (Oxford, 2001), pp. 97-98

¹³⁴ Both quotes taken from Proceedings of the Scottish Parliament 27 September 2000 from <http://www.his.net/~rory/hlndclr.html> downloaded 16 August 2002

spreading the McLeod vision of the Clearances, can also present other historically valid information, and indeed can act as a repository, and online historical archive.

What is Scotland to Tourists?

Whilst the Shortbread tin image of Scotland is scorned by cultural commentators within Scotland, it is universally accepted abroad, and Market Research bears this out. For example, in 1994 to 1995 Travel and Tourism Research Ltd carried out a market study of the French and German markets for the then STB. Their findings that Scotland is considered a “Highland” nation should come as no surprise.¹³⁵

Interestingly the German survey also asked about reactions to the film *Highlander*. Whilst those who had seen the film welcomed references to it in the materials shown to them, there was an age barrier to older tourists who had not seen the film, and also those who did not like the film felt it would put them off coming to Scotland.¹³⁶ However, there was also a lack of recognition for some of the icons peddled as particularly Scottish – for example, in the French survey, the thistle was not seen as a national emblem and the inclusion of a Highland cow in imagery of castles was seen as bizarre, with again no realisation that these were particularly Scottish.¹³⁷ However, both countries expressed a preference for promotional materials featuring tartan. Whilst tartan was not always seen as being *exclusively* Scottish, as opposed to British or Irish or even just fashion, it was identified with Scotland.

VisitScotland

We have seen that history and national identity have become commodities, and the group which has had the largest impact on Scotland in these terms is VisitScotland, formerly known as the Scottish Tourist Board. Statistically, tourism is vital to Scotland’s economy. Current figures indicate that tourism brings in £2.5 billion annually, and is the fourth largest employer, paying the wages of more employees than the oil, gas and whisky industries altogether.¹³⁸ Furthermore, Scotland is more

¹³⁵ Travel and Tourism Research Limited, ‘France and Germany Market Studies 1994-1995 Stage 2: Qualitative Campaign Pre-testing research Report Winter 1994/5’ prepared for the Scottish Tourist Board, Quote from Paragraph 2.4 p.5

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.29

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.41-43

¹³⁸ ‘Scotland’s most important industry’, Media Office, <http://www.scotexchange.net/MediaOffice/media-numberone.htm> visited 11 July 2002

famous abroad for tourism than any other industry,¹³⁹ and the British Tourist Authority believes that 'one in five overseas visitors is influenced by cinema or television'.¹⁴⁰

Strategically, VisitScotland has identified key 'niche' markets on which to focus promotional activities, and these included golf, culture, genealogy and walking.¹⁴¹ Interestingly this echoes some of the earliest tourism niches used to attract visitors to Scotland. This element of the "hobbyist" tourist included not only the game sportsmen but also golfers. From the 1880s mountaineering also became a popular reason to visit Scotland, particularly in light of the growth in popularity of package tours introduced by Thomas Cook, and photography was another popular pastime.¹⁴²

Genealogy is seen as a particularly important area by VisitScotland. Also known as "Legacy" or "Roots" tourism, this is increasingly the subject of study in the commercial sciences due to the value to countries worldwide of this kind of visitor. Particularly in Scotland's case, this is because Scotland has some of the best records available for genealogical research, and, ironically, it is because many of these are available online, that Scotland is a popular destination for genealogy tourists. Another possible explanation for the popularity of Scotland with genealogists is that in the main the interest in genealogy comes from the original colonies, which are English speaking. Thus the common language of English means it is easier for modern genealogists to research Scottish roots, than, for example, Polish or German records, if the researcher does not have capabilities in that language. Indeed, VisitScotland acknowledges that the facilities for genealogical research in Scotland and online from Scottish sources are a major factor in encouraging people to

¹³⁹ G. Adams, 'The Pull of Cultural Assets', in J. M. Fladmark (ed) *Cultural Tourism* (London, 1994), pp. 113-122, p.114, cites 1994 McCann-Erickson Scotland, *Manufacturing in Scotland a report for CBI Scotland*. 45% of respondents associated Scotland with tourism compared to 26% with manufacturing.

¹⁴⁰ B. Prendreigh, 'Tourism chiefs locate their Potter of gold', *The Herald*, 15 November 2002, which also discusses how scenery used in the Harry Potter series of films is likely to bring tourists to the Lochaber area.

¹⁴¹ Scottish Tourist Board, *Corporate Plan, 2000/01 to 2002/03* available at <http://www.scotexchange.net>, visited 11 July 2002

¹⁴² In 1850 Scotland had 22 golf courses to England's two, and by 1888 this was at 164 to 31. An increase in interest in the game at the European level saw the number of Scotland's golf courses increase to 606 by 1902, although by that stage England finally surpassed Scotland in volume with 751 courses. Towns such as Nairn endeavoured to have their own course and use this as a promotional tool. Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, pp.104-109

investigate their Scottish roots rather than other origins they may have.¹⁴³ VisitScotland uses the Duncan Bruce estimation of 28 million Scots worldwide. As we have seen this number is somewhat dubious, but no other figure has been offered with any kind of authority, and this is one which continues to be used on “official” websites such as Ancestral Scotland.

A fifth of American visitors to Scotland stated ‘family roots and ancestry’ as the main reason they chose to holiday in Scotland, and 10% of those visitors used their trip to do some genealogical research. The General Register of Scotland found in 1999 that 40% of respondents preplanned a visit to New Register House as part of a Scottish holiday, and the private sector reflects this.¹⁴⁴ New hotel package deals in Edinburgh are including a pre-visit genealogical questionnaire leading to a three hour visit to New Register House to see documents relating to their forebears.¹⁴⁵ The British Tourist Authority and VisitScotland have identified two major overseas markets for genealogy, those of ‘US Seniors’ and ‘Australian White Collar Affluents’, and within these there are three categories of interest in genealogy, Amateur Enthusiasts, Scots Aficionados and Homecomers. Of particular interest to this research are Scots Aficionados, people whose interest is categorised as ‘Scotland and Scottish Culture’ rather than specific genealogy. This includes people who claim to be of Scottish descent because they have Scottish sounding surnames and people who attend Scottish activities held in other countries, for example Highland Games, but who do not actually know if they have any Scottish connection. While it is difficult to put a figure on the number of tourists to Scotland this may represent, it is significant that it is a recognised category of tourist. Importantly for the Scottish economy, all of these groups tend to be represented by slightly older (45 plus) and more affluent visitors.¹⁴⁶

Of English, Scottish, USA and German “visitors” to Scotland, ‘Beautiful scenery’ ranked as the number one attraction for all nationalities. The US visitors ranked

¹⁴³ VisitScotland, ‘Know your market: genealogy’

<http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/Niche/genealogy.asp> visited on 28 July 2002

These figures are identical to those found in Bruce, *Mark of the Scots*, Appendix H, p.280-281

¹⁴⁴ Figures from Table at <http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/Niche/Genealogy2.asp> visited 28 July 2002

¹⁴⁵ ‘Track Doon your Clan’, *The Times*, 7 September 2002, regarding Channings hotel in Edinburgh launching genealogy short breaks

¹⁴⁶ VisitScotland, ‘Know Your Market: Who takes genealogy holidays?’

<http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/Niche/genealogy4.asp> visited on 28 July 2002

interesting history and culture as the next most interesting feature, against the fourth placing in this category for English and Scottish visitors¹⁴⁷. The most popular tourist activities undertaken are visiting castles / monuments / churches etc., with overseas visitors ranking visiting museums / art galleries / heritage centres etc. their next most popular activity¹⁴⁸ and 25% of all overseas visitors are from the US. US visitors were more than twice as likely to visit Scotland as independent travellers rather than on an inclusive holiday.¹⁴⁹ There does not seem to be too much concern at the historic image peddled of Scotland:

... all history is selective and the physical artefacts of history are particularly selective. Sometimes our castles and stately homes seem to present a Scotland in which the only inhabitants were Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie, but the intelligent traveller can surely see through this façade.¹⁵⁰

However, it is dangerous to “assume” any such thing about the perceptions of people about Scotland, as will be shown in chapters six and seven.

Recent work by Paul Basu for his PhD in Anthropology at University College London cautions VisitScotland over its assumptions about the Genealogy tourist market in particular. Basu spent 1999 and 2000 based at the Highland Folk Museum in Kingussie and looked at how visitors to Scotland from the Scottish diaspora went about visiting sites of genealogical interest and their thoughts on their visit. His findings suggest that genealogical visitors to Scotland do not in many ways consider themselves to be ‘tourists’ or to be ‘on holiday’. Rather, they are making a spiritual pilgrimage to their Homeland, and categorising them as ‘tourists’ is demeaning to them. In a report to Moray, Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprise Basu suggests several steps which should be taken to develop genealogical and heritage tourism in Scotland. These include:

- Genealogy should not be an isolated niche.

¹⁴⁷ Table 8. Visitor’s Perceptions Tourism in Scotland 2000, published by VisitScotland 2001, <http://www.scotexchange.net> visited 10 July 2002

¹⁴⁸ Table 9. Activities Undertaken Tourism in Scotland 2000, published by VisitScotland 2001, <http://www.scotexchange.net> visited 10 July 2002

¹⁴⁹ Table 6. Reason for Visit (% trips) Know your market: Overseas Market – USA <http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/activityfactsheets-usa.htm> visited 10 July 2002

¹⁵⁰ Adams, ‘The Pull of Cultural Assets’, p.114

- Heritage does not just mean officially developed sites – more imaginative use of Scotland’s landscape is called for.
- Investing in oral history – and asking “roots” visitors to contribute.
- Produce good guides to historical information for each region and support local history groups.
- Professionalise heritage guiding
- Develop interactive Internet resources
- Encourage cultural links across the diaspora
- Support and encourage clan societies worldwide¹⁵¹

Importantly, many of the actions which Basu highlight are things which could be done using the new medium of the Internet, and they were also highlighted during the consultation period for the National Cultural Strategy. However, this has not yet translated into action, as we will see in chapter eight.

VisitScotland’s ‘Tourism Framework for Action’ for 2002:2005 highlights the same concepts. Scotland must brand itself, Scotland must homogenise its image. Furthermore, technology and use of the Internet is highlighted as an important part of this process. The combining of technology and culture is an obvious way to help brand and consolidate Scotland’s image.

Scotland enjoys a high level of international recognition as a country with a fascinating and distinctive history and culture, an outstanding natural environment. Our people are described positively by many visitors as welcoming.

...Scotland’s visitors are changing. They are likely to be affluent, active, well travelled and comfortable with using technology.¹⁵²

The study of “Country of Origin” (COO) effects on consumer is a very hot topic in the commercial sciences at the moment, and Scotland is no exception to this. The *Journal of Brand Management* recently devoted an entire issue to this topic, and it is currently the subject of research of several Scottish academics.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ P. Basu, ‘Genealogy and Heritage-Tourism in the Scottish Highlands and Islands’, a report for Moray, Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprise, pp.32-34

¹⁵² VisitScotland’s ‘Tourism Framework for Action’ for 2002:2005, p.3

¹⁵³ For example, Keith Dinnie is currently conducting research into Scotland’s Country of

Branding the Nation

This is the vital issue in an examination of modern Scottish cultural identity as perceived by the rest of the world. Scotland is no longer a national consciousness alone, it is a marketable brand image. Derek Reid when Chief Executive of the Scottish Tourist Board remarked that:

I know that some people are sentimental about Scotland and get upset if you call it a product, but it's not our job to be emotional. The fact is to market Scotland successfully we *must* view it as a product - in terms of competitive strengths and weaknesses the problems are just the same as they are for a car or a tin of beans.¹⁵⁴

Increased media coverage of Scotland has dramatically increased exposure and visitor numbers.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, it is the classic qualities which attract visitors - Issue 1 of *Signpost* in 1994, the 'digest of industry news from the STB', quoted statistics that showed: The number one attraction to Scotland was Scenery, a favourite with 86% overseas and 82% British visitors; Friendly people were praised by 74% overseas and 64% British tourists; Castles and historic buildings were praised by 73% of overseas visitors, whereas British visitors rated peace and quiet as an important factor.¹⁵⁶ - all factors reinforced by the *Tourism in Scotland 2000* statistics highlighted earlier in this chapter.

However, academics in the arts and social sciences lament the stereotypical Scotland tourists clamour for:

Origin image at Glasgow Caledonian University.

¹⁵⁴ D. Reid, 'A brand called Scotland', *Signpost*, issue 1, (1994), p.2

¹⁵⁵ Price Waterhouse estimated that in 1991/1992, the 342 press visits organised by the STB generated an 'advertising equivalence' of £6.6 million, *Signpost*. The STB appointed Lou Hammond Associates, the American PR company to spearhead the marketing push based around *Rob Roy*. The same company did *Crocodile Dundee* which meant that tourism from the US to Australia rose by at least 20%. 'Following Crocodile', *Sunday Times*, 30 April 1995 STB figures showed that the advertising equivalent to the STB of *Braveheart* movie articles and broadcasts was over £4 million between April 1995 and March 1996. E. Buie, 'Scotland seizes a starring role on the silver screen', *The Herald*, 26 August 1996. Graham Birse, Director of External Communications for STB pointed out that 'United International Pictures spent £25 million on an international marketing budget to promote Rob Roy. Our budget for international marketing is £4 million so it makes sense for us to use the momentum of large companies', A. Gray "Blockbuster showcase for the glens", *The Scotsman*, 10 January 2001

¹⁵⁶ Adams and Hay, *Scottish Tourist Board, Signpost, Appendix*

indeed it seems at times as if Scotland only exists as heritage: what singles it out for distinction is the trappings of its past while its modernity seems to make it little different from elsewhere ... if Scotland is heritage rich then it could be because it has a past but not a present or a future.¹⁵⁷

But whilst this is seen as a problem by social science academics, marketers do not seem as perturbed by the concept of “branding” the nation. Indeed, they hold branding has been going on for years, and point out that if the guise of terminology is used then socio-political studies have in fact been looking into that very concept. For example, education, conscription and even new languages, in the case of modern Hebrew and Indonesian have been instituted in an attempt to “brand” the nation¹⁵⁸, and these are all aspects which have been raised as methods of instituting “national” identity, or as aspects of heritage leading to the conservation of the conservative state.¹⁵⁹ Leading Brand expert Wally Olins states:

The nation that makes itself the most attractive wins the prizes - the others suffer. Scotland is OK. Although it is a small country, it has been around a long time; it has tartans, kilts, Scotch whisky, the Highlands, “Braveheart” and the Edinburgh Festival. Other countries of a similar size, say Slovakia or Slovenia, are not so fortunate. How many people know where they are or the significant differences between them?¹⁶⁰

Thus there is an inherent dichotomy between the opinions of social scientists and business academics over Scotland’s stereotypical identity. However, some academics do seem prepare to cross the line. The *Friends of Scotland* initiative has an advisory board comprised of a range of notable Scottish figures. A recent letter to *The Herald* newspaper suggested that soon ‘... we will begin to see the tangible results of having Friends around the world, promoting and selling a world-class product, Scotland.’¹⁶¹ The signatories of the letter were headed by Professor Tom Devine.

¹⁵⁷ McCrone et al., *The Making of Scotland*, p.4

¹⁵⁸ W. Olins, ‘Branding the nation - the historical context’, *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 9, no. 4-5, (2002), pp.241-248

¹⁵⁹ For example, Chris Harvie, , ‘Modern Scotland: Remembering the People’ in R. Mitchison (ed), *Why Scottish History Matters*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.77-87, p. 78 in particular

¹⁶⁰ Olins, ‘Branding the nation’, p.247

Scotland the Brand and "Project Galore"

Scotland the Brand is one of the organisations working with VisitScotland to maximise Scotland's image overseas - her "brand identity". They have carried out much research into perceptions of Scotland worldwide, with an eye to manipulating these perceptions to commercial advantage. 'In order to maximise commercial power, Scotland needs to stand for something clear, motivating and distinct in people's minds'¹⁶²

When Scotland the brand first launched its 'device' in 1997 (shown in Figure 3 below) there was predictably an outcry, which was discussed in an article in *Scottish Business Insider* in February 1998.¹⁶³ One of the criticisms levelled was the appearance of tartan, in the logo and doubts were expressed about how popular it would be. To date over 300 companies have adopted the device, and golfer Colin Montgomerie has been appointed an 'Ambassador' to promote Scotland worldwide. Regarding the concerns about the appearance of tartan, Raymond Stern of Scott Stern Associates who designed the device commented 'Whether we like being associated with shortbread tins or not, if you mention Scotland to someone abroad they will think of tartan ... the only thing people associate with Scotland is whisky and tartan ... I am not trying to sell Scotland in Scotland'.¹⁶⁴

VisitScotland adopted the old STB Thistle logo, and a quick comparison with other brand devices demonstrates that stereotyping is not common only to Scotland, but is a problem for many other countries. Just compare Scotland the Brand, England the Brand, Australia Made, or the New Zealand Way logos:



Figure 3. Branding the Nation

¹⁶¹ Professor T. Devine, K. Winser, S. Brock, D. Dowds, S. Rice, D. Taloyr, members of the Friends of Scotland Advisory Group, Letter to *The Herald*, 30 October 2002

¹⁶² <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/branding.htm> visited 10 July 2002

¹⁶³ B. Millar, 'A Divisive Device?', *Scottish Business Insider*, (1998), pp.6-10

¹⁶⁴ R. Stern '£3m for a new Scottish image ... tartan' quoted in *The Scotsman*, 20 October 1997

Commentators have noted that the English Tourist Board actively markets a certain kind of Englishness ' ... in which the country is caught in a time-warp and people comport themselves as a folk'.¹⁶⁵ Stereotypes in other countries were also created with an end product in mind, be these with political, (for example Finland), or commercial motives. Poland went through a very similar experience to the Walter Scottification of Scotland, with their author Mickiewicz. At the 2000 Hannoverian Fair Expo there was debate within Poland over their self-made presentation as a country of historical stereotypes such as weeping willows, vodka and Wieliczka's salt mine.¹⁶⁶ The image of the Australian "'bush" stereotype emerged 'roughly when Australians became conscious of selling products overseas'.¹⁶⁷ Ireland is a particularly pertinent example because of the similarities it has with Scotland, a major one being a vibrant diaspora.

Ireland isn't the only country in the world that trades on a sentimental remembrance-of-things-past. It simply markets it better than anyone else - because, thanks to the diaspora, it has a ready-made audience in Britain, America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia who want to believe that the mythic land of green still exists. So what if it bears nor relation to the country today. Sentimentality always sells.¹⁶⁸

Symbolic branding is not a new phenomenon by any means. Gordon Casely highlights the importance of identification amongst the early pilgrims and crusaders, which gave rise to recognisable symbols of identity. Early "tourism", that is, the representation of oneself whilst amongst a different ethnic group, prompted this change. In 1188 the heads of State of France, England and Flanders had agreed the "national colours" for their crusaders. Heraldry in particular is seeing a resurgence in the twenty-first century as being more meaningful than a simple illustrative logo, representing instead purpose, identity, decoration and importantly,

¹⁶⁵ R Samuel (ed), *Patriotism and the making and unmaking of British National Identity*, Vol. 1, *History and Politics* (London, 1989) p.iv cited in C. Palmer, 'Tourism and the symbols of identity', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 20, (1999), pp.313-321, quote p.315

¹⁶⁶ M. Zdybiewska, 'Book Review', (of McCrone et al., *Making of Scotland*), British Studies web page of the British Council in Poland, http://elt.britcounc.org.pl/i_rev2.htm visited 31 July 2002

¹⁶⁷ S. Carroll, "Heroes, Legends ... and harsh reality", *Education Age*, 21 March 2001 pp. 8-9

¹⁶⁸ D. Kennedy, "Where the grass is always greener", *The Sunday Times*, 10 November 1996

history.¹⁶⁹

Symbolic markers are not the only things associated with Scotland. The Project Galore Research of Scotland the Brand found that:

We are not seen as innovative. Yet this was not necessarily regarded as a drawback. Countries such as Japan and America believed they had lost a lot of their core values through the pursuit of technology and did not wish to see this happen to the Scots, whom they regard as trustworthy.¹⁷⁰

Scots were also seen as having integrity and spirit and being tenacious, although this last trait in particular was linked with the image of the stereotypical Highlander. Indeed, the research findings found that 'the perceptions [Walter] Scott instilled ... have remained strong, intact and, as confirmed by the findings of Galore, well entrenched.'¹⁷¹

The vital point here is that by appropriating stereotypical symbols of Scottishness, Scotland agencies are validating them. We have already seen in Hague's research at Highland games in the US that this is an acknowledged fact, and another of his interviewees points out that because people in the diaspora no longer know someone from Scotland personally as they would have done at peak migration, they rely on visual media for information.¹⁷² In chapter eight we will see that this idea of community on a local level, with personal links to information about Scotland from recent migrants is now being replicated and in some cases replaced on a worldwide scale by the Internet, and this is an important new factor in providing visual and informational cues as to Scottish identity.

VisitScotland and Scotland the Brand, together with other Scottish agencies, have joined together in the consultation on the "National Cultural Strategy" for Scotland, which aims to increase the visibility of Scotland's cultural identity to the wider

¹⁶⁹ G. Casely, 'Heraldry and Identity: From Knights to Corporate Branding' in J. Arnold, K. Davies, and S. Ditchfield, (eds), *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture*, (Shaftesbury, 1998), pp.179-192

¹⁷⁰ R. Griggs, 'A brand new Scotland', *The Sunday Times*, 16 May 1999

¹⁷¹ Scotland the Brand, Project Galore Research - Key Findings, quote p.10, available at http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/upload/key_findings.pdf 22 December 2002

¹⁷² Hague, 'Scotland on Film'

world. As we shall see in chapter eight, this strategy of branding the culture and identity of a nation for consumption is one other countries have already adopted, and the presentation of the history of these nations has been a vital part of this process. However, before we move onto this aspect of the research, there is one more modern media which it is vital to assess in any presentation of Scottish identity.

Impact of Mass Media relative to Traditional Methods of History Communication

The Internet, and multimedia, is quickly becoming the information repository of choice. In a recent article in *History Today*, the author pointed out that television, radio and the Internet far outstrip books when it comes to reaching an audience. Some of the figures quoted bear this out: The History Channel (available only to cable and satellite subscribers) and launched only four years ago, has an average audience of 30,000 per hour, whilst Anthony Beevor's best seller *Stalingrad* sold only 10,000 in hardback. In the US the History Channel has 56 million subscribers and is the fastest growing broadcaster in the cable and satellite field. The BBC's recent History Zone doubled the average Saturday night audience for BBC2.¹⁷³ Advances in digital technology allow for far more satisfying history presentations. Until recently history documentaries on television had tended to use archive footage, which obviously limited the available topic areas – perhaps one reason for the supposed skew of education towards the History of the Nazis as there is plenty of available footage there. This has also had an impact on university attendance. A recent article in *History Today* revealed that whilst undergraduate applications to study history have risen significantly in some areas, 'as in previous years, totalitarianism rules. The Nazis, followed by the Stalinists, are still the most popular areas of historical study'.¹⁷⁴ Can it just be coincidence that these are also the most recent historical movements for which we have a multimedia grounding? And consider that new techniques for colourising archive footage are being used to satisfy the hunger for "living history".

However, as the BBC's *Walking with Dinosaurs* showed, technological advances and Computer Generated Imagery (CGI) are now within the reach of historical documentaries. Indeed, a new slew of historical film epics have been released or are

¹⁷³ All figures quoted in H. Purcell, 'Broadcast History' in *History Today*, Vol. 49, no. 11, (November, 1999), pp.40-42

¹⁷⁴ R. Pearce, 'Undergraduate History 2001', *History Today*, Vol. 51, Issue 8, (2001), pp.54-57

in pre-production, with for example, *Gladiator* using CGI to bring to life the scale of the Coliseum, and forthcoming projects on Hannibal and Alexander the Great. Furthermore, historical epics have always been the highest box office earners. If we look at top 100 films of all time¹⁷⁵, at number one is *Gone with the Wind*, number three *The Sound of Music*, number five *Titanic*, number six *The Ten Commandments*, number eight *Dr Zhivago*, number 11 *Ben Hur* and so on. Although these films have the advantage, particularly in the case of *Gone With the Wind*, of being released when cinema attendance figures were much higher, the placing of *Titanic* at number five in the list shows that this is not a good enough reason to discount the historical film as an out of date concept.

In the absence of footage and pictures from the past, historians try to dream up new ways of making history exciting – witness Louise Yeoman’s BBC2 series which attempted to present Scottish history in a contemporary way by using twentieth century imagery, and the regularity with which modern film directors adapt historical authors such as Shakespeare into twentieth Century formats, be it the musical approach of Kenneth Branagh with *Love’s Labours Lost*, or the teen America approach of Baz Luhrmann to *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare and other authors such as Jane Austen have benefited from this modern approach of using “teen” movies to present contemporary versions of their stories, for example, *Clueless*, an adaptation of *Emma* and now an American TV series, and *10 Things I Hate About You*, a modern movie representation of Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew*. Even the fourth instalment of the *Highlander* film series has emerged following the success of the 100 plus episode spin-off TV series, with a fifth in development, and even a musical.¹⁷⁶

Scottish academics do seem to be starting to realise there is a demand for well written Scottish history which is accessible to non-academics. Recent publications include Cowan and Finlay’s *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a Nation* and Fiona Watson’s *Scotland: A History* which has received added impetus through her BBC2 series, *In Search of Scotland* (which had its own accompanying publication, *In Search of Scotland*, edited by Gordon Menzies). This kind of accessible history is in demand. Even more weighty tomes such as Tom Devine’s *The Scottish Nation 1700 – 2000* have received widespread recognition, as well as sales figures by 2001 of

¹⁷⁵ Ordered by US domestic box office gross adjusted for inflation

¹⁷⁶ B. Pendreigh, ‘Warrior heroes going for a song’, *The Sunday Times*, 7 April 2002

70,000,¹⁷⁷ and there are other recent offerings - from Michael Lynch *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* and *The New Penguin History of Scotland* edited by R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox.¹⁷⁸

History magazines are also big and booming business, with *History Today* and the *BBC History Magazine* two general offerings. The success of *History Ireland* has led to the publishing of a sister publication, *History Scotland*, which had a first print run of 18,000 - a large number when compared with Scottish history book sales data.¹⁷⁹ There are also large numbers of other general magazines about Scotland, many published overseas, which are particularly popular, and these shall be discussed in chapter eight.

However much the demand for academic history grows though:

the factual invalidation of myths in weighty academic tomes does not and never has invalidated them as complex icons of cultural social and political belief. After all, the only consistency that the Scots have displayed in the last two centuries in their assessment of Burns, Wallace and the Jacobites is a dogged determination to believe what they want to believe. And in such a scenario what is more important - destroying the myth or understanding it?¹⁸⁰

Summary

Thus, throughout the twentieth century, presentations of Scottishness have been driven on a local scale by Scottish societies and members of the Scottish diaspora enacting their Scottishness, and the appropriation of these localised activities has led to the establishment of national level phenomena such as Tartan Day. Stereotypes of Scottishness represented in these activities are reinforced by a number of media, including print, television and film, and importantly, commercial bodies within

¹⁷⁷ A. Laing, 'History, the new rock 'n' roll', *The Herald*, 9 October 2001

¹⁷⁸ Whilst some of the publishing houses contacted refused to release book sales data, sales figures for Fiona Watson's bestselling 'Scotland: A History' were nearly 4000 in 2001, with 70% of these sales achieved in Scotland. Tony Woods, Tempus Publishing, by email, 30 July 2002. Comparatively, John McLeod's *Highlanders A History of the Gael's* peak sales were around the 800 mark in the first year of release in 1999. Although a completely different kind of book, these figures are useful when compared with the reach of film, television and the internet. Paul Feldstein, Trafalgar Square, by email 30 July 2002

¹⁷⁹ Laing, 'History, the new rock 'n' roll'

¹⁸⁰ R. Finlay, 'Heroes myths and anniversaries in modern Scotland', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 18 (1997) p.108-125 p.123

Scotland have appropriated these images and reinforced and legitimised them by using them themselves. Whilst academic history is starting to take on these representations through using these media, it is unlikely that this will have much impact on a Scottish history and identity which is already ingrained worldwide.

However, what is Scottish identity to the wider world? Tourism studies have given us some idea of the symbolic nature of this identity but, as we have seen an important factor is the enacting of Scottishness which takes place around the world. Whilst there have been several studies of Scottishness within Scotland, there has not been an attempt to judge what Scottishness is amongst the diaspora which is representing Scotland to the wider world. If, as the figures suggest, there are 23 million "Scots" worldwide compared to approximately five million in Scotland, it would seem prudent to consider external views.

The next two chapters describe the research process undertaken to try and understand the meaning of Scottishness to the diaspora. Three stages of questionnaires were used to judge attitudes to Scotland and Scottishness and how this is presented in different media worldwide. Contrary to the findings of other studies in this area, which have been conducted exclusively within Scotland, and which have suggested that the geography of birth and residence, and immediate family are vital criteria in terms of Scottish identity, the next two chapters will suggest that the defining factor in being Scottish to the diaspora is faith; wanting and believing oneself to be Scottish.

Chapter Six: Phases One and Two of the Research Process – Assessing Current Perceptions of Scottish Identity Amongst the Diaspora

Introduction

The preceding three chapters have charted the course of manifestations of Scottish identity and presentations of Scotland and her history up to the end of the twentieth century. These chapters have suggested that following the collapse of institutions which formed the basis for popular Scottish identity in the pre-modern period, a particularly Highland and history-based stereotype of Scotland has pervaded popular consciousness, and that this cultural manifestation of Scotland has become the accepted definition of Scottish identity. This perceived identity uses Scottish history to give credence to modern “traditions”. At the same time, history has moved to being something which is actively consumed by its audience, and as such presentations of history have changed to satisfy this commercial need. Consequently, in many cases history for popular consumption has become heritage, and has therefore distanced itself from academic Scottish history. Thus there is a gap between history and heritage, and presentations of Scotland and Scottishness seem to be increasingly “heritage-ised”, particularly with the growth of commercial agencies such as VisitScotland and Scotland the Brand. This perceived image of Scotland was spread abroad throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the achievements of Scots within the framework of Empire, and also by the ordinary Scottish emigrant. Whilst the Age of Empire and mass Scottish migration has finished, societies and communities of Scottish origin and interest remain all over the world as the Scottish diaspora. Prior to the increasing globalisation of communications brought about by the modern mass media of television and film, the diaspora was the main representation of Scotland to a large part of the world, and remains so on a local level to this day through activities such as Highland Games.

This research aims to investigate how Scotland is perceived internationally at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and to understand not only the role of the Scottish diaspora in this, but also the role of a new global communications

technology, namely the Internet, in continuing and affirming this perceived identity.

Methodology

One of the first research objectives was to understand the current role of Scottish societies abroad. Whilst there has been research done on the links between Scotland and migrant colonies abroad, particularly in America¹, there has been little in the way of recent surveys of activities of Scottish societies. Whilst Euan Hague amongst others has begun to look at Highland Games in the US as described in chapter four, his research has not been into other activities of Scottish associations. I was particularly interested in assessing the activities of Scottish societies because these are arenas where people abroad “enact” their Scottishness, and in so doing, spread an image of Scottishness to a wider audience.

Because I wanted to assess the meanings attached to terms such as Scottishness, I chose to use a qualitative research methodology. As was discussed in chapter two, standard methods used in this field of study within Scotland such as the Moreno question rely on respondents choosing answers from a limited set of responses. Whilst this allows easier analysis on a quantitative level, it does not allow respondents to set their own agenda – they must work within the parameters determined by the research team. In terms of “Scottishness”, this means that existing research has essentially measured the relationship with Scottishness of pre-defined terms, such as birthplace, ancestry (to the grandparent level) and residence. However, at least two, if not all of these parameters are unlikely to be applicable when assessing a sense of Scottishness outwith Scotland. Therefore it was important, particularly in the first stages of the research, to allow respondents to make free responses to questions.

Therefore a quantitative study, for example using Likert Scales or other constructs which lend themselves to statistical analysis, would not prove appropriate for this research. Furthermore, quantitative analysis usually relies on a researcher having set research hypotheses to prove or disprove, and again, this would not be appropriate in this kind of exploratory research. These drawbacks of quantitative

¹ See for example, W. R. Brock (ed), *Scotus Americanus: A survey of the sources for links between Scotland and America in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1982), as well as more recent works by James Hunter and David Craig

research have given rise to other theories of research in the social sciences, for example that of Glaser and Strauss' "grounded theory": 'It was a fundamental contention of their book that social science at the time was overly concerned with the *testing* of theories generated *a priori* and inadequately concerned with theory *generation*.'² Whilst Glaser and Strauss have since come in for criticism because they discuss the generation of theories more than a framework for testing these theories, and because Glaser in particular specifically discourages a full literature review prior to beginning the research, in case this affects the emergent nature of the research, their ideas of building theories as you research are useful. Whilst this research would not claim to be a "grounded theory" piece of work,³ it does acknowledge the usefulness of this model. Identity is something which has proved to be an abstract concept, and is something it would be difficult to quantify statistically. Therefore a qualitative research methodology was chosen as more appropriate for this research.

Qualitative methodology has faced a number of criticisms. For example, the reliability of answers gathered qualitatively has been questioned. In this case, the fact that there is a three stage research process overcomes this criticism, because information gathered across the three surveys can be compared. Interview methodologies have also been criticised as there can be errors in transcription which miss nuances of the information. This could be something like a missed word or phrase, or the fact that the tone of voice of an interviewee can change the meaning of the what is being said. Again, the fact that these three surveys all rely on written responses should overcome this criticism. Furthermore, qualitative research has been criticised on grounds of validity. Because this kind of research often makes use of anecdotal evidence, it has been argued that it is easy to construct an argument by using snippets of replies or by ignoring contradictory evidence. However, the

² F. Bechhofer and L. Paterson, *Principles of Research Design in the Social Sciences*, (London, 2000), p.8 discussing B. Glaser and A. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, (Chicago, 1967), their emphasis.

³ Modern use of grounded theory in research tends to use a constantly evolving research methodology whilst the research is in process - for examples of this kind of research in the heritage and museum industry see C. Goulding, 'Grounded Theory: A Magical Formula or a Potential Nightmare', *The Marketing Review*, Vol.2, (2001), pp.21-34; C. Goulding, 'The commodification of the past, postmodern pastiche, and the search for authentic experiences at contemporary heritage attractions', *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 34, no. 7, (2000), pp.835-853; C. Goulding, 'Contemporary Museum Culture and Consumer Behaviour', *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 15, (1999), pp.647-671

craft of the historian, or indeed any social scientist is to present both sides of an argument and weigh the evidence accordingly. Any contradictory evidence uncovered has been addressed in the next two chapters, and possible explanations for this evidence sought. The fact that the third stage survey in particular uses selections from choices determined by the first two stages of research means that we can compare free and restricted responses.⁴

There are of course many ways to conduct qualitative research. One method, and that employed by Euan Hague in his study of perceptions of Scotland amongst groups of people in Edinburgh and New York, was to use discussion groups. One-to-one interviewing is also a method commonly used by qualitative researchers. However, because I wanted to gather information from a number of locations around the world, face to face interviewing was not possible, particularly in light of the exploratory nature of the primary study (although it should be noted that the increasing use of webcams and increased bandwidth in telecoms systems means this will not be a barrier in the future). Telephone interviews posed a number of problems, including time zones, costs, the legalities of recording telephone conversations etc. Furthermore, although I wanted respondents to give me the first images and responses that came to mind, as we saw in chapter two, notions of identity are often abstract, and a written response would give respondents more time to think about their answer. In fact, in a study of this nature, it is preferable to use a written response method because if seemingly abstract questions are asked within a conversational setting, the respondent would know the researcher was on hand to provide help in how they framed their answer, an aspect I wished to avoid.

At the time of the first study, the most comprehensive listing of Scottish societies was that found in Michael Brander's 1996 publication, *The World Directory of Scottish Associations*. Over 50 countries and almost 2,000 associations were listed, and this was to prove the source for the addresses required for the first, postal, questionnaire sent out. At this time, a postal questionnaire seemed the most feasible way to

⁴ For a more in-depth discussion of issues raised here see D. Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, (London, 2000). Also see Bechhofer and Paterson, *Principles of Research*; C. Frankfort-Nachmias and D. Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, 4th edn., (London, 1992); N. Ó Dochartaigh, *The Internet Research Handbook: a practical guide for students and researchers in the social sciences*, (London, 2002); C. Mann and F. Stewart, *Internet Communication and Qualitative Research: A handbook for researching online*, (London, 2000)

contact members of Scottish societies in diverse locations around the world.

Postal Survey

This first survey which was sent out was specifically designed to address the following questions:

1. When and why did the society start?
2. How many members are there in the society?
3. Are there any times and events when membership of the society has risen?
4. What is the general background of members of the society?
5. What are the current aims and activities of the society?
6. How does the society promote Scotland?
7. How do members of the society feel about Scotland and modern Scottish identity?
8. Have societies noticed a difference in perceptions of Scotland following the cinema releases of *Rob Roy*, *Braveheart* or *Trainspotting*?

Due to the nature of the research, and this being the first stage of the process, an open-ended, free response questionnaire was used. The aim was to elicit as much information as possible to enable the research to progress to the next stage. Respondents were encouraged to adopt a "prosaic" response style, with, in some cases, more than one question placed in a sentence in an attempt to encourage a narrative, rather than formulaic one word answers. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix D. Although I was asking respondents to give an overview of perceptions of identity for the whole society, as all the persons contacted were office bearers in the organisation, I felt they would have enough experience of the group to give an approximation of the group's general feeling. Again, this was only the first stage of the research, and in order to prepare a questionnaire on a personal level I needed to have a general idea of the "feeling" of Scottishness that exists in these societies which are geographically distant from Scotland itself. Modern studies of Scottishness and Scottish identity have tended to be based in a British or European context, with respondents living within Scotland, and have tended to be conducted or analysed by political institutes.

It was intended to send the questionnaire out in "waves" to stagger the cost and to

allow for “tweaking” of the questionnaire should the first set of responses indicate any unforeseen problems with the questionnaire. In the event, whilst yielding useful information of its own, this method did not prove efficient in terms of cost or return rate. 37 questionnaires were sent out to a random sample of the Associations listed. Of these seven were returned not delivered, one letter came saying the questionnaire had been passed to another member of the society, and seven questionnaires came back completed. This was particularly disappointing because I had hoped that people bothered enough about their heritage to become an active member of a Scottish society, and indeed become an office-bearer, as those listed in the directory were, would be happy to share details of their organisation with other interested parties. I would also have thought that this would have been part of the expected duties of an office-bearer in such an association, especially as the office-bearer contact was that specified in the directory as the person to contact within the organisation.

The initial survey was sent out to 37 different Scottish societies in the following country breakdown: US 15, Canada four, Chile one, Barbados one, Australia five, New Zealand six, South Africa two, United Arab Emirates one, Singapore one and Japan one. It was decided that the initial survey should concentrate on societies outside Britain because perceptions of Scottish identity outwith the UK were the original aim of the study. This ruled out the majority of the entries in the book. The number of “foreign” societies was also limited, as a large proportion were affiliated with the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society and as such listed their aims and activities as those of the RSCDS. I chose a selection of 37 societies and aimed to include those which were very large, were old, and had a description of their aims and activities, particularly those with well recognised Highland Games. I also aimed to include societies from countries less readily associated with Scotland through immigration. However, this proved an expensive and slow method of collecting data. Each letter and questionnaire in the initial mail out cost £0.96 to post, plus the associated costs of printing, paper and envelopes. There is also of course the associated cost to respondents to return postal questionnaires.

I assigned every response a code to refer to them in the thesis so respondents were not referred to by name to preserve anonymity. This was made up of a letter code to designate the response method, a numeric code designating the order of receipt, a

three letter geographic code to identify the current country of residence of the respondent and finally a letter to denote the gender of the respondent. So, the twelfth respondent to the web (phase three) survey who lived in Australia and was male would be categorised WEB/12/AUS/M,⁵ with the Email personal questionnaire as EPERS, the Email society questionnaire as ESOC and the Postal respondents as P. Where the first letter is P, no gender assignation is given as respondents were replying on behalf of a society. A full explanation of this and the exact country codes used can be found in Appendix E.

Membership of Scottish Societies in the Twentieth Century

As was described in chapter four, Scottish Societies were mainly set up as benevolent institutions, which became social clubs when the financial remit was no longer necessary. Indeed, ESOC/6/USA comments that 'we note with humor [sic] that we can no longer find any "destitute" Scots so our benefice is now limited to the distribution of scholarships and the continuation of Scottish traditions'. Indeed, some Scottish societies find themselves donating funds back to Scotland herself in times of crisis.⁶ However, most of the original organisations are now purely social in nature, and by the later twentieth century, the Scottish societies which were being founded were started with the express purpose of being social gatherings. I will begin by giving a brief overview of each of the societies who replied to the first, postal questionnaire.

P/1/AUS Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia

This society was founded in 1881, and granted the 'Royal' prefix in 1927 with notation 'that had it not been for the untiring efforts and devoted service of the society's pipe band this honour would not have been granted'. Started with 587 all male members, with women not allowed until much later, and now has 187 members in total.

P/2/CAN Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association

⁵ Australia is a good example as AUS could be mistaken for Austria. Whilst there were no respondents from Austria, this would have been categorised as AUT. Please see Appendix E for full details. The use of the / is because of the possible confusion between the numeric 0 and the letter O

⁶ For example, the St Andrew's Society of Detroit still gives away approximately US\$30,000 annually, including a permanent endowment to the Scottish college at Alma Michigan. They also raised a total of US\$35,000 for the Dunblane Community in the wake of the school shootings by Thomas Hamilton in 1996 Source P/6/USA. The Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association also raised over CAN\$6,000 for this cause. *The Scotian*, Vol. 30, No.2, (1996), p.5

This society was started in Toronto in 1876 by Scots immigrants who 'banded together to help one another in times of need and to preserve their Scottish Culture with Highland Games, Highland Dancing, Highland Dress, Music and Literature'.⁷ Women not admitted until the 1920s as 'sisters'⁸, and by 1929 there were 7,002 members, organised into 'Camps'. Boosted by immigration in the 1940s the numbers reached 11,031 by 1947, rising to 14,835 by 1965, following more immigration. This began to decline through the 1970s and by December 1995 membership was down to 6,275.⁹ This was noted to have increased again by December 1999 to over 8,000.¹⁰ The original benevolent fund had a plan by which members paid a levy and when the member died their widow and family would receive a sum of money, however, this became too costly was replaced by Insurance system which is still going.

P/3/SIN Singapore St Andrew Society

The Singapore St Andrew Society was founded in 1836 to 'celebrate Scottish events, support Scottish and local charities and help distressed and deserving Scots'.¹¹ Interestingly these aims are distinguished from the current activities of the society by the addition of the aspect of 'social events for the Scottish community'. There are currently over 500 members.¹²

P/4/CHI St Andrews Society of Santiago, Chile

This society was begun in 1890 in the Port of Valparaiso, and in Santiago in 1924. Founding members were all Scots who had come to work on railways or nitrate fields or sheep farms. In late 1997 there was a 'fluctuating' membership of 120.

P/5/NZ City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band

Founded in November 1896, this claims to be the oldest civilian pipe band in the

⁷ C. Garrard, 'The Duntroon Hall of the Sons of Scotland', *The Scotian*, Vol. 30, No.2, (1996), p.3

⁸ P/2/CAN, Secretary and Treasurer, Sons of Scotland Benevolent Organisation, Correspondence October 1997

⁹ Figures from *The Scotian*, Vol. 30, No.2, (1996), p.3

¹⁰ <http://www.celtic-connection.com/community/scotland-12-99.html> visited 20 September 2002. Members are supposed to maintain a policy and have some proof of Scottish ancestry. However, this article notes that many members maintain very small policies of less than CAN\$10,000 to retain their membership

¹¹ P/3/SIN, Secretary of the Singapore St Andrew's Society, correspondence, September 1997

¹² <http://www.standrewssociety.org.sg/> visited 20 September 2002

southern hemisphere, and perhaps even the oldest civilian band in the world. There are various membership categories with circa 170 members in total.

P/6/USA St Andrews Society of Detroit

This was started in 1849 by 35 Detroit businessmen during a period of large Scots migration to Detroit in mid 1800s, which increased when the automobile industry began, 'to relieve the distressed'; it now also provides benevolences to local charities as well as to member and non-member Scots in need. After a small peak in 1903-1906, there was a steady influx of new members into the St Andrew's Society of Detroit through to the 1960s and then a steep decline 'mostly precipitated simply by people not feeling one way or another about a Scottish Society'.¹³ This seems to replicate the situation of the Sons of Scotland Association in Canada. Since 1994, the St Andrew's Society of Detroit has seen a rapid increase in membership, with numbers totalling 432 in October 1997 – the most members the Society has ever had by over 100 in its history. Of these, only 25 were born in Scotland, with the majority being third and fourth generation Scots. Of the approximately 400 non-native Scots, more than half have visited Scotland. Since its inception the St Andrew's Society of Detroit has had 3,505 men and women members, with women only being admitted from 1985, but by 1997 nearly 50% of members were women, and the first woman president had just completed her term of office.¹⁴

P/7/NZ Gaidhealtachd Celtic Studies Summer School

Although grouped into the "society" portion of the survey, and part of Michael Brander's survey, this group does not strictly constitute a Scottish association. However they are active in promoting Scottishness through cultural activities abroad, and as such they represent a part of Scottishness abroad which should not be ignored, the personalised, local groups who do not belong to larger organised institutions. They describe themselves as a 'gathering ... a feis', and began by

¹³ P/6/USA, Membership secretary, St Andrew's Society of Detroit correspondence of 17 October 1997

¹⁴ *Ibid.* The association also now has a site at <http://www.highlandgames.com> Other websites are also springing up to represent Scottish societies, for example The Caledonian Society of Jamaica only has records dating from 1928 to authenticate its history, but it is thought that the Society dated from the late nineteenth century, again started as a self-help organisation to aid destitute Scots, and now pursuing an active social programme, as well as supporting local charitable organisations. Approximately 120 people are currently members of the society, which also has a keen interest in Burns.

<http://mrcjamaica.nimr.mrc.ac.uk/Caledonian/welcome.htm> visited 14 September 2001

organising local ceilidhs, inspired by their purchase of McKenzie Bay which reminded its owners of their family roots in Appin and Morven. They bring up the interesting point that 'it could be in Port Appin'. New Zealand, whilst being on the other side of the world, is incredibly like Scotland in topography.

Gender in Scottish Societies

It has been noted that Highland Games are strongly associated with a masculine and militaristic Scotland, a factor which has been replicated within Scottish Societies, for example the St Andrews Society of Detroit and the Sons of Scotland mentioned above. The role of women has often taken a back seat. Whilst women do not seem to have been officially recognised in the formal structure of Scottish societies until relatively recently, they did have an important role to play in the establishment of Scottish identity abroad. Although an under-researched area, there is some evidence that women played a large part in the establishment of Scottish settlements. Their role in doing not only their own domestic tasks, but worked with the men in activities such as waulking.¹⁵ These working parties, by featuring singing and movement to make the work less tiresome, are credited with giving rise to the ceilidhs and social gatherings now recognised as being peculiarly Scottish.¹⁶

The inclusion of women has obviously been contributory to increasing membership of Scottish institutions. However, some organisations still exist which do not admit women. Celeste Ray, in her research in the American South, has found that 'Scottish heritage societies (to do with clans and Burns etc.) are generally very open - not at all exclusive.' However, she has found that St. Andrew's societies tend to only allow elected members, and are still all-male. She gives the example of the North Carolina's St. Andrew's Society which has about 400 all male members. Membership is for life, and

new members are admitted only when someone dies or moves to another state and affiliates with a society there. Most members are professionals - often bank presidents, doctors, lawyers, etc. and having Scottish ancestry is much less

¹⁵ 'To waulk cloth is to full it, that is, to make it heavier and more compact by a process of soaking, rhythmic beating or pounding, and shrinking', *Collins Gem Scots Dictionary*, (Glasgow, 1995), p.255

¹⁶ R.A. MacLean, *A State of Mind: The Scots in Nova Scotia*, (Hantsport Nova Scotia, 1992) pp.73-75

important than having other types of cultural capital.¹⁷

Thus some kinds of Scottish society act almost as a male “smoking club”. It should be noted that this is not just limited to Scottish Societies though¹⁸, and this description of St Andrew’s Societies is not always applicable.

Social Activities of Scottish Societies

We have already seen that Scottish Societies give their members a forum in which to enact their Scottishness, that is, they hold events which give a material representation of what it is to be Scottish. Importantly the formal organisation of Societies lends authority to these events. Although Highland Games are an area where recent studies have been carried out, what other kinds of events are being held worldwide as typically Scottish events? And are these social events recognised by their societies as an official part of the functions of such a society, or are they just a by-product?

Evidence would seem to suggest that these Scottish social functions are formally recognised as part of the remit of any such society, for example, the St Andrew’s Society of Detroit describes its aims as including ‘the propagation of Scottish history, culture and tradition’, which it does through¹⁹:

1. Monthly meetings. Business meetings followed by ‘a presentation on some educational topic of a Scottish nature after the meeting. Recent presentations have been on bagpipes, Gaelic language, Highland Dress for example.’
2. St Andrew’s Day Dinner
3. Burns Party
4. Highland Games
5. Ceilidhs
6. Tartan Ball

¹⁷ Celeste Ray, in email correspondence, 11 September 2002. Her comments should be taken in light of the earlier discussion of confederacy

¹⁸ For example, see <http://www.slpl.lib.mo.us/libsrc/frat1.htm> and [.../libsrc/frat2.htm](http://www.slpl.lib.mo.us/libsrc/frat2.htm) visited 20 September 2002, which houses a listing of the fraternal and benevolent societies which have existed in St Louis, USA in the last 125 years which runs from the Ancient Arabic Order Of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine to, for example, the Women’s Catholic Order of Foresters, and includes Jewish and German-based groups amongst others.

¹⁹ P/6/USA, correspondence 17 October 1997

7. Benevolences.

The Highland games at Antigonish in Canada which date back to 1863 were founded two years after the inaugural meeting of the Antigonish Highland Society on 22 August 1861. Again the minutes record its purpose was:

for preserving the marshall spirit, language, dress, games and antiquities of the Caledonian; for relieving distressed Highlanders at a distance from their native homes and for promoting the improvement and general welfare of our native country²⁰

The Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association of Toronto lists its current aim as 'To keep alive the Scottish Heritage the same as our forefathers' through activities such as 'Highland Games, Burns Suppers, St Andrew Nights and Country Dancing', whilst the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia Inc. lists its activities as encompassing:

1. Highland Gatherings
2. Celtic festivals
3. Dancers and Band attend Public festivals
4. Burns celebrations at Statue of Burns plus march through the city
5. Burns suppers
6. St Andrew's Day celebrations and Dinners
7. Tartan Day celebrations.

Some societies have a clear knowledge of how particular traditions were established by their society. For example, the St Andrew's Society of Santiago's chieftain, William F. Reid, MBE, who was 83 at the time of his response in 1997, commented that this society's aims were 'to promote Scottish customs and especially dancing', a practice he himself had started on his return from World War II in 1946, as during his time in the army with both the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders and the 51st Highland Division, the Adjutant had made them do Highland dancing instead of PT (physical training). Dancing is a feature mentioned by all of the societies which

²⁰ Quoted in MacLean, *Scots in Nova Scotia*, p.45

responded, and in itself is the reason some people join societies. For example, membership of the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia is described as rising in 'waves' as people join to bring their children to dance classes. The children grow up and drift away from the society, but then return themselves to rejoin when they have their own children to bring to the dance classes. Music and dancing are important as they are socially inclusive activities and balls and Ceilidhs are common events across societies.

Interestingly the *History of the City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band (P/5/NZ)* sent with the postal questionnaire was very much in the traditional vein, with a front cover of fully kilted and bear-skinned pipers marching along a street. At the time of the first questionnaire the band did not have a website. However, a visit to their current website presents an entirely different image. The site is called 'Pipin' Hot' and can be found at <http://www.pipinhot.org> It is adorned with modern images, and much fewer of the traditional images. Indeed, above the epithet 'Celtic Rock - Kiwi Style' is a picture of the 'Braveheart bagpiper' Derek Ballantine in full Mel Gibson kit including face paint.²¹



Figure 4. Modern Presentations of Bagpiping Online Pictures © City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band

This is important in a number of ways. Firstly it shows that traditional Scottish pursuits are being given a modern spin, and are being advertised in a modern medium. Also, it shows the impact of *Braveheart* and the importance of the resultant imagery in commercially promoting the band to the wider world. These are issues

²¹ All pictures © City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band and reproduced from their website. Used with permission, granted from Tui Gunn in an email of 29 September 2002

we will return to in chapter eight.

Kirkin' o' the Tartan

Scottish societies also highlight their strong presence in Church, for example, P/1/AUS refers to their presence at Church services, one of which is described as 'Tartan Sunday'. By this, it is assumed that the respondent is referring to an interesting phenomenon that has come to light, known as the "Kirking of the tartans", or "Kirkin' o' the tartans" in more parochially minded areas. This ceremony involves the parading of the Saltire and bits of tartan for prayers and blessing through the local Presbyterian Church, a tradition supposedly dating from the proscription of Highland dress after the '45. In fact the earliest actual record of the ceremony is widely held to date from 27 April 1941, when Rev. Dr Peter Marshall originated the ceremony in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington D.C., which moved to Washington Cathedral in 1954. Marshall was later to become Chaplain of the United States Senate, and there is a suggestion that this was part of a war bond scheme.²² Many of these sources claim the ceremony is thought to be from the time of Proscription in the late eighteenth century. It is said that during proscription, male members of the family would carry scraps of tartan to Church, and during the pastoral prayers in the service they would, either secretly or depending on a prearranged signal from the Pastor, depending on which version of the tale you hear, hold the piece of tartan and remember their dead relatives, thus keeping alive their clan spirit until Proscription was ended.

Tom McRae who has researched this topic in some depth points out that this process seems unlikely considering the uneasy relationship of the Presbyterians and the Jacobites, Charles' army consisting mainly of Roman Catholics and Scottish Episcopalians. Furthermore, such rites as blessing bits of cloth would have been anathema to the Calvinist Church.²³ However, this "tradition" is one which is

²² Several sources concur with this story of events: Montgomery Presbyterian Church, Ohio, <http://home.fuse.net/mpc/tartans.html>, The Illinois St Andrew Society *Tartan Times* on-line at <http://www.chicago-scots.org/isas/times0001.htm>, The Scottish Society of the Pikes Peak Region <http://www.ssppr.org/ssppr11.html>, and articles at <http://www.gvn.net/~barb/kirkin.htm> and <http://www.scot.demon.co.uk/scotfaq/12-7.html> among others, all visited March 2001

²³ T. McRae, 'Kirking of the tartans', from http://www.siliconglen.com/Scotland/12_7.html visited 1 October 2002

increasing in popularity, with new events starting all the time.²⁴ The pattern of the modern service is a mish-mash of everything our (particularly American) emigrant society cousins seem to think Scottish identity is. For example, the form of the service held by the 'First Annual Gathering of the Clans and Celtic Nations, hosted by Clan Donald - Wisconsin', and held at the Saint Edmund's Episcopal Church on Sunday April 6, 1997 was as follows:

Procession to the Pipe tunes of *Scotland the Brave*, *Blue Bells of Scotland*, *Murdo's Wedding* and *Wings*.

Prayers

Psalm 23

Prayers and Lords Prayer

Collects for St Andrew, Peace and the Presence of Christ, a Prayer for Missions and Remembrance

Thanksgiving

Grace

Reading of Declaration of Arbroath

Scot's Wha Hae

A Man's A Man ...

Proclamations

Kirkin' O' the tartan

Reading of Translation of 1782 Repeal of Proscription

Blessing of the Tartans

Playing of Pipe Tunes: *Highland Laddie*, *Amazing Grace*, *Castle Dangerous* and *Balmoral*.

²⁴ For example, Northminster Presbyterian Church in Roswell, Georgia, USA will hold its first Kirking of the Tartans in November 2002, and is currently advising visitors to its website:

As a symbol of this commitment you will have the opportunity to come forward and place your clan's tartan on the Communion Table. We recommend that you do so by using a scarf of your chosen clan's tartan design. Many of you may already know your clan affiliation based on your surname or have a direct link to a clan, but for those of you that don't, there is a wealth of information available on clans and tartans on the Internet that can help you determine exactly to which clan you and/or your family might "belong". Based on that information you will then be able to find your clan's tartan. There are even tartans that have no specific clan designation that are considered to be for "general usage" and can be worn by anyone. Once you know the appropriate tartan, you can then purchase (or even possibly make, if you prefer) a scarf of that specific tartan design.

<http://www.northminster-atl.org/kirking.htm> visited 1 October 2002

The Service held in Savannah Georgia on 25 September 1994 contained a long address by J. D. Murdock, SC, FSA Scot, in which he discusses what it means to be a member of the Clan Macpherson: 'Could it be homeland ...is it because of history and the romance of war ... is it history and legends ... and I tell myself I know why we are here! ... It's a sense of belonging that only a clansmen can know'.²⁵

Are Such Events Seen as Representative of Scottish identity?

Scottish societies certainly feel that what they are doing is representative of Scottish Identity - when asked 'What do they [members of the society] feel that Scottish identity is now, in the 1990s?' the answers included:

Pipe Bands - Wearing the kilt at every function - Dances - Parades - Meetings (P/2/CAN)

In the year 1990, we feel that Scottish traditions and customs are mostly found abroad. I saw this in Sydney-Australia some years back ... You should have seen Bonnie Prince Charles riding a white horse, coming into the 'Arena' in full highland dress, and guided by the Pipe Bands (P/4/CHI)

A lot of younger ones think of it as Robert Burns, shortbread and whisky. The older ones develop a strong affection and pride especially those of Highland or Island stock (P/5/NZ)

Ethnicity is important to one's self esteem. (P/7/NZ)

Community is an aspect highlighted by respondents also. For example, P/6/USA comments that 'our group of individuals feels a strong sense of kinship over the perception of Scots here as industrious, hard-working, creative and very giving' and goes on to highlight how if a member of the society is ill, then the society's 'phone fan-out' system means that everyone can be notified within an hour. Thus the Scottish society acts like a local community for members, rather than just being a club which is attended on a regular basis.

Furthermore, societies recognise that their geographical distance from Scotland is important, in that their events and understanding of Scottishness is not one which is

²⁵ From an address by J. D. Murdock, SC, FSA Scot, at the Kirking of the Tartan Service Savannah Georgia September 25 1994, © September 1994, at http://www.accessarizona.com/community/groups/azscots/Kirking_of_the_Tarta.html visited 14 March 2001

replicated within Scotland itself. For example, P/4/CHI comments 'we feel that Scottish traditions and customs are mostly found abroad' and P/3/SIN highlights how 'many community members have spent many years as expatriates, and in a sense have lost touch'.

Scottish societies also seem to be aware that by holding these events, they are not just providing a function for their members, and are, in fact, representing Scotland to the wider world. Respondents commented:

What we do is organise events which heightens awareness of things Scottish
(P/3/SIN)

To promote Scottish culture ... in as many places as possible (P/1/AUS)

We simply do everything we can to promote the Scottish community
(P/6/USA)

One respondent noted that in some places, Scottish events and symbols are appropriated to represent Britishness, in an absence of anything else: 'for example, the British embassy here in Santiago, need anything to show off, they request us Scots to either supply a Piper or dancers for a certain event, they have nothing to show'. (P/4/CHI)

Thus members of Scottish societies overseas are actively enacting their Scottishness and are aware that they are a representation of Scotland, and also that within Scotland, these kinds of events are not so prevalent.

Perceptions of Scotland and the "Kilt Movies"

Several of the societies surveyed noted an increase in interest generated by *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*. Some of the comments in the correspondence, firstly with Highland societies, highlight this:

Braveheart was responsible for a great deal of interest especially among younger people (P/5/NZ)

Scottish Identity in the Community of South Australia's improved greatly with the film 'Braveheart' ... Braveheart seemed to be the film most people accepted more readily (P/1/AUS)

Such films [Rob Roy and Braveheart] may have changed the local public opinion in that they have greater awareness of our history and our distinct culture as opposed to 'British Culture'. (P/3/SIN)

It should be noted that whilst there was an acknowledgement that these films did have an impact on perceptions of Scotland and Scottishness, this was not the case within the membership of the society, it was only the case amongst the general public where respondents commented on a previous lack of knowledge of Scotland. Furthermore, some respondents noted the impact the movies had in that 'such films may have changed the local public opinion in that they have greater awareness of our history and our distinct culture as opposed to "British Culture"'. (P/3/SIN) Societies were also active in attending premieres of these films with their pipe bands (P/1/AUS and P/6/USA), and thus were of course reinforcing the "Scottish" aspect of these films on a local level.

Although this interest did not in all cases contribute directly to increased membership of societies (P/2/CAN), in some cases it caused a quantifiable increase in interest, for example the St Andrew's Society of Detroit, also the hosts of the oldest Highland Games outside Scotland still continuing. This one day event which had 12,369 visitors in 1997 expanded into a 2½ day event in 1999²⁶, partly due to increasing numbers and interest - a fact reflected in the rising attendance at many Highland Games world-wide. The Pacific Northwest Highland Games and Clan Gathering (ESOC/5/USA) grew from 10,000; 'we did see an increase after the releases of the "kilt movies" to the point we are now drawing right around thirty-five thousand'.²⁷ These figures also compare favourably with the Cowal Highland Gathering at Dunoon in Scotland, Scotland's biggest highland games which has approximately 30,000 visitors in a day - many of them travelling from all over the world to compete for prestigious trophies in Highland Dancing, Piping and the athletic events. However, Cowal only weighs in twelfth place in the 2001 rankings of the largest Highland Games ever held from US Scots, despite proclaiming itself

²⁶ P/6/USA, St Andrew's Society of Detroit, correspondence, 17 October 1997

²⁷ This information was given with the caveat that kilt movies may have worked in conjunction with more aggressive advertising and a new venue in a higher density population area, but that they feel the kilt movies were still a major factor.

'The Largest and Most Spectacular Highland Games in the World'.²⁸

Respondents in the first phase questionnaires were also asked about the impact of *Trainspotting*. Whilst released at the same time as *Braveheart* this film gave a home-grown and unconventional image of modern Scotland. Although a great deal was made of this in the Scottish press I thought it unlikely that the film's distribution deal would have made it accessible to a wide audience, which was confirmed by response ESOC/3/USAs comments that 'Trainspotting was shown only at small art theatres ... therefore only a few interest [sic] people saw it'. Furthermore, the appeal of the film could be considered generational. So, did this portrayal of Scotland have an impact abroad amongst Scottish society members? The short answer is no. Four of the initial seven respondents had not seen the film or had no knowledge of it. P/2/CAN had not seen it but heard it was 'bizarre and disgusting' and the greatest degree of recognition came from the representative of P/6/USA who remarked that whilst many of the members of his society had probably not seen the film, he had though it was 'superb', and 'no one I have spoken to who has seen the movie has had one negative reaction to Scotland because of it'. Interestingly, neither of the first phase respondents from New Zealand had seen *Trainspotting*, but both commented on the popularity of *Hamish MacBeth* the television series. We cannot tell from these responses if there was a different perception of Scotland generated amongst people who were not already interested in the country by this film, however, in comparison with the likes of *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*, in terms of sheer accessibility this film and portrayal of Scotland was not seen by as many people.

Particular Points of Interest in Scottish Societies Abroad

Comments received here included the successful participation of societies in Tattoos (1970s, P/2/CAN) and 1900/01 Commonwealth Celebrations as well as success in Pipe Band Championships (P/5/NZ). Whilst these raised the public profile of the organisations involved, leading to a general interest in the society, no other events were highlighted – for example, the period around the 1979 referendum. It would thus seem that political events at home in Scotland are not necessarily reflected in interest in Scottish related cultural societies overseas, at least at the time of this first

²⁸ Cowal Highland Gathering official website, <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com/inttro/introb.html> downloaded 23 October 2001

survey. Although these surveys were all completed and returned between 14 September and the end of October 1997, not one of them mentioned the referendum of 11 September that year which was to lead to the re-establishment of a distinct Scottish parliament. Whilst there was no specific question about this, all the respondents sent letters with their completed questionnaires with their own thoughts and comments on Scotland and Scottishness, and again, this was not mentioned once. This would seem to suggest that political independence is not a defining factor of Scottishness for members of Scottish Societies overseas.

Scottish Origins of Society Members

One of the other aspects I wished to address in the initial stage of the research was the make-up of the membership of Scottish societies abroad. What percentage of members were expatriates, that is, Scottish by birth, and what percentage of those who were not have actually experienced Scotland by visiting. Remember that traditional studies of Scottishness have identified Birth, Ancestry and Residence as the three most important factors within Scotland of being Scottish.

Responses indicated that whilst in some societies this split was given as 50/50 (P/1/AUS), in others the line of demarcation was redefined by the respondents to not between being born in Scotland or not, but being of Scottish descent (P/3/SIN, P/4/CHI, P/5/NZ). In Singapore this led to a 60:40 split of Scots descent: Scots interest. The St Andrew's Society of Detroit (P/6/USA) has very diligently kept all the membership applications since 1895 and has information on 95% of the members since 1849. Every member of the society has tried to compile their genealogical history to give an overview of the history of the society. Thus they were able to tell me with much greater accuracy the breakdown of their current membership. Of 432 active members in 1997, approximately 25 were Scottish by birth, and the majority are 'third or fourth generation Scots ... of the roughly 400 non-native Scots, better than half have visited Scotland'. Therefore the two factors of birth and residence do not appear to be relevant overseas in taking part in expressing Scottish identity through joining a Scottish society. Furthermore, the socio-political studies which have defined ancestry as extending only to the parent or grandparent level do not allow for a greater degree of ancestry to be important, which certainly seems to be the case abroad. Whilst it is understood that this level of ancestry was probably chosen because it is this degree which is used by many

countries to define national identity in terms of eligibility for passports or sporting teams, in terms of identity, genealogy allows many more levels of ancestry to be traced and linked to national identity, a factor which we shall return to.

Postal Survey Results Summary

The phase 1 survey thus answered some of my queries about the aims, activities and membership of Scottish societies abroad, but also raised some interesting questions concerning the fact that Societies seemed conscious that they were enacting events not celebrated to the same extent within Scotland itself, and also that being Scottish within being a member of a Scottish society was not just something reflected by birth country. This would suggest that current definitions of Scottishness being used within Scotland in socio-political research do not seem to be applicable to those abroad.

Therefore the phase two survey set out to find out more about personal impressions of Scottishness and what Scotland and being Scottish meant to them. Due to the problems with the pilot survey concerning response rate and time and associated costs, I began to explore the possibilities of using the Internet in research. Respondents in the first phase had both recommended websites as a source of further information, and also given email addresses if I wished to communicate with them further (e.g. P/1/AUS, P/6/USA), which suggested that electronic methods of communication were in use amongst my target population.

Phase Two Survey

I began by searching for Scottish societies on the Internet and then contacting them by email to ask if they would like to take part. Using this method yielded three extra completed surveys. However, it also very quickly began to place me in one to one email "conversations" with individuals filling out my surveys. This was an aspect I wanted to avoid not only because I did not want my personal views to colour the input of respondents, which is one of the reasons a written communication format was chosen in the first place, but also because of the time constraints involved. I also became more interested in personal opinions on the topics I was interested in as I was drawn into this kind of immediate discussion of the questions I was raising.

I had compiled a personal questionnaire based on the same principles as the original postal questionnaire, with quite open ended questions. These questions were designed to find out personal perceptions of Scotland and her identity, as well as if and how this personal identity was expressed, for example through membership of Scottish societies, to build from the information gathered in the first society questionnaire. Like the first postal survey, the questions used were very open-ended and geared towards qualitative analysis. In addition to the first set of research questions, this second phase survey sought to find out:

Why were respondents interested in Scotland?

Was there any particular event which encouraged their interest in Scotland?

Had respondents actually been to Scotland?

Did respondents consider themselves to be Scottish?

Did respondents "enact" their Scottishness, for example through Scottish societies?

What words and images quantify "Scotland" to respondents?

What words and images quantify "Scottishness" to respondents?

What were respondents views on Scotland's "tartan" image?

(See Appendix D for a copy of this questionnaire).

Because I was quite inexperienced in using the Internet at this point I decided the best way to find respondents would be to ask for help. I found a Scottish website at <http://www.celticmist.net> which had a notice board, on which users could ask for help on Scottish matters. Remember that I was looking for the opinions of ordinary people who were presenting their Scottish identity to others. Therefore, using this kind of personally constructed site was the most appropriate conduit at this time. So, I posted an email describing my intentions and asking for respondents. The owner of the website then posted my message into two forums in which she was a member, and from this lead-in I was emailed by people interested in receiving a copy of the personal questionnaire by email. I then emailed those interested with a simple text email containing my list of questions to which users could reply. Overall, 54 respondents returned copies of the personal questionnaire (One person collated five responses from his friends). I told people they could pass on the questionnaire if they wished, but also put a deadline date in for responses. As it happened most responses (36) arrived well before the deadline date given in the

original email. However, the emails were only sent out as requests arrived, so there was a staggered send out.

Why Do People Become Interested in Scotland?

I wanted to discover why people were interested in Scotland – did this replicate the findings from the initial survey which would seem to suggest that being of Scottish descent was a major factor, and that birth and residency are not considered as important? Answers here seemed to be divided into categories covering family, history, fictional inspiration, and bagpiping, with family being the largest category. Genealogical research was mentioned by several respondents, and again, there was an awareness that living outside Scotland itself was an important factor in their interest: ‘distance lends enchantment to the view’ (EPERS/48/ENG/M).

Do Respondents Consider Themselves to be “Scottish”?

Whilst there are three typical ways to confer nationality as previously discussed, it is unlikely these refer to people living outwith Scotland. Therefore, the questionnaire also asked where respondents were born, where they lived, and if they had ever visited Scotland. The answers on a personal level seem to reiterate the findings from the society level questionnaire, namely that birth and residency are not considered important factors in considering oneself to be Scottish. Indeed, respondents who have never even visited Scotland described themselves as Scottish:

‘Yes. I am a Stewart – ya sure, we were Bretons and came over with Billy the Conqueror – but after 900+ years and a bunch of kings, I think we qualify’
EPERS/15/USA/M

‘yes ... because I had paternal relatives from Scotland and my sir name [sic] is associated with a recognised clan. And because I WANT to consider myself Scottish’ (respondent’s own emphasis) EPERS/47/USA/F

In both of these cases the qualifying factor in being Scottish is ancestry. However, the second response raises an interesting point, that of personal choice. Identity is a fluid and highly personal concept, and if someone chooses to be Scottish then for them that seems to be justification enough. Responses from the third and final stage of the survey will show that even ancestry is not required when personal desire is behind someone’s self-definition as Scottish.

The phase two survey asked people this question in a particular way. It was written: 'Do you consider yourself to be Scottish? If so, why?' Several answers to this did agree with two of the factors of socio-political definition of nationality, as they seemed to confirm that respondents see identity as grounded in birthplace and /or parentage, but not specifically residence, in comments such as 'No ... to be Scottish I would have been born in Scotland' (EPERS/12/USA/F). Only one respondent mentioned living in Scotland as a factor. To them, being Scottish means 'physically: anyone whose parents come from Scotland, anyone born in Scotland, anyone living in Scotland who acts like a Scot; emotionally: a connection with the land and culture'. (EPERS/27/GER/M)

Furthermore, one of the younger respondents who is resident within Scotland raised the point which Finlay and others have raised, namely that 'It's my whole existence. I couldn't imagine being anything but Scottish so I couldn't tell if there is anything special about it'.(EPERS/29/SCO/M) However, in this phase of the survey respondents were asked if they considered themselves to be Scottish, with no other frame of reference given. It seemed that this question would be better served with a more general question about identity, so that to define oneself as Scottish, respondents would have to proactively raise this themselves, and this idea was carried into the third survey administered, as we will see in the next chapter.

Are Scottish Societies Representative of the Wider Diaspora?

Whilst the first phase of the research looked at the activities of Scottish societies as a forum in which people can "enact" their Scottishness, I wanted to know how representative of the diaspora Scottish societies actually are. The second, email survey results suggested that a large number of people interested in Scotland and Scottish identity were not in fact members of any Scottish societies - 57% (all percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage). Thus, responses gathered in the initial questionnaire could not be considered representative of the wider Scottish community abroad.

Another factor which came out of the responses was the range of Scottish societies mentioned, from Clan societies to the National Trust for Scotland. One thing about the information gathered here was particularly striking. Of the 11 respondents resident in Scotland, only one was a member of any "Scottish Society" (in this case

the Scottish National Party). This preliminary data would therefore seem to suggest that membership of Scottish societies, that is, actively taking part in "Scottish" events, seems to be more important to those resident abroad than those resident within Scotland. Again this reiterates the point some historians have raised about Scottish national identity within Scotland, that it is not a contentious issue so it does not tend to manifest itself in an identifiable way.

This also raises the aspect of the expatriate Scot. EPERS/11/USA/M is a 24 year old Scot who moved to the USA to find work when he was 20. His comments make interesting reading (CAPS etc. quoted verbatim).

I left Scotland in search of a "LIFE" and what I found, at first was a place for me to be a real person and earn a living and become who I wanted to be. So as you can imagine (at first) I was so glad to get away fro Scotland and did not really miss much about back home.

Saying that, ... I [went] back HOME to Scotland ... to get married, and I tell you what, you will never know what it is like until you leave there for a while, because I discovered a brand new Scotland, a BONNIE Scotland.

... no longer does it or will it ever again mean the same to me as when I lived there with nothing, now I have Pride. When people over here ask ... " where are you from< I love your accent" I proudly answer " I am from Scotland".

This comment is also interesting in that it is from someone relatively young. Respondents to the first phase of the questionnaire did in some instances give an indication of their age, and they were of an older age group. This is understandable given that they were a member of the board of their organisation. There were very few respondents under the age of 35 in this second phase of the survey who were members of a Scottish society, and again this would seem to reflect the comments of P/1/AUS about membership of their Scottish society operating in "waves" over age groups. Therefore in the third survey I wanted to look at age as an aspect of feeling Scottish.

Furthermore, respondents who were not members of Scottish societies did indicate that they took part in particularly Scottish activities. Responses here revolved around music and language. Thus there is some evidence that people enact their

Scottishness without the framework of a formal Scottish society, and this is another aspect I wanted to investigate further in the third and final phase of the research.

What Images and People Convey Scottishness to Respondents?

We saw in chapter five in particular that stereotypical imagery has been found to represent Scotland in market research by Scotland's commercial bodies. I wanted to assess if these images are indeed those brought to mind by people who already have an interest in Scotland, rather than a completely random sample as was used in the aforementioned research. To this end I asked respondents to name the first three things that came to mind when they thought of "Scotland" and "Scottish" and also to name three famous Scots. Images that were popular were indeed stereotypical – scenery, tartan, kilts, bagpipes, the Saltire, and factors of "Scottish" given were language and more personal characteristics such as a work ethic or thriftiness. Of those asked to name famous Scots, answers consisted mainly of historical figures such as William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Mary Queen of Scots, with a few modern actors and political figures. These questions were important to give me a framework on which to build the third survey, that is, to help establish parameters for questions for which I would be asking respondents to make choices from a pre-determined list. From this aspect the second phase questionnaire proved useful, for example, an image mentioned by a number of respondents at this stage which I would not have automatically thought of was Irn Bru.

Respondents were also asked to give their perceptions of films about Scotland to compare with the first postal survey results. Comments ranged from home-grown scorn, through home-grown admiration, to a general feeling that *Braveheart* in particular promoted a wider knowledge of Scotland to the world, and encouraged an interest in Scotland and her history:

Braveheart is mostly Hollywood invention, thirteenth century Scotland Disneyfied (EPERS/36/SCO/F)

They made people more aware of history, however accurate it is (EPERS/22/SCO/M)

The best movie I have ever seen is Braveheart. At least I know our history now (EPERS/25/ENG/F)

to begin with people [in Argentina] didn't know Scotland existed. To most

people we are all “ingleses”, mind you, these are the same people who destroyed a monument to the martyrs of Irish independence ... during the Falklands war. Now Scotland is something original, anything “Celtic” is fashionable (EPERS/5/ARG/M)

because most people here [USA] have seen the films, they are now aware that there are two distinct countries in this part of the world (EPERS/6/USA/M)

I think that both of these movies have opened the public’s eyes that Scotland is not just an extension of England but has a rich and colourful history (EEPERS/12/USA/F)

You Betcha. It’s made Scotland a lot more popular (EPERS/14/USA/F)

Respondents did also comment on the fact that the films were historically inaccurate, but the majority seemed to accept this rather than dismissing the films on the basis of historical inaccuracies. These responses also raise the point that *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* were important in distinguishing Scotland from England, and the respondent from Argentina shows that this is not only a problem which Scotland faces, and that even Ireland, which ironically is a fully independent country, is seen in some areas of the world as part of England’s dominion.

One respondent also noted that that *Braveheart* had had an impact within Scotland:

I suspect that in Scotland people took the film (with all its historical inaccuracies) too seriously ... I mean, everywhere I went, I saw Braveheart parking lot, Braveheart butcher, a monument to Wallace with Mel Gibson’s face, I thought it was quite amusing, also sad. As if they have lost their national identity and look for it in Hollywood. (EPERS/5/ARG/M)

What Do You Think About Scotland’s Tartan Stereotype?

As we have seen in the previous chapters, cultural commentators in Scotland lament the tartan stereotype of Scotland’s identity. Did respondents to the personal email questionnaire feel the same way? Again a variety of responses appeared. These ranged from scorn, again home-grown, through resigned acceptance, to appreciation of its commercial importance, and finally to a love of this image and an ignorance that it was anything other than reality.

The tartan image of Scotland is unrepresentative, anachronistic and embarrassing (EPERS/32/SCO/M)

at least it gets people to Scotland, then they can find out how wonderful it really is (EPERS/1/USA/F)

I think the "tartan" image of Scotland is fair enough as a brand recognised by foreigners. Most societies do have their instantly recognisable stereotypes, such as Bavarian lederhosen, Irish leprechauns and Spanish flamenco. I think, however, that there is a very real problem with the Scottish image in that it can often become a self-image, and it is sad that for many Scots, that is all they think there is (EPERS/37/IRE/M)

Fine for the tourists if it brings in the dollars, deutchmarks, yen etc. (EPERS/22/SCO/M)

A marketing gimmick that has come to be taken seriously by too many Scots. Sir Walter Scott has a lot to answer for! (EPERS/31/SCO/M)

irrelevant but fine with me if it brings in tourism and investment (EPERS/34/SCO/M)

I know that subsistence living is not pretty. I also know that Scotland is a vital, modern country complete with pollution, crime and cable tv. I choose to ignore most of the twentieth century ... so whilst I understand the desire of the Scots not to be a "quaint tourist image" I'm afraid I will always see the romanticized, distant images of the idealised old Scotland. (EPERS/10/USA/F)

I think its good (EPERS/42/SCO/M)

what I think about the "tartan" image of Scotland is great. I think that's the way we should keep it because that is what everyone knows that is what represents Scotland (EPERS/41/CAN/F)

If you are speaking of the actual tartans. I think its neat ... most men look really good in kilts also (EPERS/40/USA/F)

Interestingly a number of the Scottish based respondents to this question understand that from a commercial standpoint, the tartan image of Scotland brings in money and, for that reason, it is considered to be not necessarily a bad thing.

Phase Two Survey - Summary

Thus the second phase survey helped to clarify some of the issues raised in the first set of results, and also raised new questions. Specifically, I wanted to further

investigate the concept of “being Scottish”. I also wanted a larger sample to allow me to draw more specific conclusions about perceptions of Scotland and Scottishness. Furthermore, I wanted to find out more about how individuals enact their Scottishness, as opposed to Scottish societies. Some respondents to the second survey mentioned that they had their own websites about Scotland, and considering the growing global impact of the Internet, I thought this aspect was worthy of further study, namely, are people presenting their Scottishness online, what kind of Scotland is being presented, and where is the source material for this presentation coming from? Some aspects of the first two surveys were also incorporated into the third survey to check the reliability of the information gathered.

I then needed to assess how I could carry out the third phase of the research in a way that would enable me to get a meaningful number of respondents from my target group within constraints of cost and time. The first two phases of the research had demonstrated that using electronic methods of communication was the most effective method within these constraints, and which also provided a good enough response rate to suggest that gathering e-subjects would not be a problem.

Email Survey vs Web Survey

The second phase of the research used email to transmit surveys to interested parties, and this was useful on a small scale for information gathering purposes. Email surveys are those in which questionnaires which are sent out directly to potential subjects as part of an email, so the respondent can simply click “reply” and fill out the questionnaire ready to send back to the researcher. However, there are numerous reasons why this approach is going out of fashion as a survey method. For example, there are ethical and “netiquette” issues in sending out unsolicited emails with surveys attached. Note that in my the phase two survey, I did not send out the questionnaire unsolicited. Instead, people who were interested emailed me to receive the questionnaire. However, one of the methodological flaws identified with this is the skewed sample that ensues because this necessitates a pre-survey email out to ask for respondents, although you could argue that any survey suffers from self-selection because any person can decline to take part. Furthermore, multiple email addresses and “churn” (users changing their service provider and consequently their email address) provide problems in identifying the exact

independent numbers in a sample.²⁹ Sheehan 'attempted to identify as many e-mail surveys done for academic purposes as possible, and only 31 surveys could be identified that contained sufficient data to perform this analysis. This minimal adoption of e-mail surveying to date, combined with falling response rates, may indicate a less than promising future for e-mail surveys.'³⁰

Using email to survey individuals has other downsides; respondents try to draw you into correspondence which could impact upon their survey responses, as in the phase two study, and, because of the nature of the data I wished to collect in the third study, email was not the best data format. The lowest common denominator in email formatting is TXT (text) files, which give little flexibility in formatting. This was important because the third phase survey included elements where respondents had to choose one or more elements from pre-prepared lists. Because the email would be being essentially re-formatted by each user, it would make it more difficult to automatically pull the data gathered into any kind of database, an important factor when dealing with potentially large numbers of respondents.³¹ Thus I felt it was important to explore using an alternative method of electronic communication to email alone to actually conduct the data gathering portion of the survey, so I turned to actually using the technology of the Internet. It has been shown that in a comparison of pPost, email and web form surveys, there were no significant influences of survey mode in the substantive analysis.³² For a brief history of the Internet and definitions of some of the concepts which will be raised in the next part of this chapter, it is recommended that the reader consult Appendix F.

These reasons made it clear that using email alone was not the ideal method to carry

²⁹ N. Bradley, 'Sampling for Internet surveys. An examination of respondent selection for Internet research', *Journal of the Market Research Society*, Vol. 41, no.4, (1999) pp. 387-395 cited in K. Sheehan, 'Email survey response rates: a review', *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 6, no. 2, (2001), available online at <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue2/sheehan.html> visited 25 February 2002

³⁰ Sheehan, 'Email survey response rates'

³¹ Although you could attempt to get round this by sending an email questionnaire in an attachment to the basic email, there are a number of reasons against this. Software compliance means that not all users would have the same software, and furthermore, sending unsolicited attachments is likely to scare off potential respondents for computer virus reasons.

³² G. Woong Yun, and C. W. Trumbo, 'Comparative response to a survey executed by post, e-mail and web form', *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 6, no. 1, (2001), available online at <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue1/yun.html> visited 25 February 2002

out phase three of the research. Instead I decided that using a web survey would prove better from a methodological standpoint. Web surveys are hosted on a web page, and respondents visit the page using their Internet browser where they can fill out the questionnaire and electronically submit it to the researcher. However, web surveys are not a standalone process. You still need to gather subjects to take part.

There is a temptation for online researchers to succumb of “Field of Dreams” Syndrome (FDS) – if you build it, they will come, they being potential respondents. On the Internet this is a common failing of many worthwhile sites, and a factor that will be discussed in further detail in its relevance to “approved” Scottish sites in chapter eight. However, in simple terms this means that just building a website with a questionnaire on it will not generate respondents.³³ You have to be able find subjects.

Who Uses the Internet?

The Internet is a rapidly growing medium. The OCLC (Online Computer Library Centre) is one organisation which has been tracking the growth of the web.³⁴ Using randomly generated IPv4 addresses³⁵, their tracking software “harvests” sites open

³³ Whilst there are numerous things one can do to publicise a website, for example using metatags, and registering with search engines, there are also reasons not to follow this path. Unless the survey can be left to run for several months, the site will not rise up the rankings of most search engines. Linking from other websites skews responses to the people that can find and visit those particular websites. One of the biggest and most annoying factors on the web is the increasing number of dead links – links to pages which are out of date but have never been deleted. Surveys which are relatively short lived but hang around in search engine caches and listings for some time will also generate a lot of ill will towards the particular research project, but also to Internet research in general.

³⁴ The ‘State of the Domain’ webpages can be found at <http://www.sotd.info/> and this was confirmed 31 August 2002

³⁵ Every server has an IP (Internet Protocol) address – a numeric code, which identifies it to software and sits underneath the non-numeric domain names now used. (note that more than one website can sit on a server, giving rise to the phenomenon of ‘virtual hosting’. This make it likely that traditional methods of web counting using IP addresses were underestimating the number of sites on the web. A recent study by OCLC of 1800 randomly selected sites were tested, which showed 22% of these sites were virtual – or multiple – sites. <http://wpc.oclc.org/stats/virtualHosting.html> visited 24 February 2002.

Furthermore, every computer when it logs online has an IP address. If you use an ISP such as CompuServe or AOL this tends to be one randomly allocated to you as you go online. You can request to have a Static IP address which means your computer is always identified by the same numeric code, and this allows sites to restrict access to visitors with approved IP addresses. For example, university libraries can subscribe to online publications using this system. They provide the publisher with a range of IP addresses which cover their campus access computers, and the publisher codes their website to allow

to public access to analyse content and statistics. With a few provisos this project shows that between 1997 and 2001 there has been a growth of 457% in the number of websites online, and that the top five nations for country of origin of web sites in 1999 were the US (49%), Germany (5%), UK (5%), Canada (4%) and Japan (3%). This did not change much in 2001, other than the spread of other countries increasing from 16% to 20%.

A criticism often levelled at web surveys is the possibly skewed population, concerning socio-economic class, sex, age, language and geodemographics. The assumptions are that the web is the domain of young western males of above average education and socio-economic status. Furthermore, on a global scale there are questions of language and accessibility. However, Yun and Trumbo give a variety of statistics which show that in 1999, the female population of the web was up 16% to 46 % from 1995, and that in December 1999, 20% of the online population was aged 45-64.³⁶ More recent data shows that 'Women now account for 52 percent of home Internet users, or 55 million people, up from 50.4 million last year. There are 49.8 million male home users, up from 48.2 million in December 2000 (Nielsen 2002).³⁷

Emarketer predicts that 'The main increases will come from developing countries. For example, the number of new Internet users in Latin America will grow by almost 40 percent annually between 2000 and 2004'.³⁸ It should also be noted that some researchers highlight that compared to traditional methods of surveying populations, the Internet can offer increased geodemographic and socio-economic diversity within samples.³⁹

In language terms, the prevalence of English speaking countries on the Internet was echoed with, in 2001, a significant 73% of sites having English as their main

users who come in using one of these approved IP addresses to download material or access secured areas of their site without having to us a password.

³⁶ Yun and Trumbo, 'Comparative response to a survey'

³⁷ Nielsen NetRatings dated 21 January 2002,

http://www.nua.ie/surveys/index.cgi?f=VS&art_id=905357576&rel=true visited 26 February 2002

³⁸ http://www.nua.ie/surveys/index.cgi?f=VS&art_id=905357630&rel=true visited 26 February 2002

³⁹ For summary see P. Desai, *Methods Beyond Interviewing in Qualitative Market Research*, (London, 2002), p.108

language, with German the closest language with a mere 7%.⁴⁰ Swoboda et al. performed a world-wide email survey, and achieved 90% of their 20% response rate within four days from all areas of the world, showing that the English language did not appear to be a barrier to response rates, and developing nations did not seem disadvantaged in their access to email.⁴¹

It was estimated in October 1999 that 27% of UK adults use the Internet, however, what must be remembered is that the number of young people that use the Internet is far greater, as they have access through their schools and colleges. So, although there is still a very large percentage of people who do not use the Internet, this is in some respects assumed to be generational.⁴² Indeed, in the US it is estimated that the percentage of four year full-time college students who use the Internet is a staggering 90%⁴³, and the role of the Internet in formal education is one we shall come back to later. What this data tells us is that traditional stereotypes of Internet users are not necessarily borne out by research, however, to confirm this fact it is important that this survey includes questions which will ascertain if respondents represent a reasonable distribution in terms of age, gender and geography.

Whilst it is significant to check if the sample is representative of the wider population of Internet users, it must be remembered that this research is targeting a specific category of Internet user – those that have shown some interest in Scotland. Both of the phase one and phase two surveys were targeted at people who already had an interest in, and knowledge of Scotland.

⁴⁰ Statistics from <http://www.wcp.oclc.org/stats/global.html> and <http://www.wcp.oclc.org/stats/size.html> on 24 February 2002. For a full explanation of the sampling technique used, and an explanation of the impact of Virtual servers, visit <http://www.wcp.oclc.org/stats/explanation.html> and <http://www.wcp.oclc.org/stats/virtualHosting.html> visited 24 February 2002. Other countries admit the prevalence of English on the web – Norwegian site Pandia.com is happy to admit their site is entirely in English purely to give them the widest audience possible <http://www.pandia.com/sw-2001/57-websize.html> visited 24 February 2002

⁴¹ S. J. Swoboda, N. Muehlberger, R. Weitkunat and S. Scheeweis, 'Internet Surveys by direct mailing: an innovative way of collecting data, *Social Science Computer Review*, Vol. 15, no. 3, (1997) cited by Yun and Trumbo, 'Comparative Response to a survey'.

⁴² Data from the CommerceNet/Nielsen Survey of 27 October 1999, referenced at <http://new-website.openmarkt.com/intindex/99-11-s.htm>, The Internet Index No. 25, compiled by Win Treese on 30 November 1999

⁴³ The Industry Standard, February 7 2000, citing Student Monitor, and referenced at <http://new-website.openmarkt.com/intindex/00-02-s.htm>, The Internet Index No. 26, compiled by Win Treese on 17 February 2000

Sample Selection

The way information had been spread in phase two of the survey was via pre existing email lists and bulletin boards. Established mailing lists are a common place to start in Internet surveys,⁴⁴ however, there are a number of factors which should be considered before using them. Mailing lists are generally populated by “lurkers”, and one study showed that 83% of list members had never contributed anything, whilst only 6% had sent more than a couple of messages.⁴⁵ Like webpages, lists wither and die but still live on in cyberspace. For this reason, Ó Dochartaigh recommends that lists need over 100 subscribers for there to be any traffic, and lists over a 1000 members will be very active.⁴⁶

Newsgroups, sometimes called Usenet,⁴⁷ are a slightly different proposition. Instead of people subscribing to the list and being emailed all the messages on the list, these messages are held on a central repository, and tend to be part of a totally automated system. This means that they are often unmoderated and consequently ‘things have become so bad that many newsgroups have been abandoned by anyone but the spammers and flammers and are utterly worthless as research resources.’ Because of this problem, Usenet II has been set up at <http://www.usenet2.org>, which is limited to subscribed universities or colleges.⁴⁸ However, these newsgroups also genuinely reflect the people who use the web.

Other main hosts of these kinds of groups include, Yahoo, Topica, and particularly pertinent for this study, Rootsweb. Statistics on groups are available, for example those hosted by Yahoo show a summary statistic of the list detailing the date the list was created, how many users there are, whether the list is moderated, private, and a month by month breakdown of the number of messages posted to the list.

⁴⁴ For a summary and comparison of research conducted so far using different methodologies see C. Mann and F. Stewart, *Internet Communication and Qualitative Research: A handbook for researching online*, (London, 2000), particularly chapter 4, pp.65-98

⁴⁵ R. Kitchin, *Cyberspace: The World in the Wires*, (Chichester, 1998), p.83 citing Kawakami, (no other details given), referenced in Ó Dochartaigh, *The Internet Research Handbook*, p.79

⁴⁶ This is an effective method of narrowing the field when researching lists, and a visit to a resource such as CataList at <http://www.lsoft.com/catalist.html> can show you lists by number of subscriber, for example, lists with over 1000, or even 10,000 subscribers

⁴⁷ User’s network, Usenet being the original incarnation of these kinds of online lists, which has now been subsumed by Google Groups.

⁴⁸ Ó Dochartaigh, *Internet Research Handbook*, quotation p.97, p.99

At the next level, there are forums. These are similar to newsgroups, except they are often set up as part of a particular website to discuss topics related to that website. Again, the discussion takes place online, rather than by email. Websites can also organise themselves into “Webrings”, where websites on a similar topic all join together and display a logo which allows a user to jump to other members of the ring, or see a list of all the members of the ring. People can join their own websites to the ring. This development is particularly useful in clustering similar sites, however, this development has important implications for the spread of stereotypes on the Internet, a factor which will be addressed in chapter eight.

Whilst these kinds of groupings have been used by other researchers, there are limitations. No email lists which satisfied Ó Dochartaigh’s criteria were found in the initial searches, and the majority of the groups found also failed to show enough activity to be viable. Furthermore, a look at the “Acceptable Use” policy of the hosts of these groups shows that using the groups for surveys of any sort unless the group is specifically set up for that purpose is not acceptable policy.⁴⁹ Therefore there are ethical reasons for not choosing this route. Some research has borne out the fact that requests for help with academic research can be seen as intrusive by particular online groups, for example Diani and Eyeran⁵⁰. When some lists, such as Roots-L are as large as 10,000 people, that is a lot of ill will which could be generated by not using the lists as requested.

Furthermore, as someone who does not frequent these lists, steaming in with my first message being a survey, without offering any information or help to others first would be a serious breach of “netiquette”, and likely to result in a “flame war”, in which my inbox could be flooded by emails from people criticising me – again a lot of ill-feeling. This of course could also prompt people to fill in the questionnaire with malicious motives, or even in extreme cases, to hack the online survey to make it unusable, or to crash the server by multiple simultaneous submissions. There is also the possibility that people who are not really the ideal target population will be found this way. Whilst there are much more targeted groups, for example the

⁴⁹ For example see http://groups.google.com/googlegroups/posting_terms.html visited 12 July 2002

⁵⁰ M. Diani and R. Eyeran (eds), *Studying collective action*, (Thousand Oaks, 1989). Cited in L. Paccagnella, ‘Getting the seat of your pants dirty: strategies for ethnographic research on virtual communities’, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communications*, Vol. 3, no. 1, (1998) <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol3/issue1/paccagnella.html> downloaded 23 June 2002

Scottish General Interest groups at Rootsweb, I lurked on this list for a couple of weeks to get a feel for the listing and if using it would be appropriate. Not only where many of the active emailers addresses I had already found using other sources, my survey would not have been an appropriate addition to these lists. Again it is important not to potentially prejudice people against filling out your survey when you contact them using sources outside the list. Also, multiple approaches to people are not a welcome form of email behaviour. Thus using email groups such as those described above would not have been appropriate for this piece of research.

Instead I gathered email addresses which had been made publicly available on the Internet. I did this in two ways. First I visited the top 500 web pages found in a Google search for "Scottish history", and secondly I used web rings to visit more sites. From these sites I gathered the email addresses of the people who had created the sites which they had made accessible as the access point of the site. I also used listings from some sites of contact emails for Scottish societies and Highland games. Using these methods I gathered 782 unique email addresses.

The initial invitation email was sent out to these email addresses, which carried a clear statement that I had found their address on the Internet, and would not make it available to anyone else, and would not use it to contact them again (for text of this email see Appendix D). It is important to make clear to people you are "cold-calling" how you got their address. This email does not count as "spam" as it was sent to a targeted audience, pre-selected on the basis that they have expressed an interest in the subject by publicising their email address on the Internet as the named contact for Scottish themed websites or associations. However, spam is a tricky subject. Some people may consider the contact email spam because they did not specifically sign up to retrieve it. In the event, only one person responded that they considered that the contact email counted as spam. To further preserve anonymity, the initial contact emails were sent to my own email address as "Scottish Interest Group *afoy@scottishhistoryresearch.net*" and blind copied to the other recipients. This way those contacted could not see the email addresses of any of the

other recipients.⁵¹

The email address used to generate the initial contact email is important. Email software can easily be configured to automatically junk emails from certain, or even simply unknown, addresses before it even gets to the inbox. Unsolicited emails with file attachments are also often trashed unviewed purely because of the risk of computer viruses within attachments. NUA showed that levels of unsolicited emails in the workplace have climbed in some cases to more than 39 per day.⁵² Sheehan also suggests that the email suffix itself could have an effect on response rates.⁵³ For example, spammers – senders of junk mail – often use passport accounts like Hotmail so they do not receive responses to their private email accounts, and this also enables them to dodge persecution by Internet Service Providers (ISPs) for sending out content which is against netiquette. It is easy to set up a Hotmail account, use it once to send out spam, and then shut it down and start up a new one with a different identity, although email accounts can be tracked down eventually by experts.

However, this does not automatically guarantee a welcome reception for the right suffix. Many people may not recognise the significance of such suffixes, whilst it is easy to forge email addresses. Furthermore, the existence of different protocols across countries muddies the waters. Sheehan uses the example of the .edu suffix as indicating a user has a university account, but this is only true of American academics, a fact she overlooks. UK academics tend to have the suffix ac.uk at the end of their email address – but so does every student registered on the university network, so again this is no guarantee of a legitimate researcher. The best way round this from my point of view was to use a domain name.

Using a domain name to provide the email address for the original “hook” to the site may encourage someone to open an unsolicited email. An email from

⁵¹ Whilst this meant that emails appeared on screen to be being sent to *AFoy@scottishhistoryresearch.net*, this is not apparent until the email is opened. Email software such as Microsoft Outlook only display the sender and subject line of a message in the inbox, not who the message is actually addressed to

⁵² NUA Internet Surveys, *E-mail driving growth of office workload* [Online] (2000a). http://www.nua.ie/surveys/?f=VS&art_id=905355873&rel-=true in Sheehan ‘Email survey response rates’

⁵³ *Ibid.*

AFoy@scottishhistoryresearch.net has more cachet than *anne@beeb.net* – and less gender bias. Even if someone is not quite sure about opening your email, they can always find your web page from your address to see what it is you might be affiliated with. However, calling your email address *student@* or *survey@scottishhistoryresearch.net* might put off people too as it has an anonymous ring to it – and also implies that you are wanting something from the recipient. Of course, you are, but it is not always wise to advertise that fact in the “from” line as this is the first thing that identifies an email on most people’s email software. It has to be carefully thought out. The subject line was tagged “Scottish history research” – no mention of a survey but a true indication of the content of the email. Leaving the subject line blank can sometimes also be an indication of spam, so this was not an option, nor would it have been ethical. Furthermore, the domain name suffix itself is important. In this case it was decided to use a .net domain name, as a generic name available on the web. Many other domain names identify the country of the website originator, for example, .uk is the UK, .au is Australia, .de is Germany. Although I also registered .com I decided not to use this domain name for two reasons. Firstly, .com can imply the site is a commercial site, which this is not, and secondly, .com is associated with many users with specifically American websites. I particularly did not want the commercial association because I was asking people to fill out a survey. Although the initial contact email makes clear the uses of the data collected, I did not want people to skim over the email message with a commercial preconception, as on sight of the word survey they may have dismissed the email as trying to get their personal information for purposes the recipient would not want.

Of the initial 782 emails sent, 129 were undelivered for various reasons. Approximately 250 replies were generated from this sample, although of course the snowball effect cannot be discounted. Once the response rate had slowed down I approached Alan Scot at Rampant Scotland, and Alastair McIntrye at Electric Scotland about putting my message on their weekly email newsletters. Alastair declined, but Alan Scott put my invitation message in his weekly Scottish Snippets email of the 16 August 2002 which goes to approximately 6,000 people worldwide. (It should be noted that ‘Scottish Snippets’ is a bit of a misnomer – the word length

of this newsletter is generally about 7,000 words plus⁵⁴). It is important to highlight that these email lists differ from those described earlier in a number of ways. First of all they are newsletters, and as such carry a wide variety of information, the only dominant factor being that all the information is about Scotland. All content is centrally controlled and compiled by a single person, so it is not a discussion forum like the other groupings mentioned. All the recipients had actively signed up to join the listing, although a copy of the newsletter is also hosted on the website for anyone to read. There are disadvantages of course. Although a large number of people subscribe, this is no guarantee that they read the newsletter, particularly when it is of the length these are! Also this means that the sample is limited to people who have been to the Rampant Scotland site. However, in an analysis of survey respondents favourite websites, of those who had submitted their survey prior to the newsletter being sent out Rampant Scotland was the most popular site. This suggests that the subscribers to the e-newsletter were representative of the subjects I wanted to survey.

Question Selection for the Online Survey

The first aspect of the survey it was important to clarify was whether assumptions about the skewed nature of the Internet population were reflected in this sample. In this instance it was decided that whilst asking about age, sex and location was relevant, I decided not to question socio-economic status. As it turned out, when questioned about visiting Scotland, several respondents offered that they 'could not afford' to do so, whilst others had visited on numerous occasions, indicating that a range of economic strata were covered. Whilst Celeste Ray has highlighted the socio-economic self-segregation of spectators at Highland Games in Scotland, she contends that this is not repeated in the US.⁵⁵ Furthermore, I did not want to ask an "ethnicity" question in case that then prejudiced results in the "identity" question. However, the country of birth and the country of residence of respondents was a relevant question which would give a rough indication of the sample population in this survey, as well as making it possible to compare the data gathered with studies

⁵⁴ I. Andsell, 'Web master with a human touch', article in the ICON section of *The Herald*, (No date given) and available online at <http://www.peelcom.com/os/herald/scottie.htm> visited 26 August 2002

⁵⁵ In email correspondence of 11 September 2002, Ray confirms that in her experience, attendance at Highland games at least it is common for people of different socio-economic status to sit down together in discussion and activities where their "class" status is overcome by affiliations with kinship and clans.

done within Scotland which have identified birth and residence country as important factors of identity.

I also wanted to find out how respondents defined themselves, how they saw their identity. The first two research phases had asked respondents if they felt "Scottish", however, this survey made this a free-response question, although some guidance was given as to what the question was getting at. However, in comparison to the frame of reference system used by the Moreno question I did not feel this would prejudice responses significantly. The exact wording used was:

Q4 How would you define your identity, e.g. Scottish, Australian, American, Scottish-American, American-Scottish etc. (Type in)

This indicated that more than one identity was permissible, and also that the order in which identities were given was of interest.

The previous chapters have shown that there has developed a perceived Scottish identity which is characterised by historic highland symbolism. I wanted to see if this was being perpetuated on the web. Therefore several questions were asked in the online survey to ascertain the image of Scotland held by those responding, and to see if it reflected the commercial research already done in this area to assess the reliability of the questionnaire. These included questions about the first three images that come to mind when the word "Scotland" is suggested, and the first three "Famous Scots".

There has been a suggestion by some academics that Scottish identity is born of a cult of failure in Scotland. I asked respondents to give three images that characterised Scottish identity to them, which were categorised in the analysis to see if Scottish identity was indeed seen as a 'negative' thing, for example, based in Anti-Englishness, or other detrimental factors. This was also a very important question because very little research exists into the exact parameters of "Scottishness" as currently studied. If anti-Englishness or anti-Britishness was a significant response this would demonstrate that the wider Scottish diaspora sees Scotland in terms of her relationship with these other entities, and as such could justify the use of an adapted form of the Moreno question in further research into Scottishness out with

Scotland.

Whilst these questions may give us an indication of people's perceptions of Scottishness, they do not ascertain how these came about. What influences were acting on people to establish these stereotypes if they were indeed found to exist? Thus the questionnaire asked respondents to answer a series of questions about their favourite film, television show, fictional book and history book about Scotland. This would give an idea of presentations of Scottishness over geographical boundaries, for example, would respondents resident in Australia identify similar history books to those in America?

An important follow-up question was to ascertain whether respondents had ever actually visited Scotland, to see if their perceptions were purely from external experiences or not. I also wanted to see if traditional overseas bastions of Scottish identity, for example Scottish societies, had an online presence. Thus I asked how many people were members of Scottish societies, and a variety of questions about the online presence of these societies.

One aspect which came out of the initial survey was the idea that respondents "enact" their Scottish identity. Over the period of this research it has become apparent that the Internet is a major new medium with the potential to have a greater impact than other forms of mass communication such as film and television. However, unlike the aforementioned channels, the Internet is not subject to the same moderation or control. This is a very important issue we will return to chapter eight, however, for the purposes of the questionnaire design, I wanted to find out a number of factors:

Did people had a favourite website about Scotland, and if so, what was it?

Did respondents have their own websites, and if so did they carry information about Scotland and Scottish history in particular?

Which periods of Scottish history did they have information about on their own websites?

Where did they get their source materials from for this information?

What symbols and topics were carried on their websites which may be seen as representative of Scotland?

How many people visited their websites?

Did their websites carry community elements such as email lists or forums?

Did respondents utilise online communities such as webring?

Whilst there are a lot of questions here, I wanted to gather as much information as I could at this stage which would enable me to assess how respondents are representing and enacting their Scottish identity in an online environment where it is accessible to a very large global audience – essentially this is like a wider version of the local enactments of Scottishness found within Scottish societies holding events such as ceilidhs and highland games which were looked at in the first two surveys.

Procedure of Phase Three Survey

A lot of time was invested in ensuring that the technical architecture of the online questionnaire was correct. This included: analysing other studies; addressing ethical concerns such as data protection; building a fully functional site whilst allowing for differing user abilities, technical platforms and software; setting up data handling conventions to enable easy analysis of results; and using log file analysis to track performance of the site over the period of the study. These aspects of the research are discussed fully in Appendix G.

Initial contact emails were sent out during the first week, and two weeks were given to see how responses were going. This allowed time to post the invitation email to other sources, with a further two weeks for responses. Some email and web surveys see their responses peak within four days after initial contact⁵⁶, whilst others have had to shut down before their two month timespan due to too much traffic⁵⁷, and it was anticipated that there would be a tail off in responses after the initial lists were contacted. The email lists were sent out on consecutive days.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Swoboda, et al. 'Internet Surveys by Direct Mailing', cited by Yun and Trumbo, 'Comparative Response to a survey'

⁵⁷In 1999 a Canadian primary school class of 17 children sent out one email each to a friend, asking them to pass the message on to as many people as they liked, so the class could track where the emails got to in a 2 month period. Within one day 208 responses were received, increasing to 150 per hour until the email account had to be closed down. H. Coombes, *Research using IT*, (Basingstoke, 2001), p.149

⁵⁸ There would be no point sending all emails out simultaneously as many hosting companies limit server traffic to a pre-specified amount per month. Although this can be increased if necessary, you also would not want too many responses simultaneously as

In all, during the five week period of the online survey, 471 unique completed questionnaires were collected.⁵⁹ The next chapter will discuss the information gathered in this survey and the implications raised.

could cause technological meltdown. If the server were to crash then the site would lose valuable 'up-time' and respondents would not be able to get to the site to respond. Instead they would receive an error message telling them the server was not responding and to try again later. Of course, you are then dependent on people having the tenacity to come back to the site at a later time.

⁵⁹ Some people submitted their questionnaires a number of times. This was usually because they got interrupted for unknown reasons whilst filling out the questionnaire, characterised by the fact that the final submitted version of the questionnaire was always the most complete in terms of answers. Because email addresses had been requested, I was able to use this unique identifier to weed out multiple submissions.

Chapter Seven: Phase Three of the Research Process – Assessing Perceptions of Scottishness on the Internet

Summary of Phase Three Survey Objectives

The previous chapter described the first two surveys carried out and the information gathered from these. The final stage of the research was to do a third online survey to further investigate issues raised by the first two surveys, namely perceptions and presentations of Scotland and Scottishness amongst the diaspora, and in particular online presentations of Scotland and Scottishness.

Online Questionnaire Findings

In all 782 email addresses were gathered through the methods covered in the previous chapter. Of these initial emails, 129 were returned undelivered for a variety of reasons, including: the email address doesn't exist; the server would not relay the email; or the address mailbox was full. In all I received 471 unique completed questionnaires by the 31 August 2002 when the site went offline.¹

Demographics of the Sample

The analysis of the sample population (see Figure 5) does not bear out the theory that the Internet is dominated by young males. However, it must be remembered that this survey was targeted at those who had already expressed an interest in Scotland and her history either by publicising their email address or joining a related subject e-newsletter. Therefore, the data would seem to imply that there is an age dimension in the sample, in that the majority of respondents who indicated their age are over the age of 40. We know from other research that Internet use is weighted towards the younger generation, particularly because of the availability of the Internet in educational establishments. We also know from the phase one research that membership of Scottish Societies tends to be of an older generation. Therefore it would be fair to assume that this sample is representative of the target

¹ It should be noted that percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point, and that percentages are based on the number of respondents who answered each particular question, not the number of respondents in total. 'Don't Know' was counted as an answer in all categories.

grouping by age and gender. This is also born out by the fact that Electric Scotland's 2002 questionnaire showed that 89% of respondents were over the age of 34.²

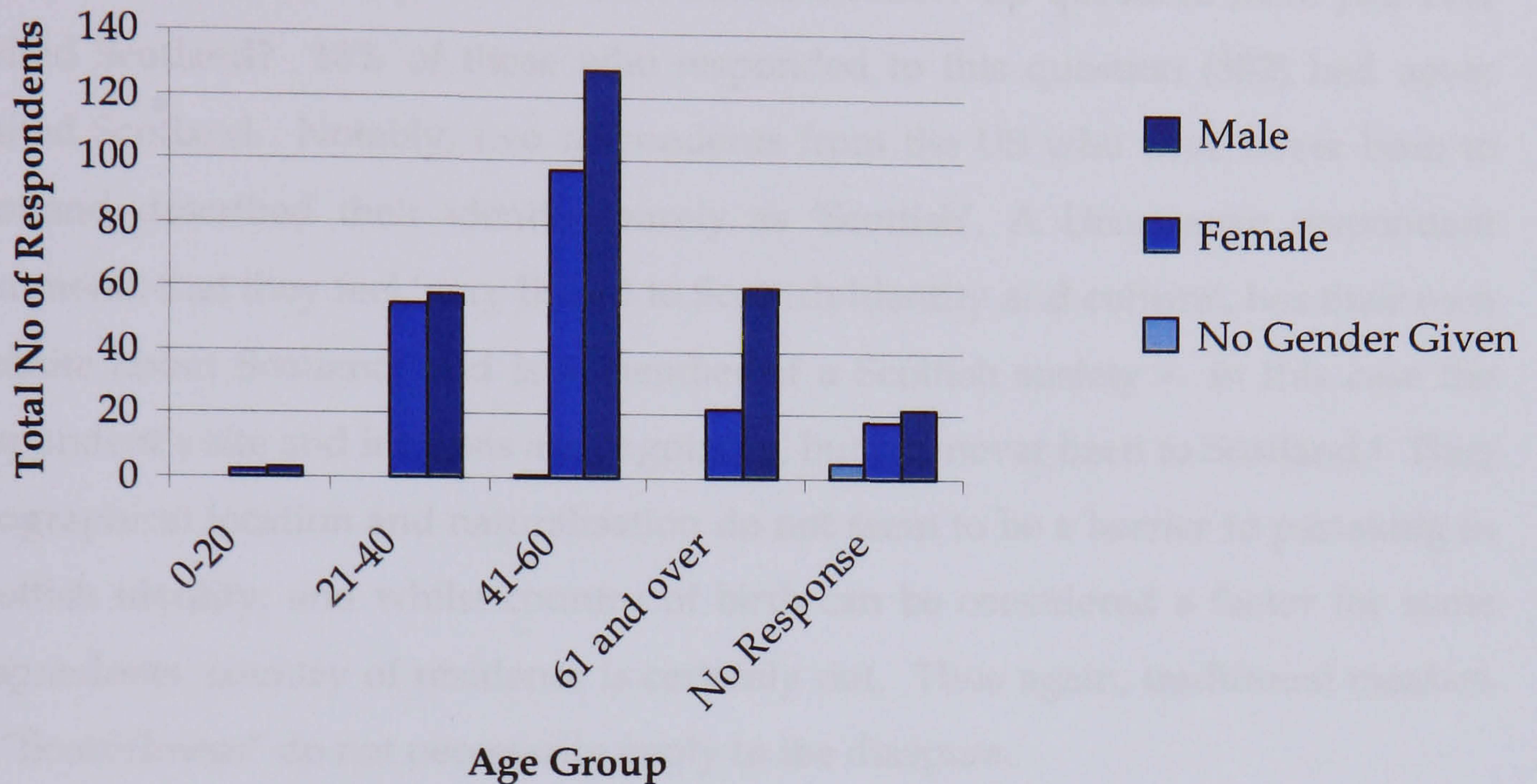


Figure 5. Analysis of Web Survey Respondents by Age and Gender

If we look at the respondents by geographic location we find that 214, 45% of the total number of respondents, were born in the USA, and 210 currently reside there. The second largest proportion by country of birth are those born in Scotland at 185 (39%), however, only 44 respondents currently reside there, and three of these are "incomers". Therefore expatriate Scots count for 30% (141 respondents) of the total survey population. This also means that as a percentage of the number of Scots who completed the survey and were born in Scotland, 78% are currently living in another country. This it would seem that the 'mobile Scot'³ is still a phenomenon today.

Destination countries of expatriate Scots respondents, in order of popularity, are Canada (28% of expatriate Scots [ES]), US (22% ES), Australia (15% ES), England (11% ES), Indonesia and New Zealand (both 6% ES), China and South Africa (both

² http://www.electricscotland.com/questionnaire_2002.htm visited 9 August 2002. The website Electric Scotland will be discussed more fully in chapter eight

³ From J. M. Brock, *The Mobile Scot: A Study of Emigration and Migration 1861-1911*, (Edinburgh, 1999)

1%ES) and then a number of other countries (all <1% ES).⁴ Thus the survey results would seem to reflect that Scots are still migrating throughout the world. Other respondents to the survey came from Belgium, the Czech Republic, Iceland, France, Japan and Uruguay. Of course, we do not know if these people have ever lived in Scotland, so survey respondents were asked a follow up question: have you ever visited Scotland? 18% of those who responded to this question (382) had never visited Scotland. Notably, two respondents from the US who have never been to Scotland described their identity purely as 'Scottish'. A Uruguayan respondent comments that they feel 'very linked to Scottish identity and culture', has their own website about Scotland, and is a member of a Scottish society - in this case the respondent's site and interests are bagpiping, but has never been to Scotland.⁵ Thus geographical location and naturalisation do not seem to be a barrier to partaking in Scottish identity, and whilst country of birth can be considered a factor for some respondents, country of residence is certainly not. Thus again, traditional markers of "Scottishness" do not necessarily apply to the diaspora.

How Do Respondents Define Their Identity?

Of the 465 who answered this question in the Websurvey, 86 (18%) described themselves as being something other than Scottish. 87% of these characterised themselves as purely identified with a country other than Scotland, and of these the largest grouping were Americans, followed by Canadians. Seven described themselves as a combination of identities, with none of these being Scottish. 21 had Scottish as part of a number of identities more than two.

Only one respondent raised the notion of identity being chosen to fit circumstances:

Depends entirely on context. Sometimes simply "American", other times "Scottish-American", other times "Irish-American", "Mazur-American", "Swiss-American", "Irish-Catholic-American", even "Irish-German-Mazur-Swiss-Scottish-English-American", or other way. (WEB/90/USA/F)

⁴ For a full breakdown of country of birth by country of residence, see Appendix H, Table H3.

⁵ Interestingly, respondents from Canada and the US who had never visited Scotland displayed hyphenated Scottishness, whereas respondents from one of the other main destinations of Scots migrants, Australia, saw themselves as purely Australian.

And one other respondent raised the notion of a distinction between birthplace and ancestry: 'I am an American by birth, but Scottish by blood'. (WEB/57/USA/M) Otherwise identity did not seem to be too complex a notion for respondents, as Hague found in chapter two.

Of those who characterised themselves as primarily Scottish, 47% (137) were purely Scottish. Four of these included US born American residents, including two who have never been to Scotland. Four Canadian born respondents indicated they were purely 'Scottish', even though they all live in North America, and other interesting combinations included [born: resident] relationships of [Federated Malay States: Indonesia], [Nigeria: Australia] and [Germany: USA]. Thus again birthplace and residence do not seem to be barriers to Scottishness.

The question of ancestry is a tricky one. Remember that the definition of "ancestry" currently used by social scientists in this kind of research is a parent or grandparent. This is actually 'defined as having Scottish parents or grandparents'⁶, and this creates an inherent paradox. What makes your "ancestor" Scottish? If you stipulated that the criteria which made an ancestor "Scottish" was that they were born in Scotland then you are immediately saying that effectively, people cannot be Scottish unless they fulfil this criterion. We have already seen from the phase one and phase two studies that ancestry by this definition is irrelevant to some of the people who consider themselves Scottish, and as such see themselves as part of the Scottish diaspora. However, the survey in which these questions were asked did not define being Scottish as being born in Scotland.⁷ Indeed the definition of being

⁶ Source Scottish Election Study, 1997 quoted in D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation*, 2nd edition, (London, 2001), p.173

⁷ The exact text is:

'Q601 [ScotBorn] CARD BB

How important or unimportant is each of the following to being truly Scottish:

To have been born in Scotland? *

Q602 [ScotLive] CARD BB AGAIN

(How important or unimportant is it to being truly Scottish...)

To be living in Scotland? *

Q603 [ScotAnce] CARD BB AGAIN

(How important or unimportant is it to being truly Scottish...)

To have Scottish parents or grandparents? *

* [ScotBorn] - [ScotAnce]

1 Very important

2 Fairly important

3 Not very important

'truly Scottish'⁸ is left up to the respondent, and Brown et al. admit as much in their analysis:

This review [1997 Scottish Election Survey] clearly indicates that most people living in Scotland ... consider themselves to be Scottish in terms of their "nationality". Of course, we cannot tell from these survey data how they themselves interpret the term.⁹

As we have clearly seen through all three phases of this survey, members of the diaspora classify themselves as being Scottish for a variety of reasons, and it is fair to assume that their parents and indeed grandparents did also. Some respondents have mentioned "ancestral" connections which go back well beyond two generations (e.g. members of P/6/USA), and it is prudent to mention that as part of a colonial and military Empire, many "Scots" would have been born overseas of parents in the service of their country, as well as emigrants.

Remember also that the numbers of people of "Scottish descent" which are bandied about are based on people describing themselves as Scottish on census forms - do other countries' census forms state that you can only call yourself of X descent if your parent or grandparent was born in X? A look at the guidelines for filling out the US 2000 census shows that this is not the case:

Ancestry refers to the person's ethnic origin or descent, "roots" or heritage.

4 Not at all important'

From page 68 of the 1997 Scottish Election Study, <http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/doc/3889/mrdoc/pdf/a3889qab.pdf> downloaded 4 October 2002

⁸ Note the use of the term 'truly Scottish'. This implies there are degrees of Scottishness, and is in some ways a dangerous path for social research to tread. It implies that certain factors make you more Scottish than others, for example blood relatives, and this is of course an ideological approach which has caused problems throughout history. A very recent example of this phenomenon can be found in Australia. Advances in DNA research have branched into "DNA Genealogy" in an attempt to provide definitive relationships. Despite the fact that mitochondrial DNA has its limitations, for example, if you go back 5 generations, only 1 in 16 forefathers will show up in the DNA, this research in Australia on Aboriginal DNA has been banned due to the potentially explosive racial connotations. (See N. Shute, 'Where we come from', *US News and World Report*, 29 January 2001). Implying that someone can only be 'truly Scottish' by virtue of certain criteria of ancestry could therefore be construed as racist. In future research instead of asking if people are 'truly Scottish', perhaps 'legally Scottish' would be a better phrase if based on the passport question.

⁹ A. Brown, D. McCrone and L. Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland*, 2nd edition, (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 212

Ancestry may also refer to the country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. ... Persons who have more than one origin and cannot identify with a single ancestry group may report two ancestry groups (for example, German-Irish).'¹⁰

In an increasingly "global village" it is now common for people to be born in different countries to their parents. Using the "passport question", a more recent innovation from social scientists to judge identity, doesn't limit Scottishness to birth, residency or even ancestry. Importantly, research on the passport question has found the fact that

almost one-third [of respondents] thought that everyone in the UK¹¹ should be entitled to a Scottish passport is difficult to interpret, and slightly odd, but is possibly a reflection of a desire to be inclusive as possible of national identity.¹²

A recurrent factor throughout the research is that people call themselves Scottish because they want to. It is their personal decision.

There were a large number of hyphenated identities. One of Hague's respondents noted that 'Americanness is not quite enough',¹³ and whilst post September 11 2001 there has been a surge in American patriotism, people are still characterising themselves as Scottish-Americans, or perhaps American-Scottish. 46 (10% of respondents to the identity question) described their identity as X-Scottish.

¹⁰ <http://www.census.gov/prod/1/90dec/cph4/appdx.pdf> page e4 downloaded 4 October 2002

¹¹ No birth or residency parameters defined.

¹² D. McCrone, 'Opinion Polls in Scotland: July 1998 - June 1999' *Scottish Affairs*, no. 28, (1999), pp. 32-43, http://www.scottishaffairs.org/onlinepub/sa/mccrone_1998-99polls.html visited 4 October 2002. The question asked is 'Which of the following types of people should be entitled to a Scottish passport?' And a number of responses are available. This also contrasts with the stance of the SNP that territoriality should be the clear criterion for legal Scottish citizenship, Brown et al., *Politics and Society*, p.219

¹³ E. Hague, 'The Representation of Scotland in the United States', *The Journal of The Scottish Association of Geography Teachers*, No. 28, (1999), pp.86-93, p.90. Also, Modood has noted that this American notion of hyphenated identity (and one which has been replicated in other countries) is different to the term 'British' in that "'British" ... is virtually a quasi-ethnic term, so it is not surprising that descriptions such as British Black or British Pakistani are at present little more than courtesy titles and carry little conviction ... hyphenated Americans have no doubt that they are fully American'. T. Modood 'On not being white in Britain: discrimination, diversity and commonality', in M Leicester and M Taylor (eds) *Ethics, Ethnicity and Education* (London, 1992), p.78, cited in B. Carrington and G. Short 'What makes a person British? Children's conceptions of their national culture and identity', *Educational Studies*, Vol. 21, no. 2, (1995), pp.217-238

The largest groups of "Scottish-" identity were American (15%), Canadian (4%), Australian (3%), New Zealander (1%) and three respondents described themselves as Scottish-British. (This is in addition to one Anglo-Scot from the previous section of identity groupings). Other responses of interest in this analysis include one Scottish-Confederate, one Scottish-Gael, one Scottish-European-British (who specified in his response that this was the correct order), and one Scottish-Cherokee-American. Furthermore, six characterised themselves as Scottish with some degree of Irishness, and two specified a sub-degree of their identity as 'Ulster-Scots'¹⁴. Whilst Scottish may be named as the primary identity in those given, that is it is named first, this does not necessarily mean it is the primary identity of the respondent. Describing someone as Scottish-American for instance could be interpreted that they are American and that Scottish is a derivation of that.

If we correlate birth-county with identity we find that more respondents born in the USA define themselves as specifically Scottish-American (60, which equates to 28% of the number of people born in the USA giving an identity) than purely American (24%) and that 22% define themselves as American-Scottish.¹⁵ A similar relationship occurs with Canadian born and New Zealand born respondents - more define themselves as a combination of their identity and Scottishness than by their own country of birth. Conversely, of those born in Scotland, only 6% define themselves as being purely something other than Scottish, whilst 27% define themselves as being Scottish in combination with another identity, and 64% describe themselves as purely Scottish.

If we correlate country of residence with identity we find similar results. Comparing the USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, if the Country of Residence is X, more people define themselves as (X - Scottish, or Scottish - X) than define themselves as purely X. Everyone resident within Scotland describes

¹⁴ Ulster Scots is a term often used to describe migrants who originated in Scotland, and moved to Ulster before their final stage of migration. Interestingly the other term commonly used is Scotch-Irish, and this is a term which has been used by genealogical researchers to distinguish these migrants from poor post-Famine migrants. The term Scotch is disliked by many researchers, and only one respondent used this word to describe part of their identity - every other respondent used Scots or Scottish. For a fuller discussion of such terminology see C. Nash, 'Genealogical Identities', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* Vol. 20, (2002), pp.27-52

¹⁵ All definitions of identity are measured exactly as they were given by respondents in terms of which identity was placed in which order and how many identities were given.

themselves as Scottish, with only seven respondents describing themselves as Scottish and something else. Thus neither country of birth or country of residence, unless they are Scotland, seem to have a bearing on Scottish identity.

We also see that people who have never even visited Scotland seem to have an affinity with the country's identity, as with the "Scottish/Belgian" who was born and currently lives in Belgium but has never actually visited. It should be noted that a number of reasons may contribute to not visiting Scotland, and indeed some of these were raised in responses to the question about visiting Scotland, including cost and health reasons. However, the physical act of visiting Scotland is clearly not a barrier. One respondent commented that 'I have never visited Scotland, other than on line'. (WEB/321/CAN/F)

This has been replicated in other research. Paul Basu quotes one visitor to an online message board about Scotland:

My husband and I had always hoped to visit Scotland one day, but events here at home prevented that. He has since passed away and the possibility that I will be able to do so is very small. I was so pleased to be able to visit this way. I will revisit often to see what changes will be made. I love the photographs and hope to see more bagpipes and kilts and tartans ... thank you so much, Scotland, for coming to visit me¹⁶

And this kind of sentiment has been found elsewhere, for example, a respondent to Electric Scotland's 2002 questionnaire stated 'I am unable to travel so I do so via Electric Scotland. I enjoy the history of the country and enjoy seeing the photographs of the cities and countryside'.¹⁷

Thus the Internet can be seen to act as a projection of Scotland, a 'Virtual Scotland' which is indistinguishable from the real thing. Research into tourism is beginning to classify 'virtual tourism' as a category in its own right, compared to other categories of 'imaginative' (phone, radio and television), and 'corporeal' travel.

¹⁶ P. Basu, 'Hunting down home' paper presented at World Archaeological Congress 4th, January 1999 in Symposium: contested landscapes and landscapes of movement and exile. <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/> visited 16 August 2002 quotation p.8

¹⁷ http://www.electricscotland.com/questionnaire_2002.htm visited 9 August 2002

However, whilst neither imaginative nor virtual travel is yet threatening corporeal travel, 'there are complex interactions between these different modes of travel that are increasingly de-differentiated from one another'.¹⁸ This idea shall be explored further in chapter eight.

Scottish Genealogical Connections

One of the points raised by Celeste Ray and others including VisitScotland is that there is a conception that having a "Scottish surname" automatically links you to certain Scottish families. Scotland has also increasingly found herself a haven for genealogists, in part due to the access to her resources and excellent records. I wanted to try and ascertain whether the respondents had an interest in their ancestry. As we have already seen, there is no accepted cross-cultural definition of "ancestry" in use, and again, the point was to find out about what people believed their identity to be, not necessarily what it was by proven connections. Whilst some Clan Societies insist on prospective members producing detailed genealogical proof of their ancestry, this goes against the historical grain of what Clans actually were. The whole point of the concept of Clanship is to *pledge loyalty* to one Clan chief,¹⁹ and if there is no historical basis for basing clan ties solely on relationship by blood, it is hard to defend this kind of limitation when investigating modern Scottish identity.

To the question of Clan affiliation, nine made no response, 37 didn't know, 85 said no and 341 said that they did (74% of those who responded to the question). There is some sniffiness evident on the web about people claiming clan connections, for example, which families belong to which clans as septs. This aspect of "degrees" of Scottishness, and authenticity is one I shall return to in chapter eight. In the survey I asked people to list up to three clan connections with their strongest affiliation first to see if this was reflected in the responses. No one responding to the survey commented that you should only really connect yourself to one clan, as highlighted above. Indeed, the majority listed numerous clans. This could be because genealogical research had shown that different branches of one's family had different clan loyalties. However, this does seem to reflect that people are aware of the concept of clanship and actively interested in it as an aspect of their Scottish

¹⁸ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edition, (London, 2002), quote p.141

¹⁹ J. Keay and J. Keay (eds), *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, (London, 1994), p.163

identity. As we shall see in chapter eight, Clans are one of the largest groups of Scottish related sites on the Internet.²⁰

One aspect raised by certain commentators (e.g. Linklater) is that there is an awareness amongst Scots that a lot of the tartan stereotyping is acknowledged to be a modern incarnation. However, it is interesting to note the response of one Scot in the study who answered the clans question with the following comment: 'The idea of clan connection is a load of bollocks for tourists' (WEB/276/SWI/M). It is ironic that one aspect of Scotland's wider image which is not an invention is believed to be so by someone born in Scotland who considers themselves to be purely "Scottish". It may also be indicative of the wider perception that it is those outside Scotland that are so desperate to identify themselves with her through genealogy and cultural "traditions" rather than the Scots themselves. A number of people, for example Richard Finlay, have argued that at certain periods in history Scots have not needed to manifest material evidence of national identity because it is something the Scots are comfortable with - they do not feel it is something that has to be articulated, for example in the heydays of Empire. Perhaps because Scots who live in Scotland have enough cues to satisfy their understanding of their identity they do not need the "justification" which is sought in genealogical research. Or, this particular respondent could see his identity as Scottish based on the fact that he was born in Scotland. Again this indicates that different people choose different cues on which to base their identity.

Perceptions of Scotland

I wanted to assess what symbols the respondents associated with Scotland, and to that end the survey asked people to list three images that came to mind when they heard the word Scotland. In order to analyse this, the free responses were then categorised as being nature (scenery, geographical places, weather), place (towns, specific places), people (the people of Scotland), genealogy (family history,

²⁰ Whilst the first Clan Societies were founded from 1725 with mainly benevolent and educational remits, they experienced two main periods of growth in the 1890s following Glasgow's International Exhibition and again in the 1950s prompted by the Festival of Britain 'Gathering of the Clans' in Edinburgh. It should be noted that the 1822 visit of George IV only prompted the introduction of one clan society, the Clan Gregor Society. The spread of people who see themselves as part of a clan through real or imagined links have been termed 'corporate clansmen'. 1725 saw the founding of the Buchanan Society, R. W. Munro 'Clan Societies', M. Lynch (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, (Oxford, 2001), pp.92-93

personalised connections), symbolism (tartans, bagpipes etc), monuments (castles, historic monuments), history (general historical occurrences) or other.²¹

The results broke down as follows:

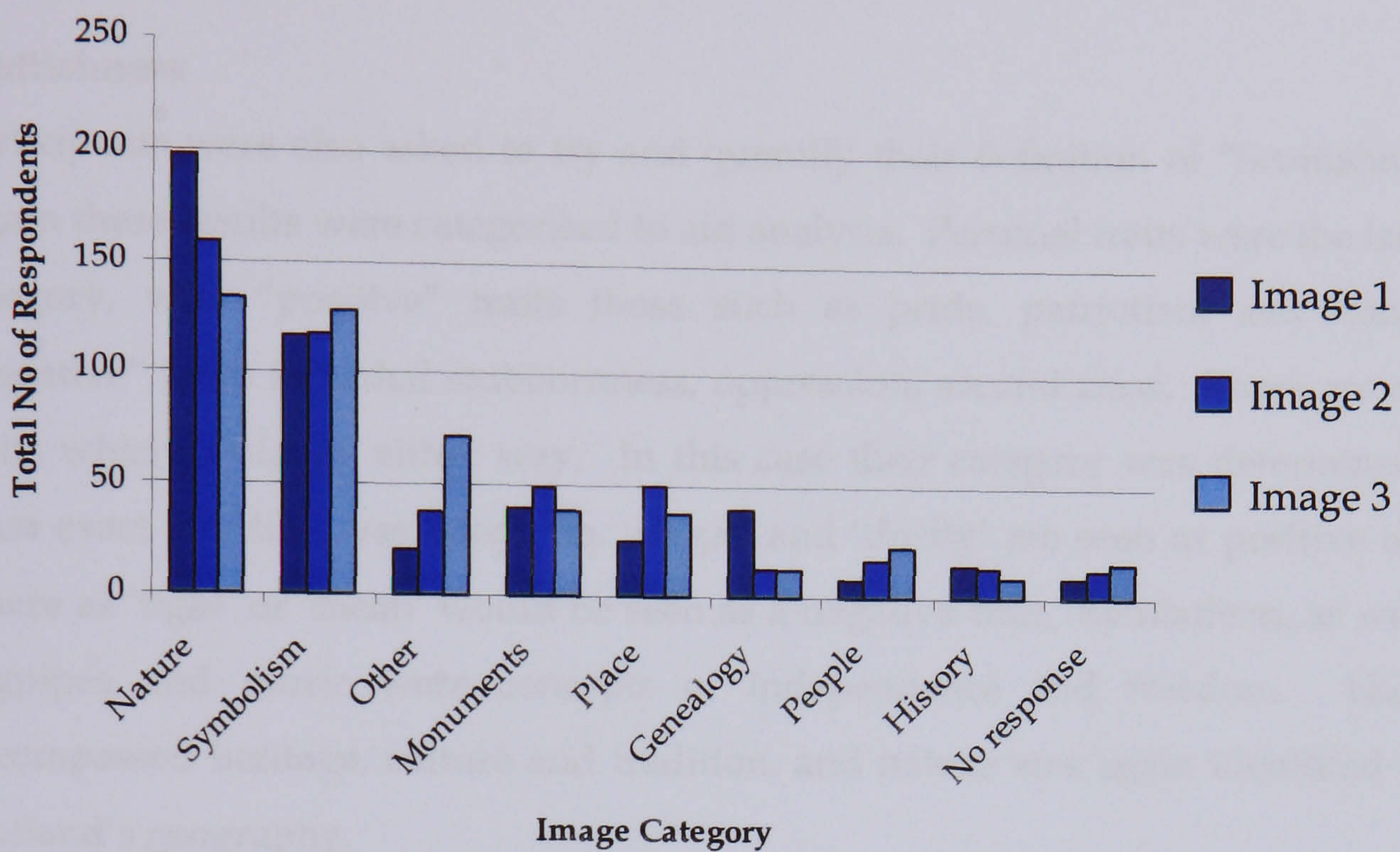


Figure 6. Categories of Images which Represent Scotland to Respondents

Obviously the concept of imagery lends itself to visualisation. The majority of respondents clearly see Scotland in terms of its natural landscape and its symbolism, a situation in which it is not alone.²² Very few of the responses to the Nature question were specific places. Five people mentioned Glencoe as their first order image, and although this does also have historic connotations, none of them mentioned the "Massacre". Loch Lomond and Skye received two mentions, but the rest were mainly general comments on mountains, heather and scenery, as well as rain. When it came to symbolism as a first image, bagpipes proved most popular

²¹ All categorisation undertaken was done by the researcher, then checked over by a second party to ensure accuracy

²² Note that this relationship is not two-way as are some of the other symbolic indicators of Scotland. For example, if you see a picture of any mountain you do not necessarily equate this with Scotland. However, seeing a kilt can bring Scotland to mind as Scotland can bring a kilt to mind - a two-way relationship. Scotland is not the only nation where the symbolism of place has impacted on National Identity. Research in Ireland has shown that 'the idea that places may be associated with nations - that place may have a role to play in relation to national identity, is a significant finding of this exploratory study'. P. Devine-Wright and E. Lyons, 'Remembering Pasts and Representing Places: the construction of national identities in Ireland', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 17, (1997), pp.33-45, quotation p.44

(26, equating to 22% of the number of people who answered this question) followed by the Saltire and kilts, tied on 16% then tartan 12%, and whisky and the thistle (each 7%). In the other categories, popular first level images were Edinburgh Castle, and 'The Highlands'. No-one mentioned the 'Lowlands'.

Scottishness

Participants were also asked to try and quantify their definition of "Scottishness". Again these results were categorised to aid analysis. Personal traits were the largest category, with "positive" traits those such as pride, patriotism and honesty. "negative" traits included stubbornness, oppression, second class. There are other traits which could go either way. In this case their category was determined on what exact wording was used. So, 'frugal' and 'thrifty' are seen as positive traits, where as 'tight' or 'mean' would be seen as a negative trait. Symbolism, as well as bagpipes and music were concepts of independence and freedom. History encompassed heritage, culture and tradition, and nature was again identified with Scotland's geography.

The results show a clear difference between how Scotland is symbolised, and how her identity is perceived. Nature, by far the largest category of imagery, is easily the smallest category when it comes to identity. In the main, respondents do not articulate their identity as an affinity with the land. It is possible this is because the majority of the people surveyed do not live in Scotland. I would have thought that seeing the landscape as part of your identity was more likely to be the case for inhabitants. However, of the 12 different people that did specify nature as an aspect their identity, none of them are current inhabitants of Scotland, although four were born there.

Within the positive category of identity, "pride" was easily the largest component. If we look at those who chose pride as their first response to this question, we find that 104 respondents (40% of those who answered this question) thought pride/proud was the word they associated with Scottish the most. We can compare this with research done within Scotland in 1997. This found that 63% of respondents in a free-response study listed attributes such as friendly/warm/kind-hearted as particular characteristics of Scots, ahead of 29% listing

patriotic/nationalistic/proud attributes²³, a situation which was reversed in this study. One could argue that since 1997 the re-instatement of the Scottish Parliament has given an extra focus to national pride, however, other information gathered suggests that a large number of those who consider themselves part of the diaspora are ignorant to the exact political status of Scotland as a nation, as we will see next.

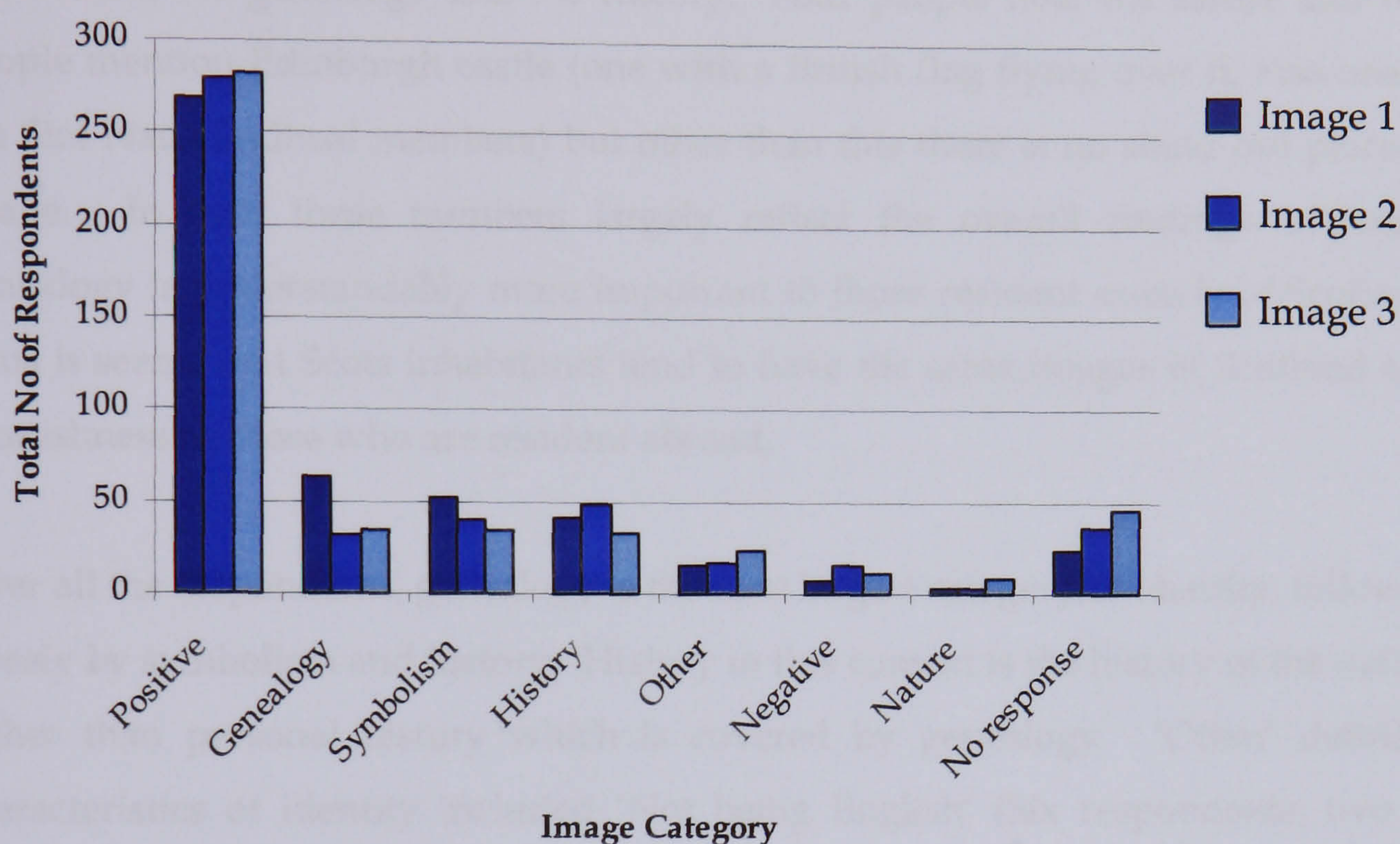


Figure 7. Categories of Images which Represent Scottishness to Respondents

When it came to symbolism responses to this question, 34 out of 53 respondents (64%) chose independent / independence as the most suitable word to describe what it is to be Scottish. Does this reflect that post devolution, Scots now consider themselves to be independent, or could this be a reaction to the Independence message of *Braveheart*? I would argue the latter, as only four of these respondents are resident in Scotland (11 were born in Scotland), and six have never even visited. This could also indicate a misunderstanding abroad of devolution. Perhaps these people have the impression that Scotland is now fully independent from England, which is why this springs to mind. A useful goal in future research would be to ascertain if people outside Scotland understand Scotland's political situation vis a vis Britain. Remember there was no recognition of this in the phase 1 survey. Contemporary researchers based in the US have received the impression that many

²³ I. Lindsay 'The Uses and Abuses of National Stereotypes', *Scottish Affairs*, no.20, (1997), pp.133-148, Table 2, p.139

members of the diaspora there do not really understand the UK's political situation, and Scotland's position within that.²⁴

If we look only at respondents who live in Scotland (44), we still find pride the most prevalent (25%), but after this there are no clear defining terms. If we compare this to imagery, we find that 45% mention nature as their first image, followed by 23% symbolism, 9% genealogy and 7% history. Four people note the saltire and two people mention Edinburgh castle (one with a British flag flying over it, also one of the Siol Nan Gaidheal members) but other than this there is no stand out place or image. In fact, these numbers largely reflect the overall findings, although genealogy is understandably more important to those resident outside of Scotland. Thus it seems that Scots inhabitants tend to have the same images of Scotland and Scottishness as those who are resident abroad.

Over all the respondents, genealogy is the next largest category of identity, followed closely by symbolism and history. History in this context is the history of the nation rather than personal history which is covered by genealogy. 'Other' defining characteristics of identity included 'Not being English' (Six respondents, two of whom are Scottish residents), and two people (neither Scottish residents) mentioned Presbyterianism as a third order identifier. Again, there was no mention of political independence. Interestingly, two people also defined their first image of Scotland as 'Nemo me impune lacessit', the motto of the Order of the Thistle established by James VII in 1687, which means 'no-one assails me with impunity'.²⁵

Famous Scots

Participants were also asked to name three famous Scots in order of importance. I asked this question to see if historical figures were more likely to be named than

²⁴ In email correspondence with Celeste Ray, 10 October 2002 and Euan Hague 18 October 2002. Ray points out that those who are learning Gaelic and taking part in piping and other events tend to be more interested in the political situation than those who are concerned with genealogical research, and she highlights the role of the Internet in enabling those who are interested to find out more, particularly as the news in the US is very 'Americentric'. Hague highlights that there seems to be confusion about the role of the Monarchy and, whilst there is a feeling that Scotland should be independent, 'its own country' (Hague's emphasis) they see this as similar to the situation of the US vis a vis England in 1776, rather than within the wider modern context of the European Community

²⁵ Whilst this was categorised as "other" this response could also be seen as a proud and therefore positive response to this question

more modern Scots, and also to see if they were, which historical figures were they? Do Enlightenment thinkers receive the same recognition as the likes of William Wallace - Marinell Ash's 'foggy peaks' - and of modern figures, do films stars like Sean Connery come to mind more often than politicians? The top ten were:

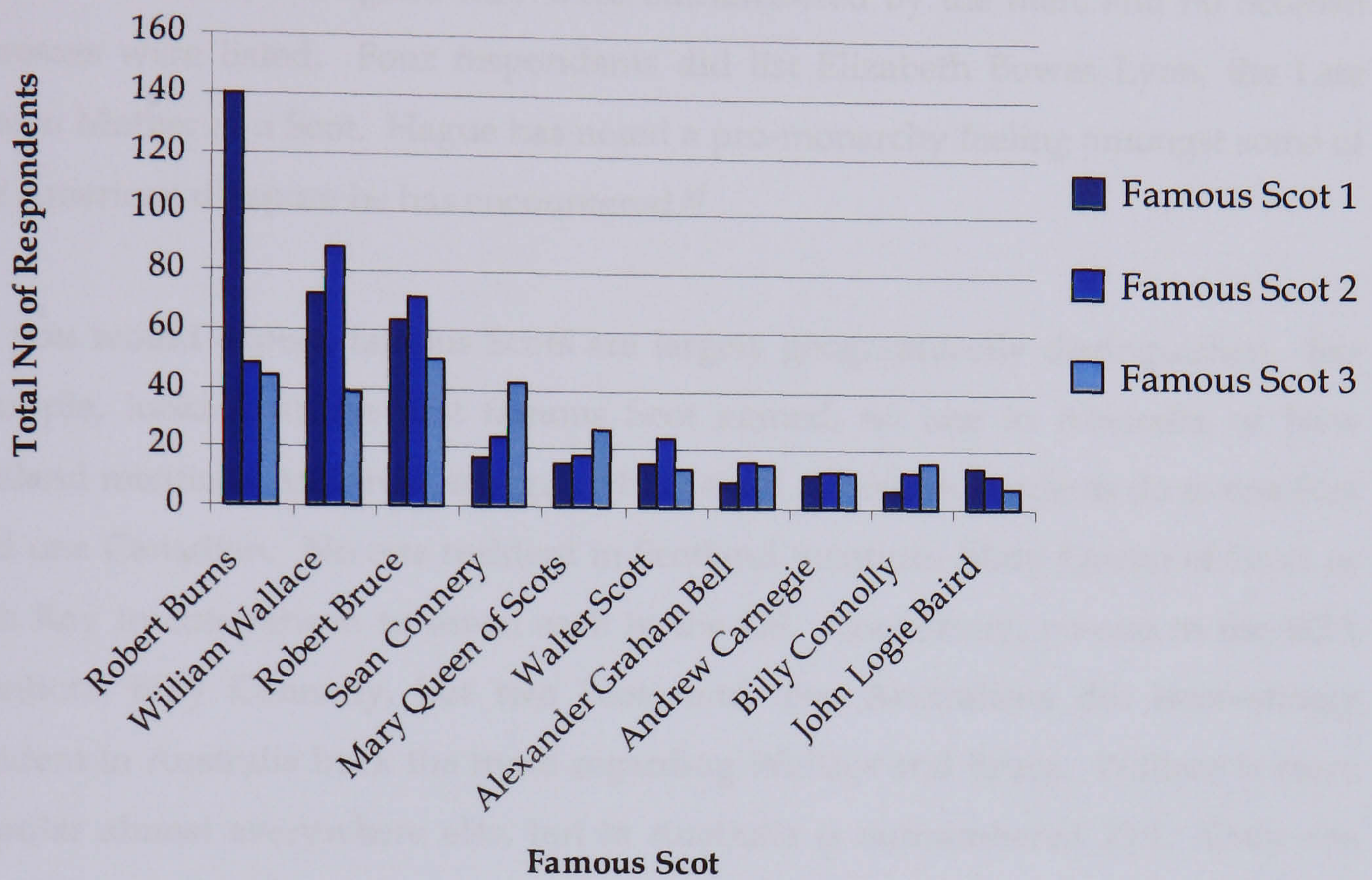


Figure 8. Top Ten "Famous Scots" named by Respondents

From this two rough patterns emerge - historic and literary figures decline over the three stages, whilst actors and inventors seem to increase over the categories. Most notably, William Wallace is not ranked as highly as Robert Burns, especially considering the *Braveheart* factor (although one respondent did list 'Braveheart' as a famous Scot). Mary Queen of Scots is by far the most notable female, and the list is very heavily weighted towards males - out of a total of 1397 responses over the three categories, famous Scottish females accounted for only 6%. Hugh MacDiarmid implied that Scottish women did not become historical figures because they weren't up to it. However, Esther Breitenbach claims this is because women are excluded from history, or included and contained.²⁶

Furthermore, whilst numerous male Scottish sporting figures were named,

²⁶ E. Breitenbach "'Curiously rare?' Scottish women of interest or the suppression of the female in the construction to national identity', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 18, (Winter, 1997), pp.82-94

including Alex Ferguson, Alan Wells, Stephen Hendry, Kenny Dalglish, David Coulthard and Jackie Stewart, no sportswomen were mentioned. A couple of women were mentioned as entertainers, namely Sheena Easton and Annie Lennox, and in particular two female Scottish folk singers were mentioned (Belle Stewart / Jeanie Robertson) but again, they were outnumbered by the men, and no Scottish actresses were listed. Four respondents did list Elizabeth Bowes Lyon, the Late Queen Mother as a Scot. Hague has noted a pro-monarchy feeling amongst some of the American diaspora he has encountered.²⁷

As you would expect, famous Scots are largely geographically distinguished. For example, looking at the first famous Scot named, no one in Australia or New Zealand mentions Andrew Carnegie, whilst eight American residents do to one Scot and one Canadian. No one resident in Scotland mentions Mary Queen of Scots or Rob Roy in comparison to seven each in the US. Conversely, no-one in the USA mentions Billy Connolly, but two Scots and four Australians do. Interestingly resident in Australia buck the trend regarding Wallace and Bruce. Wallace is more popular almost everywhere else, but in Australia is outnumbered 13:1. Only one person resident in Scotland mentions John Knox in their (third) famous Scot list.

Interestingly, given the importance of films in presenting Scotland's history, Rob Roy is not featured in the top ten "famous Scots", particularly when this was the second most popular film amongst respondents, as we will see next. It could be that this reflects the findings of the first phase of the research, which held that whilst films may have an impact on the perceptions of those outwith the framework of Scottish Societies, they did not change the opinions of those within these Societies.

Popular Media Representations of Scottishness

Respondents were asked to name their favourite film, television programme and fictional book about Scotland. The most popular films were *Braveheart* (173, equating to 41% of 426 responses to this question), *Rob Roy*²⁸ (11%), *Whisky Galore* (9%), *Local Hero* (7%), *Brigadoon* and *Trainspotting* (both 2%), and these were closely

²⁷ Euan Hague, in email correspondence 18 October 2002. Whilst mentioning the Queen Mother does not reflect that the Monarchy is popular it does demonstrate a reasonable level of knowledge. Of course, this could also be prompted by her recent death and ensuing media coverage

²⁸ It should be noted that this includes one respondent who specified the Disney version of Rob Roy

followed by *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, *Greyfriars Bobby* and *Tunes of Glory*.

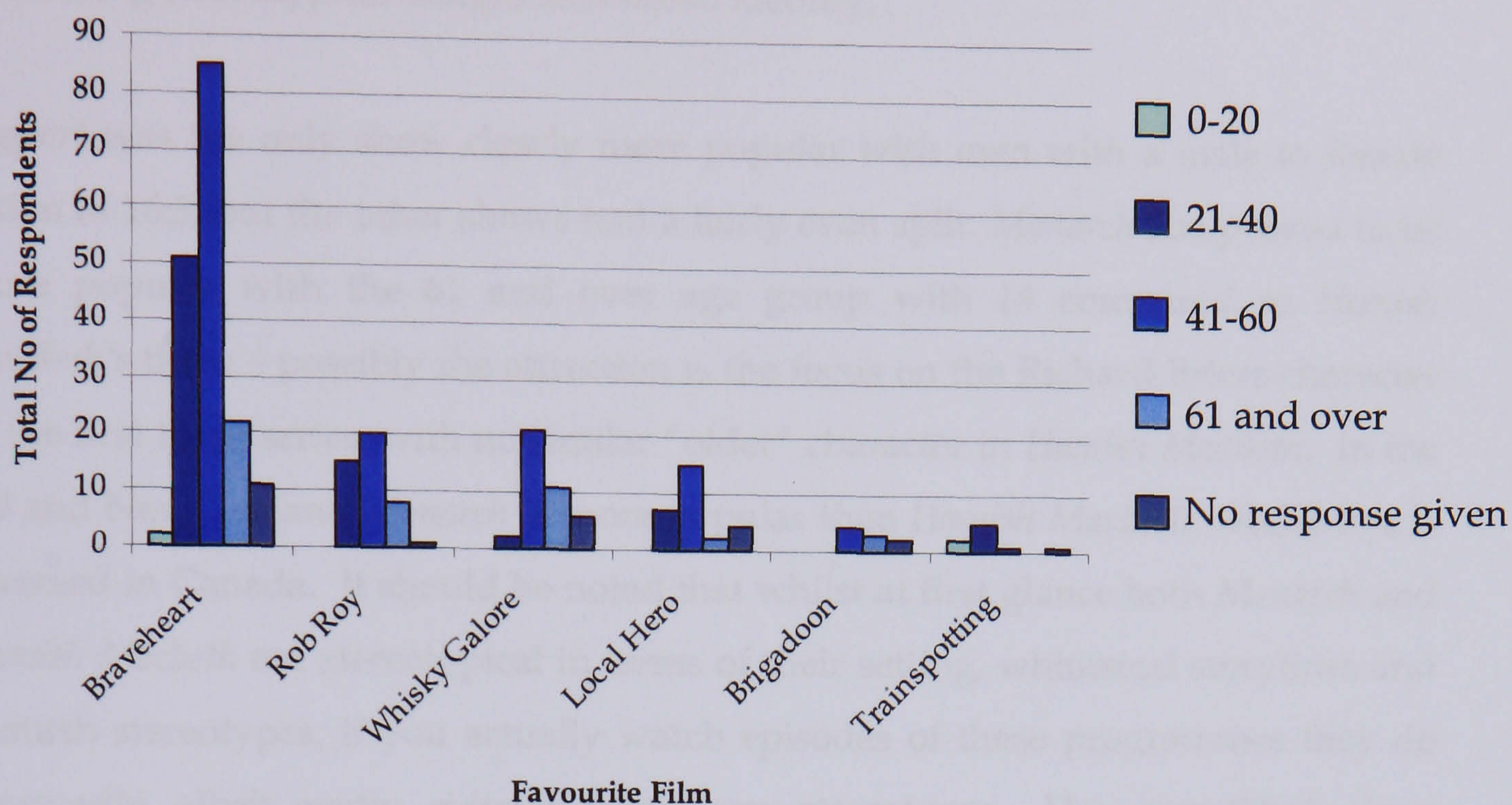


Figure 9. Top Six Favourite Films by Respondent Age Group

If we look at this by age group as you would expect *Trainspotting* is favoured by the younger age groups whilst conversely, no one under the age of 40 listed *Brigadoon* which had the same number of respondents. Furthermore only two people under the age of 40 listed *Whisky Galore* as their favourite film. *Braveheart* was popular across age groups. By gender, militaristic films, including *Braveheart*, *Rob Roy* and *Tunes of Glory* were more popular with men, as was the whimsical *Whisky Galore* and *Trainspotting*. More women than men favoured *Local Hero*, the *Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and *Brigadoon*, with a 50:50 split over *Greyfriars Bobby*.

The five most popular television programmes were *Monarch of the Glen* (60 of 363 respondents) 17%, *Hamish MacBeth* (11%), *Dr Finlay's Casebook / Taggart* (both 6%), and *Highlander* (4%). Obviously this is to a large extent determined by what is available on your local TV broadcasters, with many respondents commenting that they did not have Scottish television programmes available to them.²⁹ Certainly the largest countries of residence for the most popular programmes were Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, England, Canada and the US. Also worth a mention are *Para Handy*, *2000 Acres of Sky* and *Bill Connolly's World Tour of Scotland*. Notably, only one of these programmes is actually made outside Scotland (*Highlander*), and

²⁹ Note that the advent of digital broadcasting over the Internet will overcome this.

all the other representations are “home-grown”. So, Scottish television seems to be reinforcing stereotypical images of Scottish identity.

Taggart was the only show clearly more popular with men with a male to female ratio of 16:5, but the other shows had a fairly even split. *Monarch* has proved to be more popular with the 61 and over age group with 14 compared to *Hamish MacBeth*'s three – possibly the attraction is the focus on the Richard Briers character in the first three series, with no similar “older” character in *Hamish MacBeth*. In the US and New Zealand *Monarch* is more popular than *Hamish MacBeth*, whilst this is reversed in Canada. It should be noted that whilst at first glance both *Monarch* and *Hamish Macbeth* are stereotypical in terms of their setting, whimsical storylines and Scottish stereotypes, if you actually watch episodes of these programmes they do repeatedly, albeit gently, ridicule these same stereotypes. However this is done within a framework which acknowledges the stereotypical nature of the images portrayed, whilst at the same time continuing to represent them.

Table 1. Respondents Favourite Fictional Books and Authors

Favourite Fictional Book	% of 288		Favourite Fictional Author	% of 262
Outlander (series)	15%	1	Diana Gabaldon	17%
Kidnapped	10%	2	Nigel Tranter	15%
Rebus (series)	6%	3	Robert Louis Stevenson	12%
A Scots Quair (series)	5%	4	Ian Rankin	7%
The Bruce Trilogy	3%	5	Walter Scott	6%

Respondents were also asked to name their favourite fictional book, and, in a separate question, their favourite historical author. Therefore the answers to the two questions did not necessarily need to tie up. The historical romance novels of Diana Gabaldon proved the most popular fictional books by far, with a female to male ratio of 34:8. The standout single title was *Kidnapped* (female to male 7:21). Nigel Tranter also proved incredibly popular – again historical novels, as are the works of Stevenson and Scott. So, it seems that respondents’ Scottish fiction preferences are characterised by historical fiction. The only modern author to make it onto the list is Ian Rankin, with his Rebus novels³⁰. Interestingly Robert Burns,

³⁰ No one mentioned the science fiction works of Rankin

who is easily the most “famous Scot” according to the survey findings, is only rated twice as a favourite fictional author, both for his collected works.

Diana Gabaldon is read predominantly by females in the 41-60 age group, with an overall female to male ration of 34:9. 39 (89%) of Gabaldon’s fans are in the US³¹, and the most popular author within Scotland is Nigel Tranter closely followed by Lewis Grassic Gibbon. *Kidnapped* was the most cited book of Canadian and Scottish respondents. There were no clear correlations between fictional and historical authors that were favoured, apart from those who chose Nigel Tranter in both categories.

Table 2. Respondents Favourite Non-Fiction Books and Authors

Favourite History Book	No of 273		Favourite History Author	No of 240
The Lion in the North	11	1	John Prebble	26
How Scots Invented the Modern World ...	10	2	Nigel Tranter	19
Mary Queen of Scots	9	3	Fitzroy McLean	18
The Scottish Nation 1700-2000	9	4	Tom Devine	10
The Highland Clearances	8	5	Magnus Magnusson	9

When it comes to history, John Prebble is the clear favourite, with both the most liked book and overall most liked author. All of the top authors were weighted towards male readership despite an exact 50:50 split in the genders answering this question. However, these responses were very fragmented, out of 273 total answers naming a history book, 11 respondents represent only 4%, whilst 26 out of 240 answers represents 11%. The next most highly ranked authors were Arthur Herman (all of those who recommended Herman who gave a country of residence outside of Scotland), and Michael Lynch, who had a wider geographical impact. Thus it also seems that there is a very wide range of historical books being used and enjoyed by respondents.

³¹ There are a number of possible reasons for this apart from the fact that the majority of survey respondents are resident in the US - Gabaldon is herself American, the books were published there first, and the later books in the series, for example *Drums of Autumn* and *The Fiery Cross* are set in colonial America

If we look at an analysis by country of residence we find that both Prebble and Tranter are more popular abroad than in Scotland. Nigel Tranter is more popular than John Prebble in the US (11:9), with both outstripped by Fitzroy McLean with 13 responses. In contrast, Tom Devine is the most popular history author in Scotland and England and hardly ranked abroad. As we shall see in chapter eight Devine's book is available abroad, and the increasing role of online bookshops mean that traditional geographical barriers to authors are breaking down.

Amongst respondents who have never visited Scotland, Fitzroy Mclean is the most popular author followed closely by Herman and Prebble in that order. Thus it would seem that modern Scottish academics have not had much impact. One could argue that McLean and Prebble have had a number of years to build up a readership, however the relatively recent rise to prominence of Arthur Herman disproves this idea.³² Furthermore, there is a case for arguing that the vote for a Scottish parliament has not caused an increase in Scottish history reading abroad as it has in the UK. Tom Devine acknowledges that his book *The Scottish Nation* would probably not have sold the 70,000 copies it had by 2001 had it not been for the zeitgeist,³³ and being published in 1999 it would certainly have been the best placed general history of Scotland to capture this. Instead Magnus Magnusson's 2000 publication, *Scotland the Story of a Nation* seems to have caught this wave, with readers resident in Indonesia, Ireland, Australia and the US in comparison to Devine's North American readers. Granted, Magnusson does cover a larger sweep of history, however, given the popularity of Tranter and Prebble, it is possible that it is his prosaic style which is the selling point, or the fact that his career as a television presenter gives him added recognition and authority. The books are described thus on their (UK) covers : Magnusson, 'a romp through history that is as gripping as - but far more accurate than - any Hollywood blockbuster' in comparison to Devine having produced 'a fascinating and accessible synthesis of "traditional" topics of Scottish history'. Thus these two books are pitched at different audiences, and marketed accordingly. As we shall see in chapter eight, these two books were also repackaged for foreign markets in a manner which contrasts with their presentation within the UK.

³² *How the Scots Invented the Modern World ...* was published in 2001, and only one respondent mentions his previous book.

³³ A. Laing, 'History, the new rock 'n' roll', *The Herald*, 9 October 2001

Favoured Scottish Websites

Over the course of the research I noticed the increasing importance of electronic methods of communication to respondents. Furthermore, as phase three was conducted online, it seemed a good idea to ask respondents which online presentations of Scotland they liked.

I split the analysis of this question into two distinct parts. The first is for responses gained before the 16 August, the second afterwards. This is because the second wave of responses could be skewed by the fact that users could be those notified of the survey by the Rampant Scotland email list, so therefore one would expect Rampant Scotland to be a favoured site. This did prove to be the case, however, if we look at responses for the pre-16 August period only, we find that Rampant Scotland was still the most popular single website with respondents. (357 responses were gathered for this question).

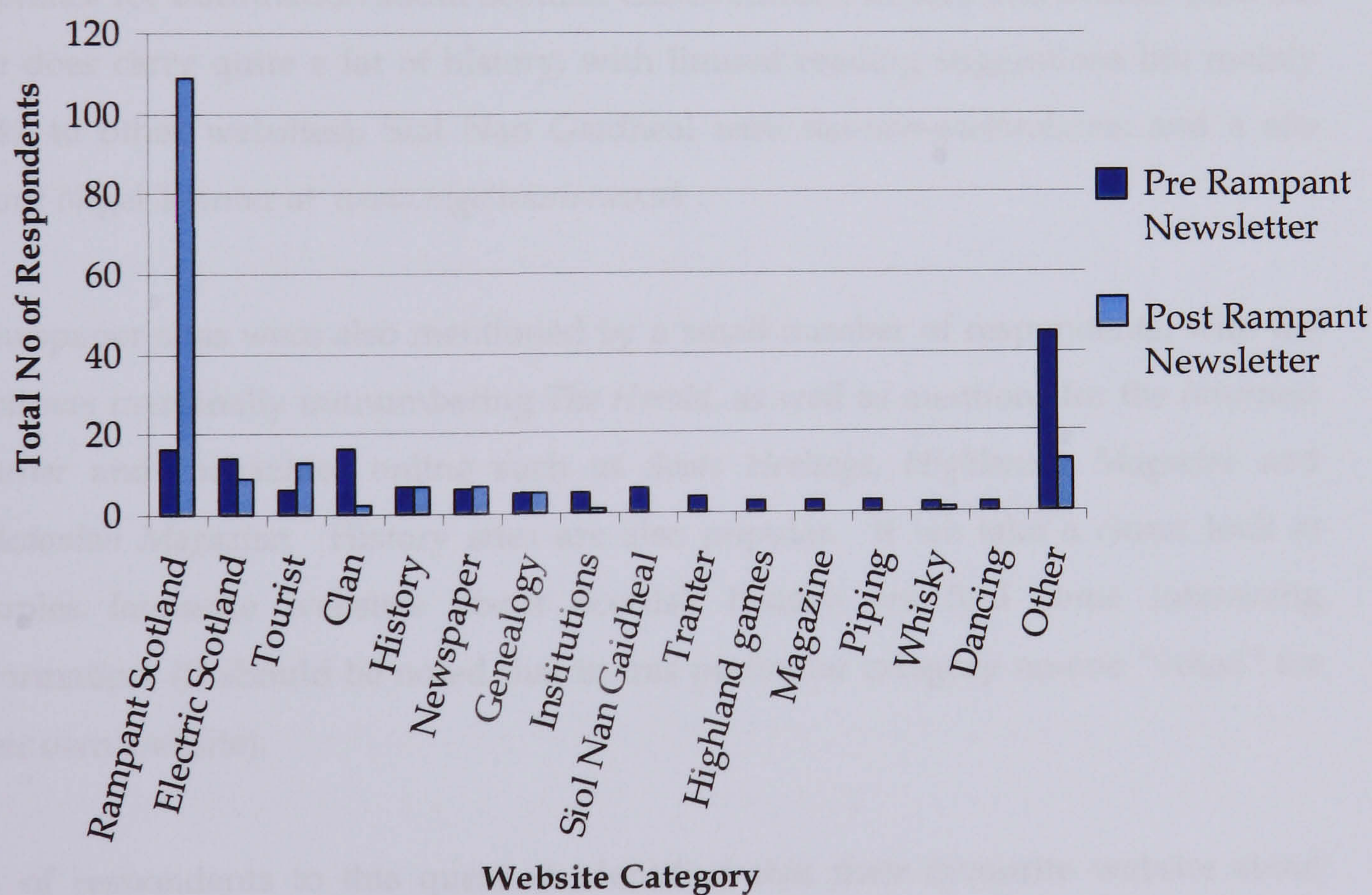


Figure 10. Favourite Websites of Respondents

What is clear is that Rampant Scotland and Electric Scotland were favoured representations of Scotland. Both of these sites were started as a hobby by Scots, and will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight. These two sites were so far

ahead of any other sites that they were given their own categories. Furthermore, these two sites are also the two most popular sites on the major search engines, which indicates both that this sample of respondents are representative of wider opinions on websites, and also that using search engine rankings is a valid method of comparing the popularity of websites. The next most popular sites are Tourist sites, which of course will have a commercial remit, followed by clan sites. Note that clan sites are not always based in Scotland – indeed the majority are clan sites native to other countries, for example the US.

Of 229 respondents who had a clan affiliation and listed a favourite website, 6% named their clan's website. This indicates that whilst some clan members may be regularly using their clan site as a community site, this is not a widespread practice. Other sites in their own right which were more frequently cited, though still in small numbers, and not in any set category were the gathering of the Clans (<http://www.tartans.com>), a US based site whose 'goal is to act as a single point of reference for information about Scottish Clans, culture, history and events' (and the site does carry quite a lot of history, with limited reading suggestions but mainly links to other websites); Siol Nan Gaidheal www.siol-nan-gaidheal.com; and a site about Nigel Tranter at www.nigeltranter.co.uk.

Newspaper sites were also mentioned by a small number of respondents, with the *Scotsman* marginally outnumbering *The Herald*, as well as mentions for the *Inverness Courier* and magazines online such as *Scots Heritage*, *Highlander Magazine* and *Caledonian Magazine*. History sites are also popular. If we take a closer look at peoples favourite websites about Scottish history we find some interesting information. (It should be noted that in this particular category no-one "voted" for their own website).

4% of respondents to this question identified that their favourite website about Scotland was a site that fell into the History category during analysis. Of these, the most were for the Fife Family History Society site.³⁴ Of these respondents were

³⁴ This site is a fairly basic design with a very long opening page, and the opening statement is 'The purpose of the society is to join together people with a common interest, the research of their families of a bygone era, who lived and worked in The KINGDOM(County) of FIFE, SCOTLAND.' The society publishes a journal and has an email group which helps people with the genealogical research. There is no general "history" of Scotland evident.

resident in Canada, Belgium and Scotland.

A total of two respondents (one Canadian resident and one Australian resident) cited www.geo.ed.ac.uk/home/scotland/scotland.html which is the Geography Department at Edinburgh University's site. The site homepage states:

These pages are intended to provide a gateway to Scotland; its geography, history, people, traditions and culture. No-one was providing this information, so we [link to Edinburgh University Geography Department] decided to take the initiative. Much information is provided locally by ourselves, but there are also links to other providers of Scottish information. Please tell us if you think there is other information out there which we have missed.

This site also links to The *Gazetteer for Scotland* (<http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/scotgaz/>) which is a geographical database of Scotland. It states it is

The first comprehensive gazetteer produced for Scotland since 1885, it includes tourist attractions, industries and historic sites, together with histories of family names and biographies of famous people associated with Scotland. The network of connections between all of these entries make this gazetteer unique.

The Gazetteer is already the largest Scottish resource available on the web, yet is growing constantly. It contains thousands of entries for all parts of the country and some 410 entries were added or updated in the last week alone.

The Gazetteer is developed jointly by the Department of Geography at the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society with sponsorship from The Robertson Trust and the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. Further funding is appealed for, and there is mention of licensing of content on a commercial basis. Whilst the number of people who refer to this website is small, as we shall see in chapter eight, this particular website is the only remotely "academic" site to appear in the top search rankings of websites about Scotland and her history, however, when we dig a little deeper we find that the history section only links to other personal homepages.

The other sites listed were <http://www.gatewaytoscotshistory.co.uk>, a links page to

works by Robert Gunn and Nancy McCorkhill³⁵ as well as a couple of links to museums and other personal history sites; <http://www.MedievalScotland.org/> and <http://www.scotshistoryonline.co.uk/scothist.html>,³⁶ and <http://www.heraldry-scotland.co.uk/> and <http://www.safhs.org.uk/>³⁷ both more “official” sites of associations.

Genealogy sites included <http://www.rootsweb.com>, <http://www.ScotsOrigins.com>³⁸ and <http://www.ancestralscotland.com> (VisitScotland’s site promoting genealogy tourism) and were specifically sites with records available or devoted entirely to genealogy. Scottish Institutions websites named were The National Trust, Historic Scotland, Sabhal Mor Ostaig (the Gaelic college on Skye), the BBC, the Scottish Parliament and Perth & Kinross Council.³⁹

Representing Scotland Online

The questionnaire asked respondents if they had their own website, and if they did, if it had any information about Scotland on it. 150 responded that they had their own website, and of these 119 (79%) responded that they had their own website about Scotland, and a further 71 (60% of the number of sites about Scotland) had information about Scottish history. The other data gathered here showed that in the main, sites were built personally by respondents, and a clear majority went online from 1995 onwards. Whilst the number of hits is a difficult concept due to repeat visits, returns to the homepage from users in a single visit to the site as a whole, the age of the site, and counters resetting over the life of the site, seven sites had received over 1 million hits, and one, <http://www.caithness.org>, receives over 3.7 million hits per month.⁴⁰

A majority of these sites had their own domain names with only 36% of 124 being a hosted site under the umbrella of a generic domain. I would suggest that the use of a domain name “authenticates” the information on such sites more than that found

³⁵ Known in cyberspace as Skyelander and SconeMac respectively, and the subject of further discussion in the next chapter

³⁶ Both pages by individuals about Scotland and her history with personally written articles (one is by an American who is currently studying for a history PhD at Aberdeen and does reference sources)

³⁷ Heraldry Society of Scotland and Scottish Association of Family History Societies

³⁸ Which was, in September 2002 superseded by the General Register Office for Scotland (GRO) own new site.

³⁹ for a page containing a paper about the European roots of the Scots language

⁴⁰ This respondent emailed me with this information.

on generic domains, a factor considered in chapter six.

Presentations of Scottish History Online

Respondents were asked to identify which period in Scottish history they had information on their site about. This can be represented as follows:

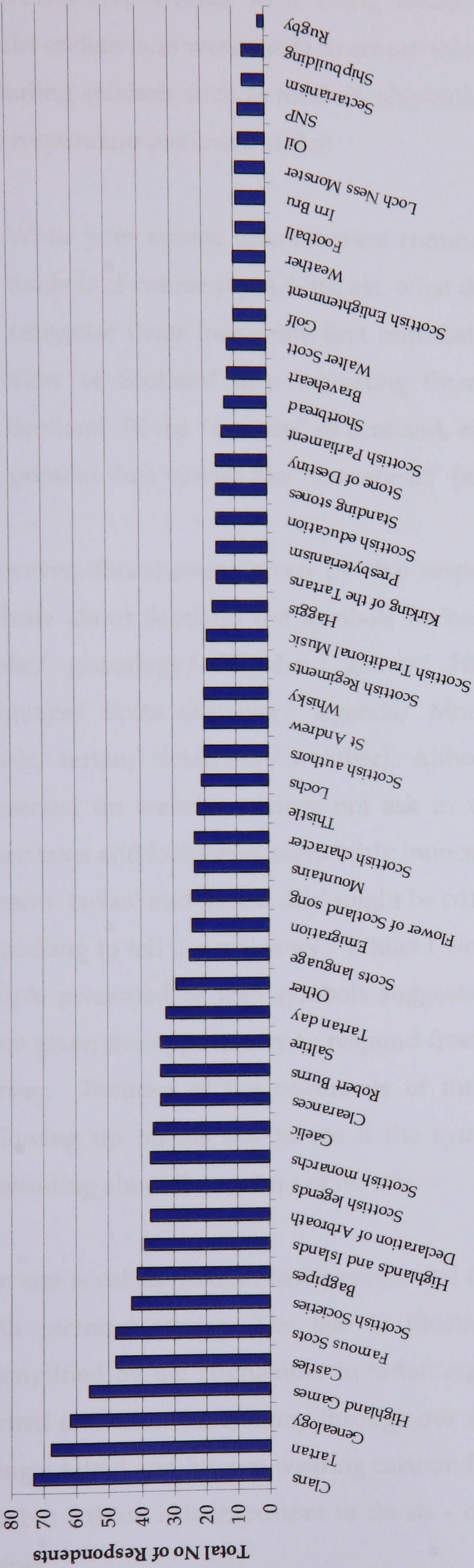


Figure 11. Periods in Scottish History Presented Online

This shows two peaks. Whilst the time periods are not very fine due to the number of responses respondents would have had to assess being too numerous, there are clear peaks in 1201-1400 - characterised by the Wars of Independence, and again in 1601-1800, where it is possible to argue it was the Jacobite Rebellions which were the salient feature.

When you look at Figure 12 it is little surprise that representations of Scotland online cover the stereotypes the most, and these findings would back up Paul Basu's assertion that 'Today, the age of cyberspace, the myth is kept alive through the Internet. Millions of Scottish-interest websites display romantic images and leave out the rest.'⁴¹

⁴¹ <http://www.btInternet.com/~paulbasu/panel08.html> no evidence given for this statement, visited 16 August 2002



Scottish Images Presented Online by Respondents

Figure 12 Scottish Images Presented Online by Respondents

However, respondents were being asked to select from a pre-determined list. Whilst endeavours were made to ensure this covered a fair reflection of Scottish life, including symbols such as football, shipbuilding, the oil industry and sectarianism, one respondent commented that

While your survey asks for most common images of Scotland, and the answer made is of course pipes, kilts, etc. what doesn't come across is the fact that many recognise these inaccurate first impressions and work to influence the public's view of Scotland thru educating them on the culture, history, folklore of Scotland. IE the "essence" of Scotland, not the popular image of Scotland made popular thru movies like "Braveheart" [sic] (WEB/105/USA/M)

However, the answers given by this respondent indicates that whilst he has a website about Scotland the symbols he has listed from it are [bagpipes/ clans/ gaelic/ genealogy/ Highland games/ Highlands and islands/ saltire/ Scots language/ Scots character/ legends/ Monarchs/ Scottish Societies/ traditional music/ tartan/ tartan day/ weather]. Although the survey asks which symbols are presented on website, it does not ask in what way they are presented. Whilst mountains and lochs may seem fairly innocuous, it is possibly that webpages which present 'tartan' and 'tartan day' might be critical of these aspects of Scottish identity, or seeking to tell the real story. Whilst I would argue that the combinations which people presented of web symbols suggests that this is not the case, respondents were given the opportunity to respond freely with their thoughts at the end of the survey. Because of the comments of this respondent I thought it was worth following up on his site to see if the symbols he had chosen had indeed been misleading about the content of his site.

The site is called *www.scottishtales.com* and appears to be mainly a site for children with pictorial stories. The site is illustrated with "cartoon" Scottish figures exemplified by the Highlander in tartan regalia with broadsword, and visitors are invited to 'Follow MacJohnny through our site and Discover Scotland!', MacJohnny being a kilted and bunnet-wearing cartoon figure. I have quoted at length from the site but I think it is important to do so - other text on the site (copied verbatim) claims:

This site is all about Scotland, most of the pages are in English ... Within these pages you will find history like Hollywood only dreams about capturing, the Scots language, in my dialect, lallands and in Glaswegian. If you are Scots this is a trip down memory lane, the things yir grannie used to say will set you howlin. If you were "Born Beyond the Border" capture a part of that land from whence your ancestors set out though the eyes of a Scot still living in Scotland.

The oral tradition of Scotland is maintained with the skills of the Seanchaidh (pronounced *shenuchy*, a historian or storyteller). Stories of battles, lairds, duine sithe, kelpies, wee folk and much more are passed down from generation to generation as tales told around the fire. *Highland's Rising* is one of those tales; of clan chiefs, maidens, battles, and life in Scotland.

The characters in *Highland's Rising* are fictional, created for the story. Our main character, Andrew Tobias MacBeinn is the Chief of the Clan MacBeinn, struggling to preserve the values of his beloved Scotland against the ravages of time and progress. Megan Rose is a homeless maiden, rescued from a shipwreck along with John McRae by Andrew. Her questionable reputation as a witch ultimately catches up with her. The question is, will Andrew persecute her as so many others have, or will his Clans own storied past with the wee folk earn Megan his clemency?⁴²

Admittedly the site is aimed at children, ('At scottishtales.com our focus is to produce a site that you can leave your kids at without worrying about what they are seeing. At Highlands Rising, we are producing a comic that doesn't concentrate on violence, poor animation, or poor story lines'). And it is telling tales which are of interest to children, and are the kind of tales which have traditionally interested children - however, these fictional tales are still illustrated with symbolic images of Scotland with no apparent real historical content or justification. And here we come to the crux of this matter; whilst the sitemaster has the best of intentions, he still ends up using stereotypical representations of Scotland and her identity, and he is using them because they will appeal to children as instantly recognisable as Scottish, thereby linking Scotland with a glamorised history to a young and impressionable audience. Whilst the site may interest children there is no historical information there to take them further into real Scotland. It is important to understand that I am

⁴² <http://www.scottishtales.com/highlandsrising/highlandsrising.htm> 11 September 2002

not criticising this site, indeed, it is providing a valuable service in the best traditions of Scottish storytelling⁴³, and in continuing a traditional vein of storytelling about the supernatural, however, whilst the people behind the site know about the stereotypical image of Scotland, they do not see that this is what their site presents. We are on the very thin line here that shows that the perceived historic stereotypes of Scottish identity and real Scottish history are closer than we may like to admit, especially when presented in a simplistic manner for consumption. Furthermore, this suggests that individuals can ascribe meanings to symbolic representations of Scottishness which are not necessarily seen by others, and thus tartanry can be seen as both a meaningful emblem of Scottishness and also a piece of embarrassing kitsch.

Of the other respondents, of those who answered whether they had ever been to Scotland, 18 (2%) who had not visited Scotland had their own website about the country. Of these, not a single one mentioned any of the following on their site: football, Irn Bru, the Scots language, Scottish authors, the Enlightenment, the SNP, the Scottish Parliament or shipbuilding. Ten of these respondents stated that they did have information on Scotland's history on their site, and of these four specified they carried history from the period 1801-2000. Certainly the last four of these subjects are aspects which I would have thought hard to ignore in a history of Scotland in this period.

Seven of the nine that do mention Irn Bru are resident outside Scotland. Irn Bru is not something I would have included on the web questionnaire if it had not been mentioned on several occasions by respondents to the first two phases of survey. Interestingly, Irn Bru scores the same as football and the Loch Ness Monster. I can understand football not having much impact with people outside Scotland, but especially considering that in the same year as *Braveheart* there was also a film about the Loch Ness Monster (and in 2001 there was also a low-budget cinema release entitled *The Evil Beneath Loch Ness*), you would have thought it might have been of

⁴³ Storytelling within Scotland is currently increasing, In October 2001 the Scottish Storytelling Centre received a grant of £800,000 from the national lottery for redevelopment. S. Phipps, "Bringing history alive the bard way", *Sunday Herald*, 21 October 2001. It has been argued that a worldwide interest in storytelling is a backlash against increasing technology being isolationist. However, further advances in technology can counteract this, with real-time storytelling broadcasts worldwide over the Internet. We shall see in chapter eight that the Internet may be causing an increase in Gaelic language learners.

interest.⁴⁴

Other highlights include the fact that again Burns proves far more popular than Scott, and the fact that mountains and lochs, whilst featuring the most strongly in the questions about imagery of Scotland, are about half way down the listing when it comes to things used to represent Scotland.⁴⁵

Source Materials of Presentations of Scotland

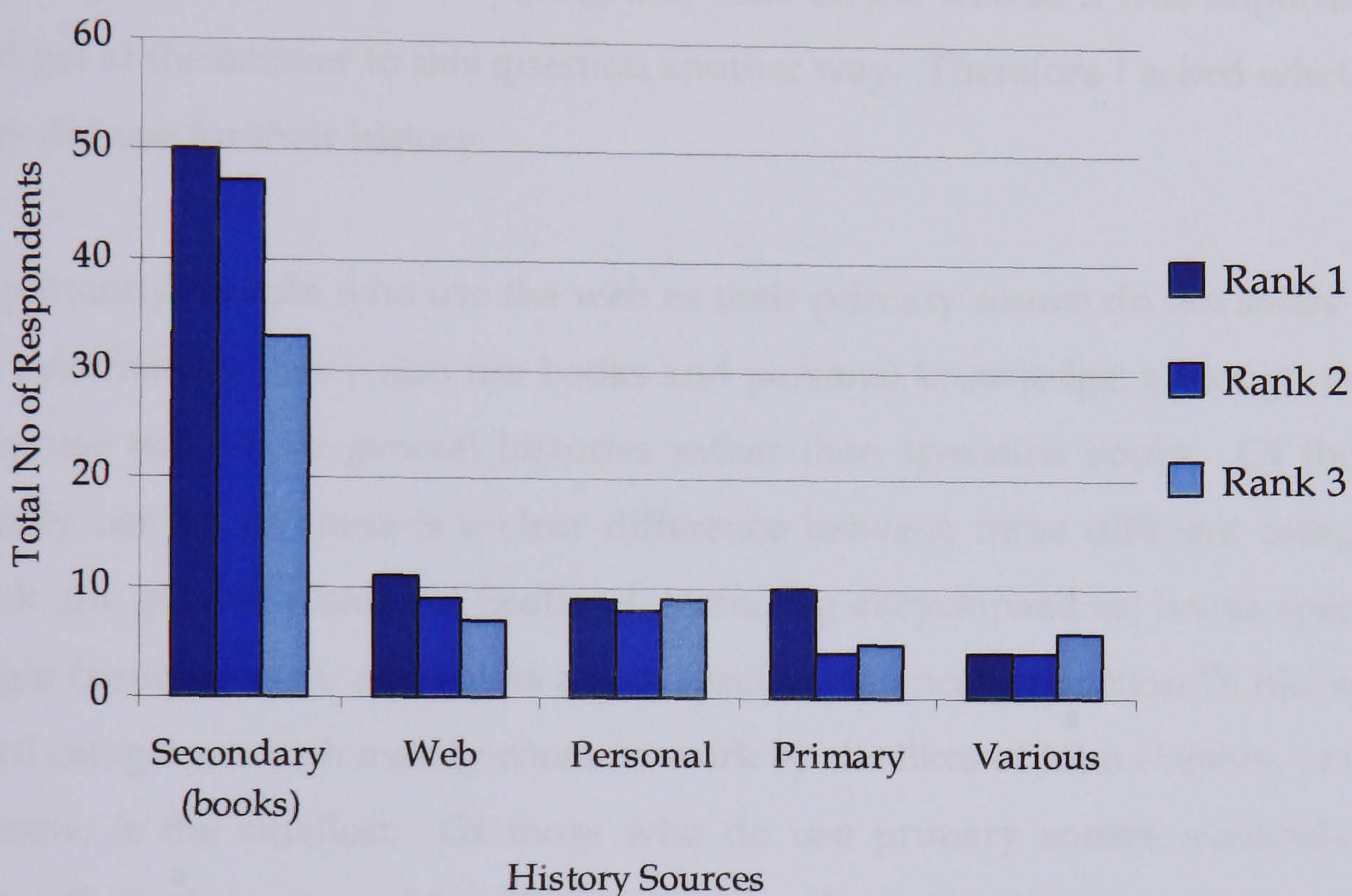


Figure 13. Sources used by Respondents when Creating Websites about Scotland and her History

Whilst websites are an important new presentation of Scotland, the sources behind them are still dominated by books. Of course, just because something is printed in a book does not mean it is true, however, Celeste Ray amongst others has shown that

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that although the myth of the monster is now as a remnant of the dinosaurs, and has been linked in with Columba, the myth only really got going in 1933 with the announcement of the existence of the monster by the then water bailiff, Alex Campbell. The link to Columba is actually with a 'water beast' in the River Ness, and it is known there was a major river crossing in the Ness at the time. Tales of water-horses and monsters were common at many lochs throughout Scotland, probably through a need to explain deaths by drowning (thus 'inventing' a mythic 'history'), and Adomnan's need for the Christian Columba to prove domination over water and animals, both particularly areas of worship for the pagan Picts, can explain this link. It is only latterly that we have projected this link of the Loch Ness Monster back onto this "evidence". S. Campbell, *The Loch Ness Monster: the evidence*, (Aberdeen, 1991), revised edition, (original print 1986)

⁴⁵ This is because of the two-way nature of imagery articulated earlier.

the printed format does invest sources with a more definitive authority than for example oral testimony.⁴⁶ As we have seen from the earlier question on history books, there is a very wide range available.

I did not ask the outright question if people believed what they read on the Internet about Scotland, because this is too obvious. The problem is not so much the out and out rubbish that is available, it is the borderline information that seems credible which is dangerous in influencing perceptions. Of course people would respond that they do not believe everything they read on the web so it was important to try and get at the answer to this question another way. Therefore I asked what sources they did use for their history.

Importantly, people who use the web as their primary source do not solely use this for information. They also use books and personal knowledge, although the books they use tend to be general histories rather than specialist books. Of those who mainly use books there is a clear difference between three different categories of book: the general history of Scotland, including encyclopaedias; books specific to a single family or clan; and books about specific instances in Scotland's history. This third category, which mainly contains work by the likes of John Prebble, or G. W. S. Barrow, is the smallest. Of those who do use primary source materials, this is normally in the course of family history research, with only one person specifying a use of these sources which was not genealogical in basis (that is, original manuscripts rather than census or births, marriages and deaths data).

If we correlate the favourite history author with those people who indicated they had their own website with Scottish history on it, we find a wide range of authors represented, with John Prebble and Fitzroy McLean being noted. Of the 42 people who answered in both categories, the number that used their favourite history book as the main resource for their site was 19%. Whilst we saw that survey respondents came from a wide range of countries, is this reflected in the resident countries of sitemasters of websites about Scotland?

⁴⁶ C. Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill, 2001), p.70

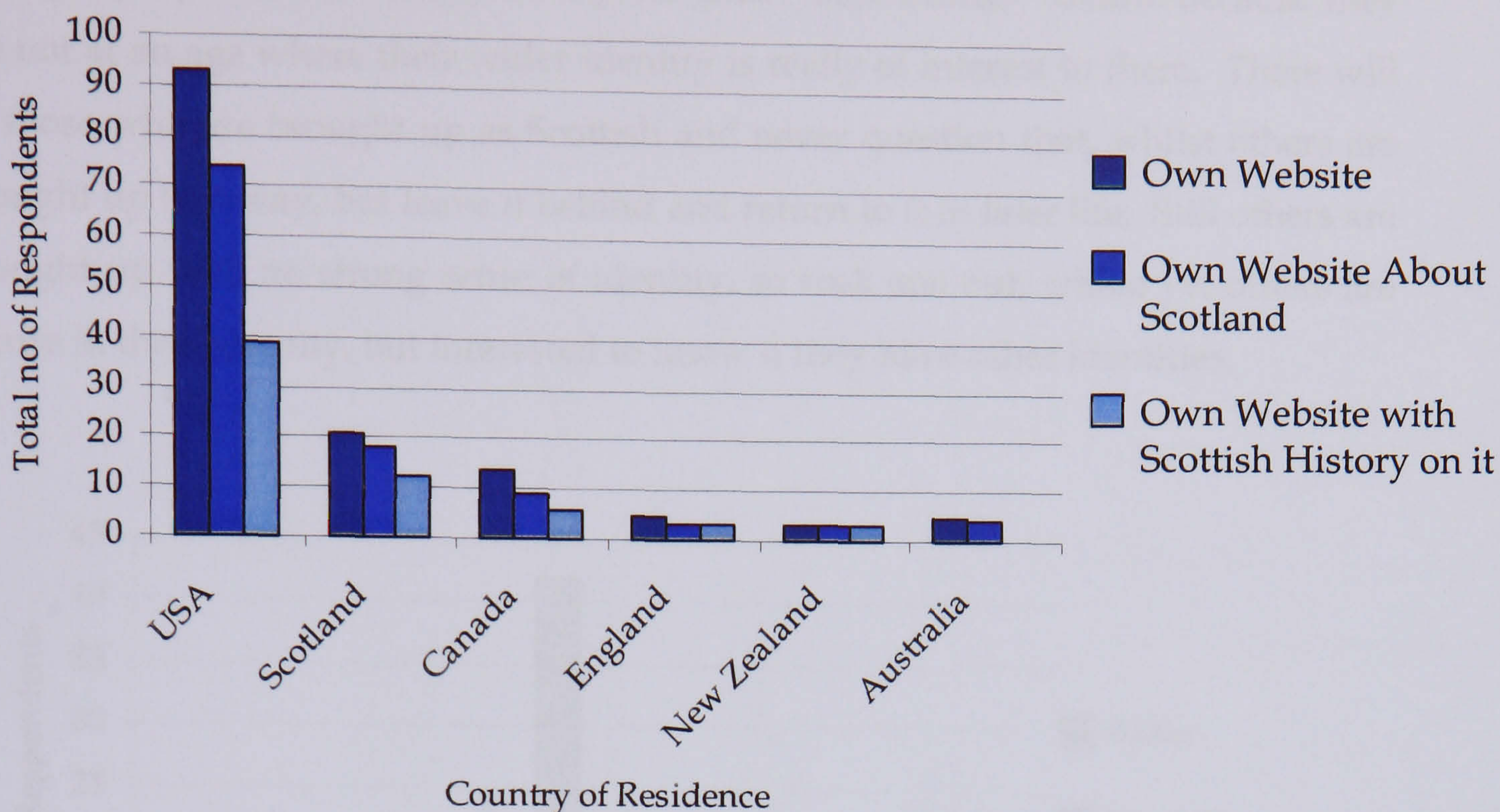


Figure 14. Country of Residence of Webmasters amongst Respondents

Other countries (of residence) which also have websites about Scotland include the Czech Republic, France, Iceland, Italy, Switzerland, Tanzania, UK and Uruguay, and of these the French, Czech, Tanzanian and UK sites have information on Scottish history. Interestingly 60% of the total number of sites about Scotland have information about Scottish history on them going by the respondents answers. This could indicate two things; that their site has no need of a background history of Scotland, or that they consider that people know enough about Scotland to use their site, and if they do not they can be linked elsewhere. Furthermore respondents who have their own websites do not fall particularly neatly into any age or gender category. (See Figure 15).

Given the perceived wisdom that the web is a domain for young people, there are no respondents under the age of 20 with their own website about Scotland (and in fact, their own website full stop). The most likely explanation for this is that younger people do not associate themselves actively with Scottish Societies. This is born out by P/1/AUS which describes how membership of the Scottish Society occurs in 'waves'. In this instance, people join as children to learn to dance, normally brought by their parents. As the children grow up they drift away from the society, however, once they have children of their own they come back and rejoin and bring their own children to dancing lessons. I also think it probable that

younger people are less likely to express their "Scottishness" online because they are not at an age where their wider identity is really of interest to them. There will be those who are brought up as Scottish and never question that, whilst others are brought up that way, but leave it behind and return to it in later life. Still others are brought up with no strong sense of identity, so seek one out, whilst yet others are secure in their identity, but interested to know if they have other identities.

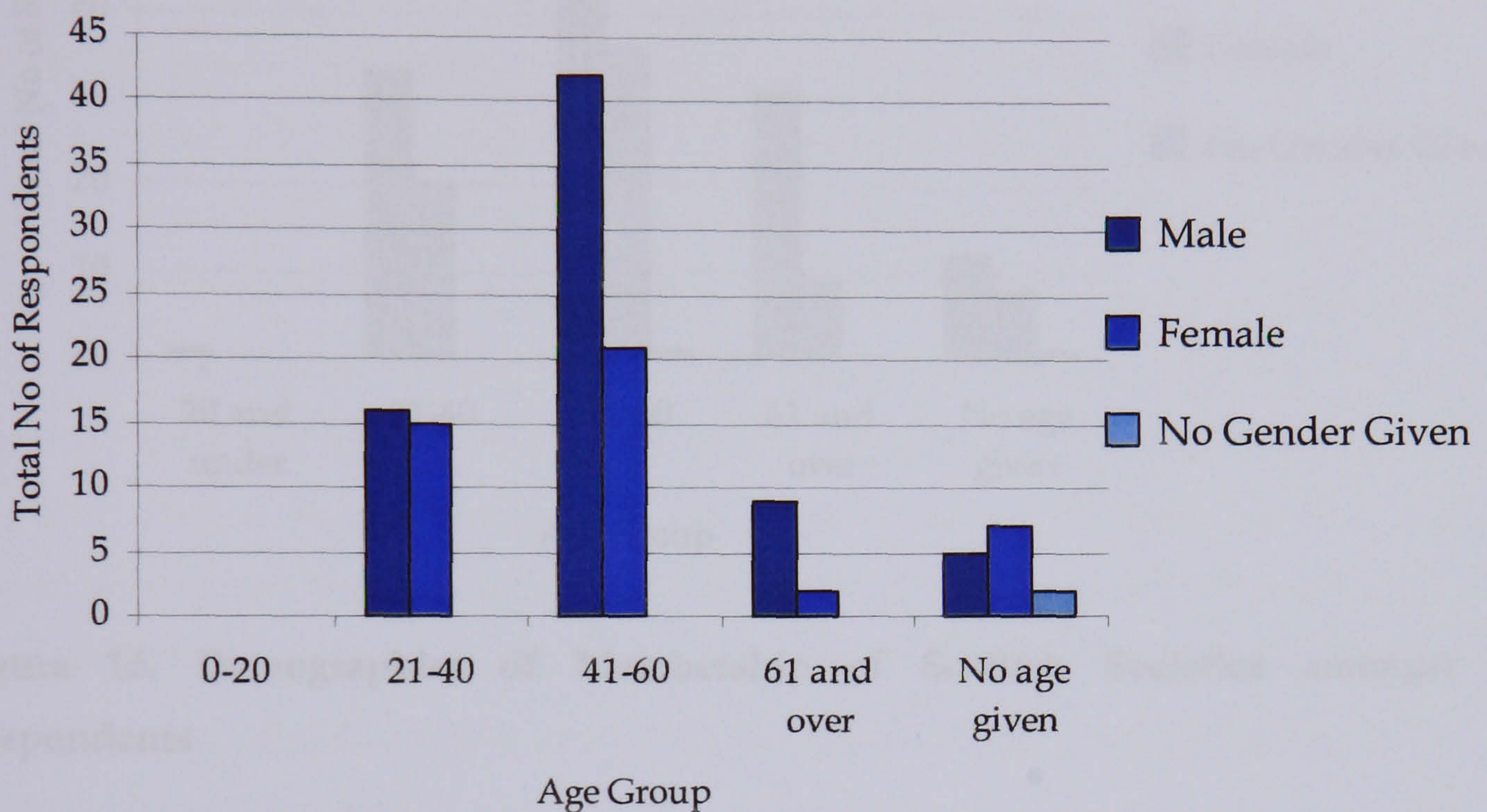


Figure 15. Demographics of Webmasters with Sites about Scotland amongst Respondents

Scottish Societies

A total of 226 (51% of respondents to this question) were current members of a Scottish Society. Of these, 32% were women and 67% men (1% no gender given). This would seem to suggest that although many Societies do now admit women, they are still in the minority within Scottish Societies. Furthermore, if we look at a table of gender and age amongst Scottish society members, we can see this to a respect generational. (See Figure 16).

Again, members of Scottish Societies seem to be clustered around respondents resident in the USA, Scotland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In this particular survey Indonesia proved equal to New Zealand in numbers, however, it is likely this is because the single member contacted from the Java St Andrews

Society encouraged other members to respond. Notably all the respondents from this society were Scottish expatriates, save one, and all were male.

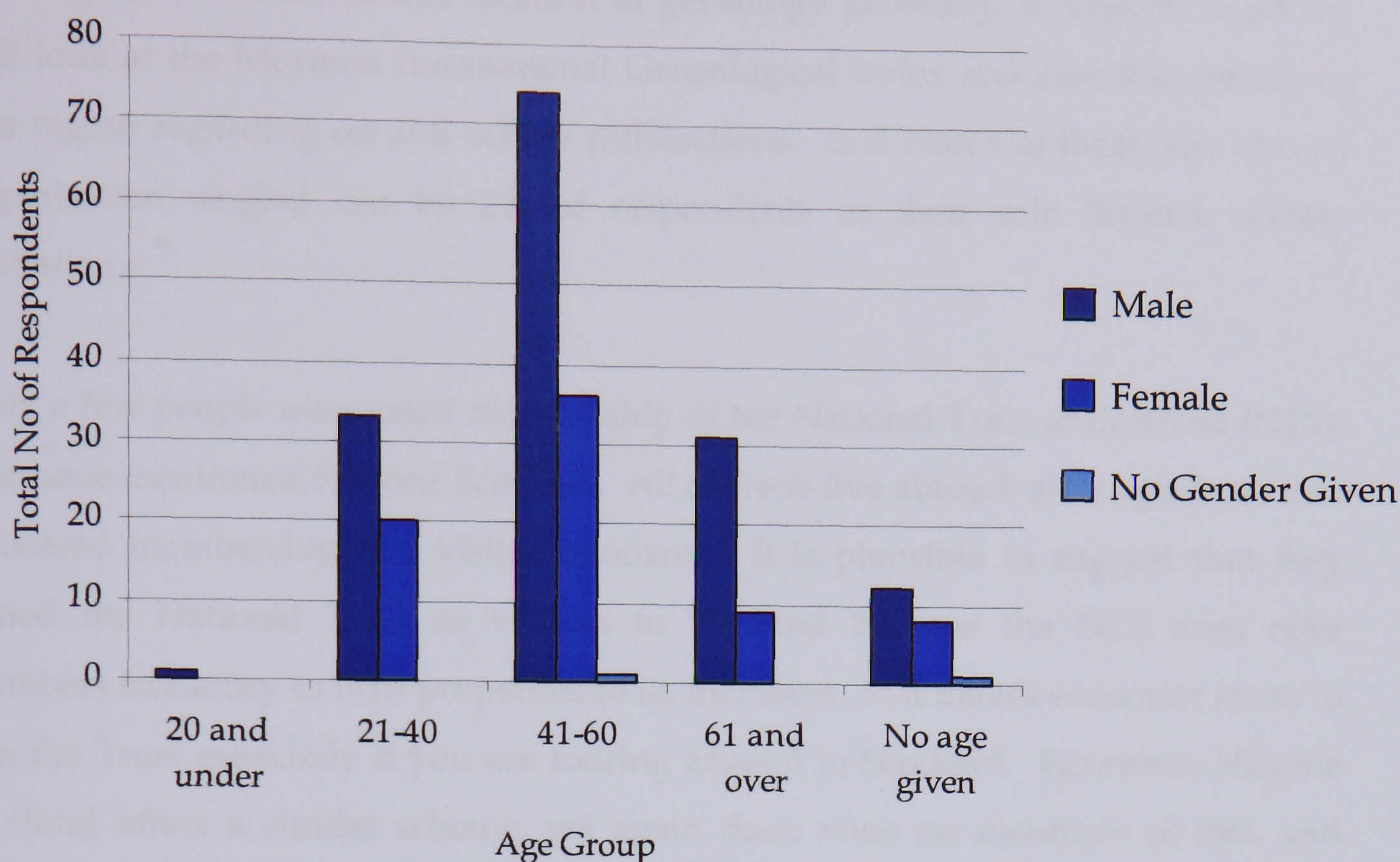


Figure 16. Demographics of Membership of Scottish Societies amongst Respondents

Interestingly, if we compare Society members with those who responded to the question 'have you ever visited Scotland', we find that 35% of Society members who answered this question have not. Thus again we find that geography does not prove to be a barrier to being active in "Scottishness". Of the Scottish Societies named by respondents there were several distinct groupings. (If more than one society was named, which 28 respondents of the 226 did, the first one named was categorised). The largest grouping with 64 responses (28%) were clan Societies, followed by St Andrews Societies (15%). Caledonian Societies were next on 8%, whilst general "Scottish Societies" (for example [name of state] Scottish society) also had 8%. Highland games and dancing followed soon after. Celtic Societies numbered 3%, showing that whilst some researchers such as Hague have declared there to be a wider "Celtic" Scottish identity, respondents were clearly more interested in specifically Scottish Societies than Celtic ones. Within this analysis some interesting single groups also stood out. For example, there were a notable number of people who mentioned specifically Utah based organisations amongst their lists of Societies, 7% naming a Utah specific Scottish Society affiliation. It is

possible that Utah Scots are large in number because of the well-known accuracy of the Mormon records held in Utah allowing easier genealogical tracing, and indeed also a greater interest in this location in genealogy generally. In chapter eight we will look at the Mormon International Genealogical Index and also the activity in this region regarding on and offline publications. Siol Nan Gaidheal was also an organisation singled out by 2% of respondents as their sole Scottish society affiliation.

Only a few people mentioned membership of the National Trust of Scotland (NTS), and none mentioned Historic Scotland. All of these live abroad, although those that indicated membership had visited Scotland. It is plausible to suggest that they joined the National Trust as visitors to Scotland because the NTS does offer members free entry to NTS properties to its members, so it makes economic sense to join the Trust especially if you are touring around in Scotland. However, Historic Scotland offers a similar scheme, yet again there were no mentions of this, and considering that Historic Scotland runs the particularly "tourist" attractions like Stirling Castle, again you would have thought this would have been an economic incentive. Approximately 10% of Historic Scotland's 55,000 members are based in the US and Germany.⁴⁷

It should be noted at this point that it may be confusing for tourists that there seem to be at least two bodies dealing with Scotland's built heritage as well as the others involved in her environmental heritage (for example, the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments⁴⁸, Scottish Natural Heritage). Historic Scotland was set up in 1991 partly in an effort to make heritage organisations more commercial in their outlook, and as Historic Scotland has described its visitors as 'customers', it would seem this aim has been fulfilled. However, some of the properties it manages have been under government control from 1587. There have been calls from within the academic history body, namely from Professor Allan MacInnes, to amalgamate Historic Scotland with Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), and this was prompted by the fact that in 1994, the time of the comment, there was

⁴⁷ A. Perchard 'Our Friends in the North' *Heritage Today*, September 2002, p.10

⁴⁸ <http://www.rcahms.gov.uk> 12 September 2002 This site has an online database called CANMORE of architectural, archaeological and maritime sites in Scotland

no general historian employed by Historic Scotland.⁴⁹

Whilst membership of the National Trust was a determining factor of the sample population in McCrone et al.'s book, *The Making of Scotland – Scotland the Brand*, if we look at research in Scotland by the National Centre for Social Research, we find that membership of all of these kinds of cultural groups is low. For example, 7% of their respondents were members of the National Trust (the highest ranked group of those given by the researchers), but 85% of respondents were not members of any of the given options. In a question regarding more localised groups only 1% were members of a local conservation or environmental group, and again, a large percentage, 78% were not members of any of the given groups.⁵⁰ Therefore Scotland's official heritage associations do not seem to have a wide membership, either at home or amongst the diaspora.

Scottish Societies Online

More respondents are members of Scottish Societies than have their own websites about Scotland, in a ratio of 226:119. However, are Scottish Societies themselves developing an online presence? 168 respondents (74%) indicated that their society had a website. Whilst 4% of these went online pre-1990 (with WEB/137/USA/M commentating his society site even predated domain names and was only denoted by a number), the majority only began to get online from 1997 onwards (1991-1996 inclusive, average number of sites going online per annum: 4, 1997-2001 inclusive, average number of sites going online per annum: 16). A clear majority of these sites had their own domain names (85%), rather than being a hosted site under the umbrella of a generic domain provided by a company like Yahoo's Geocities. 54% noted that their society website had a section on history. Through visiting these sites it can be seen that these "histories" are those of the society itself, rather than a wider contextual history.

56 respondents (33%) note their society website had an email list, with 17% having a forum and 8% a chat room. This shows that Scottish Societies are beginning to take

⁴⁹ D. McCrone, A. Morris and R. Kiely, *Scotland - the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.89

⁵⁰ National Centre for Social Research, survey questions on Social Capital at http://www.natcen.ac.uk/research/surveys/ssas/ssa_04_social.pdf downloaded 6 September 2002, figures rounded to nearest % for comparison with figures used in this survey

advantage of web technologies to disseminate information and create a sense of community. One way of building an online sense of community is by joining or establishing a Webring. 23% of the Societies which had their own site were a member of at least 1 Webring.

Appropriation of Cultural Identifiers within Societies

Respondents were asked whether their society celebrated four different kinds of events to gauge comparative numbers of events. 136 (60%) had Burns Nights, clearly more than the other three categories which had similar numbers. Celebrating St Andrews Day (43%), holding Highland Games (42%), observing the Kirking of the Tartans (42%) and Tartan Day (40%) also seemed to be widespread. Therefore “newer traditions” like the Kirking and Tartan Day seemed to have gained favour quickly to be on a par with more traditional ceremonies. If we look at the geographical spread of these traditions we see that none of the Societies which enact either Tartan Day, Kirking of the Tartans or St Andrews day are based in Scotland. Only when it comes to celebrating Burns suppers do Scotland-based Societies make an appearance on the listing.

It might be prudent at this point to analyse which Societies people resident in Scotland join as opposed to those resident elsewhere. One of the suggestions raised earlier in this thesis is that it is likely that manifestations of Scottishness are so prevalent abroad because there is a need for this caused by geographical distance, whereas those still resident in Scotland may not see a need to “enact” their Scottishness by way of Scottish Societies and activities.

20 respondents resident in Scotland asserted that they were a member of a Scottish society. Of these, six were members of Siol Nan Gaidheal,⁵¹ and also count for all the entries regarding this society and website across all questions. Therefore no-one resident outside Scotland mentioned Siol Nan Gaidheal in any of their responses. All those pro-Siol Nan Gaidheal were male, and those that gave an age were all between 20 and 60.

⁵¹ Five actually put Siol Nan Gaidheal in the Society name column, whilst one wrote ‘Personal’, then claimed that the society had a website and wrote Siol nan Gaidheal in the society website address column

Four were members of clan Societies, and two of these Societies were based in the USA. Two were members of family history or genealogy groups, and all the others were members of diverse groups such as the White Cockade Society, the Malt Whisky Society, the Abair Thusa Gaelic conversational group or other Societies. No respondents resident in Scotland mentioned any of the “institutions” of Scottish heritage such as the National Trust, the Royal Country Dance Society or any kind of Burns club, all of which had members from other countries. This would seem to bear out that Scots are not interested in the cultural manifestation of their identity unless it is in the case of a political movement, and it would be fair to suggest that within Scotland, Scottish national identity has been politicised. That is, manifestations of distinctly Scottish identity within Scotland tend to be within the sphere of political nationalism, and therefore within a sphere where there is a significant opponent, in that Scotland is not a fully independent country from the rest of Britain. Thus the rest of Scots seem happy with their “Scottishness” with no need to express it through joining Scottish Societies or enacting Scottish traditions to the extent found abroad. Obviously the respondents to this questionnaire are from a select group, that is, people who have already expressed an interest in Scotland who are active on the Internet. However, these suggestions of the only Scottish national identity manifesting itself within Scotland in a conscious way as a political identity are not new, as has already been discussed.

Summary

The three stages of research have brought up a number of interesting findings. The main areas of importance have been the markers and perceptions of Scottishness identified. Whilst in total 534 completed surveys were received over the three stages, this is still a very small sample in comparison with the population, (even though the size of that population is unclear). However, whilst much work has been done within Scotland on Scottishness and perceptions of Scottish identity, little work has been done on wider perceptions except in the commercial sphere. The findings of this research act as a useful first stage for future research in this area, and indicate that traditional markers of identity used within Scotland are not necessarily applicable to wider perceptions of Scotland and Scottishness.

The main point to note is that when respondents are given free rein to define their own identity, country of birth and country of residence can both be discounted as

defining Scottishness amongst the diaspora. Even visiting Scotland does not seem to affect respondents definitions of their personal identity. Ancestry is a factor, but can not be limited to the two generations it has been in previous research within Scotland. Individuals define their identity as they see fit, and take on the trappings of the identity they wish to ascribe to. Of course, these surveys took place within the sphere of Scottish identity research, and it is possible that there is an element of social desirability amongst people's answers. However 19% of respondents to the identity question in the phase three survey did not identify themselves as Scottish in any way, even though the sample was drawn from people who had already expressed an interest in Scotland.

Highland symbols of Scottish identity such as tartan and scenery are favoured amongst the diaspora and are promoted on respondents own websites. Stereotypical media presentations of Scotland are also favoured, and it is suggested that the *Braveheart* affect can be seen in the markers of Scottishness put forward by respondents, namely pride, independence and freedom. Respondents seem aware that stereotypical images of Scotland are not considered culturally acceptable in some quarters, yet continue to use these same symbols. Whilst the meaning attributed to the symbols seems therefore to be different for individual respondents, the same stereotypical images are still in use.

The findings also indicate that authors such as John Prebble and Nigel Tranter are still considered the authorities on Scottish history with little mention of more contemporary writers, and the Internet is used more frequently than primary sources, general knowledge or other media presentations (e.g. film and television) as a legitimate source of Scottish history for those building their own websites about Scotland.

The Internet is increasingly being used as a channel of communication and an entertainment and information medium by people across the globe. Perceptions of Scotland's history and her identity will undoubtedly be drawn from this medium. We have seen that 79% of respondents who had their own website had information about Scotland on that site, including Scotland's history. Whilst these personal homepages carry information about Scotland to the wider global audience, it is pertinent to ask what websites there are on the Internet making available

information about Scotland and her history and identity to this new audience. Chapter eight will discuss how Scotland's history is currently presented online, and the results make worrying reading for Scottish historians.

Chapter Eight: Presentations of Scottish History and Identity on the Internet

Introduction

Chapters six and seven demonstrated that respondents feel themselves to be Scottish for a variety of reasons which do not fit with traditional parameters of "Scottishness". Members of the diaspora enact their Scottishness in a variety of ways which bring presentations of Scotland to the wider world. These include Highland Games, St Andrew's Night celebrations and Burns' suppers. We also discovered that a medium which has a growing importance to the diaspora is the Internet. As this chapter will show, the Internet can act as different things to different people. It can be a virtual community, a shop window, a personal scrapbook and a library amongst others, and it is how the Internet is being used in these ways which will be discussed in this chapter. Of particular interest is the presentation of Scotland and her history on the Internet and how this is reinforcing a stereotypical presentation of Scottishness.

This chapter will highlight how the Internet is becoming the research method of choice, and how educators are schooling the next generation to use the Internet. It will show that the Internet can be a useful repository for historical information, and how primary and secondary sources can be accessed electronically. Other countries will be used as examples to show how their history and identity is being presented online, and this will be compared with the case in Scotland. "Official" Scottish sites will be assessed and their popularity compared with other representations of Scotland online. Overall this chapter will show that Scotland is far behind contemporary countries in its self-representation, and that in the absence of officially sanctioned sources, personal and stereotypical representations of Scotland and her history dominate search engine rankings and the perception of Scotland in the online world.

The Importance of the Internet

When the authors of *Mark of the Scots Part Two: Cinema and Media* stated that 'The Scots did not rest at inventing the world's mass media' and that 'we outline the

unique Scottish contribution to television, the cinema, publishing and the press'¹ they made one vital omission, the most modern communications medium of all. This thesis has shown that history is at the basis of most perceptions of Scottish national identity. The manner of representation of history has changed over time, from oral histories and myths on a more localised scale, into "national" medieval chronicles and poems, then the early histories, embellished by the literature of the nineteenth century, which spread through Europe and the rest of the world. Then came theatrical presentations of Scotland available to the masses through music hall, and then the new media of radio and television, culminating in movies which provided global exposure for Scottish history and identity.

Now, a new medium has emerged, again with the power to reach a global audience. A medium which 'promises to have a far larger and more serious impact on our society than the introduction of television, possibly as great an influence on history as the industrial revolution or the printing press'.² This is the World Wide Web (WWW or Web).

There is a difference between the Internet and the Web. The Internet, or "Net" is the physical network of computers and cables which allow the Web to exist. The Web is the abstract information and media which are housed on the computers of the Internet. Thus, we talk of Internet connections and Internet Service Providers, because they are physical entities, i.e. the telephone line and the servers (host computers) of the company that is our Internet Service Provider (ISP, for example, AOL or Compuserve), as opposed to "websites" made up of "webpages" which are the information held upon these servers. For a brief history of the growth of the Internet to its present configuration and size, please see Appendix F.

The Internet is a particularly important development in perceptions of Scottish history and identity. In all the other examples discussed in chapter five – tourism, film etc. there was an element of choice in what stories were told, leaving control

¹ R. Galbraith and B. Pendreigh, *Mark of the Scots Part Two: Cinema and Media*. This was part of a number of supplements *The Scotsman* produced in September 2001, this particular issue dated 8 September 2001, p.3

² *Surveying the digital future: how the PC and the Internet are changing the world* (Los Angeles, CA, 1999) http://ccp.ucla.edu/one_page.htm and quoted in S. Ebersole, 'Uses and Gratifications of the Web among Students', *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 6, no. 1, (2001), <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue1/ebersole.html> downloaded 25 February 2002

over history as it was presented with the providers. However, the web is open to all to air their views – in a way it is the ultimate resource of “oral” history, and history and issues of identity are driven by the customers themselves. As we shall see, this of course creates problems of quality control. From a post-modern perspective, this multiplicity of Scotlands online may seem a good thing, and indeed provides various interpretations of Scottishness to study. Thus the Internet has changed the consumption of culture. Previously culture was ‘experienced’, now it can be ‘expressed’.³ However, can this new medium be reconciled with the common reaction of contempt towards Scottish stereotypes found amongst academics and cultural commentators?

A key point in perceptions of online culture is illustrated by the famous cartoon from *The New Yorker* by Peter Steiner⁴:



Figure 17. ‘On the Internet, nobody knows you’re a dog’. © 2002 Peter Steiner from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved.

And of course, you don’t know if anyone else is a dog. So, finding trustworthy

³ W. B. O’Connor, ‘Create or be Created: how the Internet cultural renaissance is turning audience members into artists’, *First Monday*, Vol. 2, no. 10, (1997)

http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue2_10/oconnor/ downloaded 12 August 2002

⁴ ‘On the Internet, nobody knows you’re a dog’ by P. Steiner, first published 5 July 1993, *The New Yorker* (Vol 69, LXIX, no 20) p.61 © 2002 Peter Steiner from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved. Used with Permission. This is one of the all time classic comments on the Internet, referenced in books and articles about life online.

information on the Internet, be it on Scottish history or identity or any other topic, requires caution.

This is not to entirely denigrate the web. If you know where to look and what to look for you can find the right material, (or, to put it another way, to find the handsome prince you have to kiss a lot of frogs), but you need to have some experience of research to get this far. Unfortunately, the majority of users of the Internet will not be as discriminating as academics when using information they have gathered. So, if the overwhelming presentation of Scottish history and identity on the Internet is a stereotypical *Braveheart* tartan extravaganza, it follows that this is what is being presented to the world as the true history and identity of Scotland. However, the web is not just about the presentation of information on web pages to a browsing public. It has its own communities and also functions as a conduit for communication.

Interpersonal Communications and Community on the Internet

The dynamic nature of the technology of the web allows almost limitless exploration of a topic through hyperlinks, but an important feature for this research are the growth of “virtual communities” – particularly of interest when we are trying to see how the Scottish community on the Internet define themselves, and their sense of identity. I would refer to this Scottish community that has grown on the Internet as the “Scottish Etopia” - a kind of virtual Scotland online.

Although early commentators on the Internet argued that the lack of social cues and the transitory nature of the Internet were barriers to any real sense of community, this has proven to be unfounded.⁵ Wallace highlights the words of Eric Hochman, who described his online community, ECHO, as ‘our own separate little world, one with its own mythology, jargon and social order; in other words, it has its own culture ... rather than being an external thing that we adapt to, or have imposed upon us, we’re collectively creating it, here and how, as we post.’⁶ The Internet is being used more and more as a tool for creating and maintaining identity.

A particularly successful Scottish example of this phenomenon is found at

⁵ P. Wallace, *The Psychology of the Internet*, (Cambridge, 1999), p.55

⁶ E. Hochman, from C. Shirky *Voices from the Net*, Emeryville, (CA, 1995), and quoted in Wallace, *Psychology of the Internet*

<http://www.caithness.org> Started in 1999 by a father and son on a voluntary basis to make available local information from the Caithness Voluntary Group, by March 2001 this site was receiving over 1 million hits per month, and by April 2002 was up to over 3.7 million hits per month.⁷ These “virtual communities” allow rural communities to have a global presence for their products and their identity. However, they are also useful as a focus for identity for other members of the global community. Laura Thomson, in her dissertation ‘Can the creation of community networks enhance social capital in rural Scotland?’ highlights the work of Manuel Castells on this topic. Castells theorises that the decline in social institutions means that identity is becoming the main source of meaning for society, and virtual communities mean that people have a focus for identity within a community to which they are not necessarily geographically bound.⁸

This is an important factor. The Internet is allowing virtual communities to grow across geographical boundaries, and this is in turn helping to ensure the survival of certain forms of expression. For example, Gaelic speakers are finding the Internet very useful. Whilst we are still waiting for the 2001 census results to see if the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland has risen from an all time low in 1991,⁹ the number of Gaelic speakers abroad certainly seems to be rising, due in no small part to the Internet. Even by 1996 an impact was being noted in this area – a revival in Gaelic learning was identified with 52% of the world’s Gaelic learners being in North America, and there is a growing interest in this kind of culture:

The revival can be attributed to the Internet, which is taking Gaelic to a new global audience. Communn na Gaidhlig’s Webstie attracts about 10,000 visitors a week. “About 85% of the visitors are from North America. It allows us to reach a cross-section of people. In America bin-men and bus drivers are on the net” says McCrossan [David MacCrossan, economic development director of Communn na Gaidhlig’s] “... a virtual Caledonia is springing up”. So, the letters from America have not disappeared, they have become emails. The Net creates New

⁷ <http://www.caithness.org/statistics.htm> visited 30 July 2002 This site also won the Best Community Site and overall Site of the Year Award at the Yell.com 2001 awards.

⁸ M. Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, (Oxford, 1996) cited in L. H. Thomson, ‘Can the creation of community networks enhance social capital in rural Scotland?’ Dissertation for degree of BA Hons Sociology and Social Policy April 2001 University of Stirling, http://www.caithness.org/laurathompson/chapter_two.htm visited 30 July 2002

Scots communities by transcending distance.¹⁰

There are of course other kinds of Scottish community on the Internet, and we will be looking at two particularly successful examples, Rampant Scotland and Electric Scotland, later in this chapter. As well as Clans and Scottish Society sites, there are also more politically national Scottish sites. Siol Nan Gaidheal's website acts as a focus for people who would like to see an independent Scotland, and online radio stations are also springing up. Whilst some authors have proposed that such virtual communities could eventually lead to a 'hive mind' mentality, with humans as unthinking drones¹¹, this is unlikely. However, the basic concept that members of a community can act in unison in their presentations and perceptions is a useful one. A lot of this community feeling is engendered through email lists, forums and newsgroups. Email lists tend to be newsletters despatched on a regular basis and to which users sign up. No interactivity is required from then beyond joining or leaving the list. The two major Scottish examples of this are the email newsletters run by Rampant Scotland and Electric Scotland.

Forums are on-line discussion boards, often devoted to a particular topic, called a "thread". Users may take part in the discussions, ask questions of fellow members and read content posted. You can also often go back and edit posts you have previously made, unlike "real time" conversations. In fact real time discussions are more commonly found as a feature of Chat Rooms where users can view the topic of discussion and choose to join in.¹²

Internet users will find a similar situation in newsgroups, where people join e-mailing lists on topics they are interested in and can post information to all the other

⁹ S. Macdonald, 'The Gaelic Renaissance and Scotland's Identities', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 26, (Winter, 1999), pp.100-118. The census results will not be known until March 2003

¹⁰ J. McAlpine, 'Fleeing Scotsmen', *The Sunday Times*, 17 November 1996

¹¹ R. S. Rosenberg *The Social Impact of Computers*, 2nd Edition, (San Diego CA, 1997) quoted in R. Seeney, 'A dissertation on community websites', MSc Thesis at Leeds University available online at <http://www.caithness.org/pressroom/rogerseeleydissertatopn/literaturereview.htm> visited 30 July 2002

¹² When they enter the chat room, other users are alerted to their presence, and they can see the other people currently in the room by their username. Although people may select any username, this must be backed up by an active email address. Therefore, if anyone wants to make direct contact, the software will forward relevant emails to users, who can then decide to reply directly to the contactor and make their email address known to them. Of course, using passport accounts like Hotmail and Yahoo can help users concoct a web identity which would take a lot of work to be traced to their real identity.

members of the group. Thus anyone with Internet access can post their views to the world. On the flip side of course is that fact that anyone with an e-mail address can also be tracked down and contacted.¹³

Forums, sometimes also called Bulletin Boards, are to be found at many web sites, and usually have a guru or on-line moderator who tends to be a specialist in the topic and can get involved in regulating the site, as well as policing it for inappropriate content. The advantage of these sites for the uninitiated history researcher is that they are a quick way of getting an answer to a question – however, there will be a myriad of answers given from different users and again, there is no serious quality control. Even the controller of the forum may only be someone who is interested in the field, not necessarily someone who knows a lot about it.

An interesting aspect of this group identity is conformity – an aspect all too ably shown in the web context by the presence of flammers. Conformity, whilst not being as prevalent as in “real-world” communities, is still present to a degree on the Internet,¹⁴ and this is important because members of an online group can therefore be influenced to conform to norms of the group – in our case, in their presentations of Scotland and Scottish identity online. On the Internet in general there has been a proposal that there should be some sort of Hobbesian Leviathan, a sort of online “god” to moderate the Internet. In a small way these already exist, often as moderators in forums.¹⁵ On the level we are talking about, this can be characterised as the moderator (sometimes self-appointed) of discussion threads online. Therefore, their perception of Scottish history is given weight by their perception as Leviathan (moderator) rather than by any formal qualification.¹⁶

¹³ It has been suggested this is what drove the original academic usegroups on the net underground.

¹⁴ M. Smilowitz, D. C. Compton, and L. Flint, ‘The effects of computer mediated communication on an individuals judgement: a study based on the methods of Asch’s social influence experiment’, *Computers in Human Behaviour*, Vol. 4, (1998), pp.311-321 cited in Wallace, *Psychology of the Internet*, p.60

¹⁵ Wallace, *Psychology of the Internet*, pp.69-73

¹⁶ Another aspect of newsgroups and email lists which highlight this kind of group dynamic, is the existence of flammers, and trollers. Flammers are those who send sharp emails to new group members who fail to observe netiquette or ask annoying questions which are covered in the FAQ (Frequently asked questions) section. They also can engage in ‘flame wars’ with other members of the group over any disagreement. Trollers are even worse in that they deliberately set traps to catch ‘newbies’ for the amusement of the rest of the list. They post statements which are obviously incorrect and let new users of the list point out the mistake, whilst of course, everyone else on the list knows this is a trap. Consequently even in

This is further backed up by an effect on group perception which is magnified by the web, polarisation. Studies have shown that computer-mediated communication (CMC)- in other words, online groups - bring out more extreme opinions in people. Whilst this means that within a like minded group, there is a tendency for the group to move to a more extreme position, individuals also find it easier to break off, and perhaps even start their own groups.¹⁷ Furthermore, individuals who do dissent are found to be ineffectual in online situations in comparison with real world groups.¹⁸ Consequently, like-minded individuals tend to stick together, creating a strong, self-perpetuating group. In terms of Scottish identity in cyberspace this would manifest itself as online groupings with particular interests in certain aspects of Scottish identity, for example, tartan, history, Gaelic, Highland Games etc. We could hypothesise that stereotypical views of such aspects are perpetuated and strengthened through such groups as they grow. Individuals who dissent drop off the edges of such groups, leaving a homogenous image being put forth.

A particularly good example of this in Internet terms is the creation of webringings whereby individual websites join other sites to form a ring, often with a central hub which lists all the sites in the ring. All sites display the same webring logo to identify their affiliation, and sites may belong to more than one ring. Sites tend to have the same outlook and aims, and anyone can apply to have their site join the ring. In this case, the person who "owns" the ring has approval over what sites may join.¹⁹ However, we have no idea of what criteria ring owners are using to allow sites to join - some owners of very large webringings may not even check new sites. So, if someone finds one site in the ring, they are automatically encouraged to visit other sites in the ring through hyperlinks, and of course the other sites in the ring are presenting a similar image of Scottish identity and history. For example, the US Scots webring, founded on 31 December 1996, consisted of 461 sites by 4 June 2002,

newsgroups there is a hierarchy of membership, and this inner circle effect means the Internet is not as egalitarian as it likes to think it is. This kind of group mentality demonstrates that online communities can display the same insecurities and internal politics as any real community.

¹⁷ M. Spears, L. Russell, and S. Lee, 'De-individualisation and group polarisation in computer-mediated communication', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 29, (1990), pp.121-134 referenced in Wallace, *Psychology of the Internet*, pp.76-78

¹⁸ P.L. Mcleod, R.S. Baron, M.W. Marti, and K. Yoon, 'The eyes have it', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 82, no. 5, (1997), pp.706-718 referenced in Wallace, *Psychology of the Internet*, pp.82-83

¹⁹ Note that this is normally the person who started the ring, however, rings can be taken over by new owners or be abandoned by their original owner.

which by webring standards is fairly large.

Interestingly the web at the same time as bringing information to the masses, can be seen as acting as an exclusive, ivory tower, device. The immediacy of the electronic world allows joint research projects to take place in real-time and specialists in diverse areas to concentrate even further on these by virtue of having a virtual academic community, distancing them physically from their own immediate academic community and leading to increasing tiny areas of specialisation, as discussed in *Electronic Communities: Global Village or Cyberbalkans?*²⁰

This specialisation is in a sense creating a “two-tier” online community. This academic / non-academic divergence is not unusual – we have already seen that contemporary history books have tended to be written with two distinct audiences in mind. My browsing of the sites looked at in this study has indicated that academic history sites, characterised by online journals, and university websites regarding conferences etc. are not linked to from personal non-academic sites, and vice-versa. The lack of academic content online about Scotland could help to explain this. However, within the non-academic sites surveyed there is evidence of another two-tier society, of sites and societies which perceive themselves to be more “authentically Scottish” than others. An example of this is the clan sites which demand that those who wish to join provide genealogical evidence of their eligibility, or the respondent in the phase three survey who felt his site was not stereotypical. St John Skilton’s preliminary findings in Gaelic societies in Australia also indicates this may be a factor within this community.²¹ This concept of perceived levels of “Scottishness” within the diaspora would be an interesting area for future research.

As we will see later in this chapter, “lay” websites are far outstripping academic

²⁰ It has been suggested that this increasing minutiae can only be damaging to not only the wider world, but also could prove the undoing of universities as physical institutions. M. Van Alstyne and E. Brynjolffson *Electronic Communities: Global Village or Cyberbalkans?* March 1997 <http://web.mit.edu/marshall/www/papers/CyberBalkans.pdf> and P. E. Agre, (2001) ‘Infrastructure and institutional change in the networked university’, *Information, communication and Society*, Vol. 3, no. 4, (1997), pp.494-507. Draft version available at <http://dliis.gseis.ucla.edu/people/pagre/cenic.html> Both articles cited in N. Ó Dochartaigh, *The Internet Research Handbook: a practical guide for students and researchers in the social sciences*, (London, 2002), p. 7

²¹ For a summary of research so far visit <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/~stjskill/> visited 11 December 2002

resources online in popularity in terms of Scottish history. The question of the legitimacy of information found online is paramount. However, a new generation of Internet users are growing up who turn to the Internet as their first port of call for any information, without the research skills which would enable them to distinguish reliable source material.

Student Use of the Internet

The Internet is increasingly being used for educational purposes, and this is a particularly important point. Because the Internet is being used in a formal education setting as an instructional tool from a young age, a new generation is growing up who have been taught to use the Internet as a resource for authoritative information on any subject, and history is no exception to this. Thus the Internet is becoming the research method of choice for a new generation. However, there are problems.

Newmark found that the information superhighway had so many lanes, and so much 'overstuffing' that not only were all ages referred to the same basic materials but that 'The vast, open-ended, and unpredictable design of the Internet is ... almost antithetical to the rather discrete, closed-ended needs of the history teacher of school-aged students'.²² Trinkle found that whilst 44% of the history teachers surveyed required their students to use the Internet for history research, of these, 23% were worried about the actual content available online.²³ So, although the Internet is increasingly being used as a resource for history teaching, there is a general lack of trust in the available content.

Ebersole surveyed students in ten public schools in America and found that although students reported that 52% of their time on the web was spent in research and learning, only 27% of the sites sampled in the survey were found to be 'suitable' for that purpose, and students were found to be visiting commercial sites at a much

²² M. S. Newmark, 'A Call for a New Generation of Historical Web Sites', *Journal of American Association of History and Computing*, Vol II, no. 3, (1999),

<http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/jahcII3/K12II3/Newmark.HTML> downloaded 6 April 2002

²³ D. Trinkle, 'History and the Computer Revolutions: A Survey of Current Practices.' *Journal of American Association of History and Computing*, Vol II, no. 1, (1999),

<http://www.mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/JAHCII1/ARTICLESII1/Trinkle/Trinkleindex.html> downloaded 6 April 2002

higher proportion than other domains.²⁴ McNealy said 'Right now, putting students in front of Internet terminal is no better than putting them in front of TV sets. It may even be worse',²⁵ whilst Hecht likens the Internet to a television with 10,000 channels.²⁶ As a source of information, students rated the web as excellent 44% of the time and good 46% of the time. Whilst the .gov and the .org sites visited in the Ebersole study were the most highly rated for educational purposes, only 4% of the sites visited were .org and 1% .gov, whilst 77% were .com, which received the lowest rating for educational value.²⁷ Although the survey was anonymous, there may have been a degree of social desirability about the students answers, however, students seem unable to determine the educational value of the sites they are visiting, a fact reflected in other studies, for example, Lyons et al. (1997),²⁸ and by the anecdotal evidence gathered.

Teachers have commented that they can tell their students are downloading information for their homework from the web from a number of telltale signs, including the use of terminology more advanced than the level being studied, the lack of real understanding of written work handed in, the lack of discrimination in using online resources and similarity between work downloaded from the same sources. Ironically this is leading to teachers demanding that students hand-write their essays to hand in to make it harder to "cut and paste" directly from printed sources.²⁹

History Academia's Use of the Internet

There does seem to be a dichotomy between historians as to the usefulness of the Internet to history. Kelly highlights the views of Birket, one of those who sees the advent of hypertext as a threat to academic history, with those of Landow and

²⁴ Ebersole, (2000), 'Uses and Gratifications of the Web'

²⁵ McNealy, (1999) (no full reference given) in Ebersole, 'Uses and Gratifications of the Web'

²⁶ B. Hecht, 'Net Loss', *The New Republic*, (1997),

<http://www.eneews.com/magazines/tnr/textonly/021797/txtthecht021797.html> cited by Ebersole, in 'Uses and Gratifications of the Web'

²⁷ It should be noted, however, that .com domain names can be reliable sources of information – for example, all the major newspaper resources in the world use .com domain names as they are commercially based. Using a domain name extension as a qualifier is really a heuristic device rather than an accurate reflection of content.

²⁸ D. J. Lyons, , J. Hoffman, J. Krajcik and E. Soloway, 'An investigation of the use of the world wide web for online enquiry in a science classroom', paper presented at the meeting of the National Association for research in science teaching, (Chicago, Ill., March 1997) in Ebersole, 'Uses and Gratifications of the Web among Students'

²⁹ In conversation with A. Hill, secondary school geography teacher, 1 September 2001

Bolter, who see the web as a resource which could outstrip books in usefulness in historical terms. Central to this is the dichotomy between Birket and his supporters who feel that the web destroys the ability to think deeply about history in its users with the immediacy of content, whilst Landow and supporters feel that the very nature of the Internet allows for new ways of thinking about history.³⁰ This latter position seems to be growing in favour, as Kelly found advantages with using web based technology in history education, particularly in the use of primary resources. Students on a web based course were found to do better in their end of term papers than those on a print based course, which bore out their survey answers that they returned to online primary sources from earlier in the semester far more than the print based students because it was easy and immediate. Although Kelly warns that this still does not prepare students to research on the wider web, web users in her study performed better in their historical analysis.³¹

In terms of academic history, Graham noted that whilst there is evidence that the electronic world is the 'medium of choice' in the sciences, there is no such take up amongst history academics. In her study of 80 history articles used in teaching programs she found only three which cited e-resources over the period of the study (January 1997 to December 2000) and also noted that instead of a possibly expected increase, there did in fact seem to be signs of a plateau in the number of e-resources used in academic journal articles by historians.³² However, the web is not just a mine of secondary resources. The other area where the Internet aids researchers is the access now available to public records and newspapers, that is, the raw data of historical research.

Researching on the Internet - Access to Raw Data

The Internet is of prime importance when it comes to the quick dissemination of information - for example, the estimated number of people who downloaded the

³⁰ T. Mills Kelly, "For Better or Worse? The Marriage of the Web and the Classroom", *Journal of American Association of History and Computing*, Vol. III, no. 2. (2000),

<http://mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/JAHCIII2/ARTICLES/kelly/kelly.html> downloaded 6 April 2002

³¹ T. Mills Kelly "For better or Worse? The Marriage of the Web and Classroom", presentation to the American Historical Association Annual General Meeting, January 2001, available online at <http://www.chnm.gmu.edu/assets/historyessays/e2/betterorworsep.html> downloaded 28 August 2002

³² S. Graham, "Historians and Electronic Resources: A Second Citation Analysis" *Journal of American Association of History and Computing*, Vol IV, no.2, (2001), <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/JAHCIV2/ARTICLES/graham/graham.html> downloaded 28 August 2002

Starr Report from CNN interactive in the first two days it was available was 1.7 million.³³ Statistics on the use of Google in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 showed that on the day itself, news related searches on Google increased by a factor of 60. In the immediate aftermath of the attack over 6000 users a minute were looking for the link to CNN.³⁴ Now, consider that <http://www.cnn.com> would be an obvious place to start for most web users and you see how important Google has become, with over 150 million searches daily. Remember that one of the services Google uses is its "cache" facility, at which a "snapshot" of each webpage is stored by their webcrawler.³⁵ Google also acknowledged to its users that broadcast medium was still the quickest way to get information. This is due to the lack of capacity online for so many simultaneous users and the need for streaming video links to be as quick to disseminate information as television. However, these improvements to the net, the so called 'digital convergence' is coming, in which all computing, telecommunications and broadcasting will be handled by a single network.³⁶

Newspapers are readily available from a number of sources. Not only is it possible to go to the archives of many papers from their home pages, it is also possible to use search engines such as <http://www.northernlight.com>, <http://www.elibrary.com> and <http://www.paperboy.com> to track down articles from many papers simultaneously. Northernlight works on a pay per view basis, with a charge per article, usually

³³ Source RelevantKnowledge, cited in the Wall Street Journal of 15 September 1998, and referenced at <http://new-website.openmarkt.com/intindex/99-02-s.htm>, The Internet Index No. 23, compiled by Win Treese on 28 February 1999

³⁴ R. W. Wiggins, 'The effects of September 11 on the Leading Search Engine', *First Monday*, http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue6_10/wiggins/ downloaded 12 August 2002 Overall traffic was not significantly impacted on September 11, according to VP for Corporate Communications for Google, Cindy McCaffrey, users just massively changed their search habits

³⁵ This has caused problems for Google in that the Chinese government recently temporarily banned Google, allegedly because this 'caching' process stores pages that the government would otherwise ban their users from accessing (such as unsuitable political or pornographic content). Apparently Yahoo is allowed in China because it signed an agreement to permit search results to be filtered by the government, despite being built on Google technology. However, users can use the Google search through other interfaces such as BBCi and some web software reroutes users through servers in unrestricted domains to allow them full access again. The majority of China's 45.8 million Internet users have to use Internet cafés. These have to install Government approved content blocking software.

Information from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/2233229.stm> from Tuesday 3 September 2002, visited 10 September 2002. Also <http://www.cnn.com/2002/TECH/Internet/09/02/china.google.reut/> and <http://www.geek.com/news/geeknews/2002Sep/gee20020903016154.htm>

³⁶ A. Odlyzko, 'Content is Not King', *First Monday*, Vol. 6, no. 2, (February, 2001), http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue6_2/odlyzko/ downloaded 12 August 2002

US\$2.95 depending on the length of the article, whilst eLibrary is a subscription based service. Both of these services also offer an e-mail alert service to subscribers notifying them when new articles in their chosen topics appear.

Researching on the Internet – Availability of “Academic” Secondary Sources

The important point to gather from the preceding section is that the Internet is the new research method of choice. Why go to a library and comb through bookshelves looking for anything relevant to your topic when in just a few seconds, search engines can find you any one of thousands of pages on the web devoted to your topic – and not only information created exclusively for the web. Companies such as Infotrieve (<http://www.infotrieve.com>) and Ingenta (<http://www.ingenta.com>) mean that at the touch of a button, one can search the web for any journal article on any subject, which can then be purchased. The article itself doesn't even have to be available on-line. This means that even journals which are still paper-bound can be accessible to a wider audience – a case in point being the *Scottish Historical Review*. However, there is a higher price, and significant time delay for information which is not available electronically, which could steer consumers to the cheaper and immediately available information.³⁷ Blackwells and other academic publishers are moving towards the immediate delivery format of Portable Document Format (PDF) files which can be locked for content and read using Adobe Acrobat Reader – essentially a pay per view service.³⁸ Usually the publisher offers a searchable database of freely available abstracts, allowing researchers to browse for relevant

³⁷ For instance, Infotrieve charges US\$9.75 + copyright royalty or purchase per document. Add to that a further \$10 for “rush” attention and then the courier delivery rate, or alternately \$1 per page rate for faxing the article and the cost of document retrieval soon adds up. Ingenta let their suppliers set the prices per article, and then add a handling fee on top of that. For example, Blackwell's, Publishers of journals such as *History* and *The Journal of Religious History* are charging £13 + a delivery fee of £6.86, plus VAT of £3.34, meaning articles from these publications cost £23.34 each). Pricing information taken from: Infotrieve, <http://www3.infotrieve.com/Pricing.asp> and Ingenta, for example the article of G. W. Trompfe, 'Millenarism: History, Sociology and Cross-Cultural Analysis', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol 24, no. 1, (February, 2000), pp.103-124, price found at <http://www.ingenta.com/isis/shopping/cart/ShoppingCart/ingenta?WebLogicSession=PNknkn4kxUkwghuleFnd|-7852398127173614219/-1052814329/6/7051/7051/7052/7052/7051/-1> . All pricing pages visited 8 May 2002

³⁸ By October 2002 new technical advances have improved this service again. Articles are stored in a format called SGML (Standard Generalised Markup Language) and PDFs are generated on request. An important feature of this system is the adoption of Cross-Ref (see <http://www.crossref.org>) whereby publishers can register their journals with a centralised system which automatically creates hyperlinks between articles as they become available online. The beauty of this system is that the SGML is updated every 24 hours from the central cross-ref information and as PDFs are generated on demand they are created with

articles. Secure sites enable the customer to make an instant credit card payment on-line and to immediately be able to download the information they require - often more than one article in a single transaction, using shopping cart technology. This also of course cuts cost because there are few overheads in comparison with a paper based and mail delivery service. However, it is mainly business, medical and science journals which are leading the way with this kind of technology, and subjects such as history are lagging behind.

There is also the phenomena of on-line only journals, for example *The Journal for Multimedia History* which can be found at <http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol12no1/introduction2.html> Although the advent of the online journal can make academically reviewed articles available to a wider audience, again there is no quality control in that there is nothing to stop anyone from starting an on-line journal. Furthermore, the danger here is that so many people will start on-line journals with more and more specialised remits, that historical research presented on-line could become fragmented. It is more difficult to establish an on-line journal than it is to transfer an existing journal to the web, in terms of advertising the site and gaining peer recognition. There is also the danger that small independent publishers of academic journals can lose out in the race to be recognised on the Internet. Increasingly institutions want a one-stop solution to their journal needs, and online aggregators such as EBSCO, Gale Group and Emerald (MCB University Press's own service) are gathering together groups of journals to be sold in a one-stop package. For example, Emerald costs from £13229.00 + VAT £2315.08³⁹ which is a lot of money for a library to pay, and is likely to promote institutions to choose one aggregator and stick to them.⁴⁰

A further online development is the digitisation of entire books. <http://www.questia.com> requires a subscription but then gives access to thousands of books online in full text. Because the whole text is digitised, entire books can be

the most up to date information available

³⁹ <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/pricelist/emerald/price.htm> visited May 8 2002. Contains access to 110 MCB management journals and is publicised at this page as 'Emerald Fulltext offers a saving of over 90% when compared to the total cost of all individual journals.'

⁴⁰ This then leads to the cat and mouse problems experienced as aggregators fight for exclusive access to journals, and the squeezing effect on small publishers. Although they can join an aggregator, their journal is then in direct online competition with many other journals all offering similar information. As yet this battle is really to take hold in the world of history, but it is coming.

easily searched for specified terms. From an academic viewpoint this is quite worrying, as users can search for and read specific passages without reading the contextual surrounding information – however, one could argue that this is already the case with indexing in normal books. Full text books on Questia relating to Scotland include Lindsay Paterson's *Autonomy of Modern Scotland* and Grant and Stringer's *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community - Essays Presented to G.W.S Barrow*.

However, results of the phase three online survey show that no-one cited any kind of Scottish history journals or indeed other journals online as favoured or useful history sources. Furthermore, an analysis of web page rankings shows that formal academic sources for information are simply not popular amongst the majority of browsers.

Scottish Academics Online

Whilst we have discussed the “customerisation” of history through other media, the Internet provides increasing examples of this. Some Scottish History academics have been quick to exploit the opportunities offered by the Internet. Anne and Grant Simpson have spotted the commercial possibilities with their site <http://www.historymakers.co.uk/> which offers a number of services, including Historical Research and Copyrighting, Heritage Marketing, Scottish history culture and palaeography: lectures and training, and interestingly, a section of their site, History in the Making, offers different ways of using history in commercial capacities, from naming buildings to helping draft lottery funding applications to assisting film and television productions.

Although the origins of the web envisioned an academic utopia where experts could be consulted by anyone, the practicalities of life soon took over. Discussion lists and newsgroups which had started with a core group of experts found themselves deluged with “newbies” who did not know or observe the “netiquette” of these groups.⁴¹ It is expected that the first thing any new user of such a group will do is visit the FAQ page – Frequently Asked Questions. The thing that drove the academics underground into closed lists was the immense number of repetitive and often inane questions which flooded the lists. On 25 February 2002, of 202,440

⁴¹ Ó Dochartaigh, *The Internet Research Handbook*, p.79

listserv lists online, only 53,549 were public.⁴² However, some academic gems still survive if you know where to look. H-net – originally a history based list system – has developed into a wider, although US biased, resource. These lists have an editor and an editorial board and have many of the same editorial policies as academic journals.⁴³ Of these, H-Albion found at <http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~albion/> is the most pertinent for Scottish history researchers, although there are no notable Scottish historians amongst the editors or advisory board. There are other academic lists to be found, and in the UK these are usually based at the JISCmail service, and includes discussion lists relating to SCRAN (The Scottish Cultural Resource Access Network) at <http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/lists/SCRAN-USERS.html>, the Highlands <http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/lists/HIGHLANDS.html>, and Heritage and History <http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/lists/HISTORY-HERITAGE.html>. There are also other one-off lists such as the Scottish Pre-Modern Women's History Group at <http://www.medievalscotland.org/historia-scotarum/>

Other Scottish historians have held that the only possible use of the Internet is to find a good book.⁴⁴ This is another way in which the Internet has enabled history to become a growth area. Online book e-tailers such as <http://www.Amazon.com>, <http://www.BOL.com> (Books Online) and <http://www.BN.com> (Barnes and Noble) have provided easy access to purchase books on history which may not have been found in the local bookstore, with very competitive pricing and the added advantage of door to door delivery. Whilst you cannot physically pick up a book and browse it, such sites offer sample pages, synopses and reader reviews and as such should not be dismissed by academics over physical bookshops. One other thing the online bookstores do is allow us to easily compare how Scottish history books are presented to potential customers in different parts of the world.

Modern Scottish History Books

In the case of Tom Devine's recent book, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* we can succinctly see how the presentation and commercialisation of Scottish history differs

⁴² <http://www.lsoft.com/catalist.html> visited 25 February 2002. Listserv is a type of software which can run an email list. A large proportion of lists use this according to Ó Dochartaigh, *Internet Research Handbook*, p.93

⁴³ <http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/> cited in Ó Dochartaigh, *Internet Research Handbook*, p.86

⁴⁴ E. Cameron, quoted by Caroline Westbrook, unsubbed version of her article which appeared in the *BBC History Magazine* (February 2001), and available from http://www.bunder.com/caroline_general/scothistory.htm (visited 18 July 2002) BBC History

between Scotland and the wider world. The UK version of the cover of Devine's book seemed to me comparable to the well known Marine Corps Memorial at Arlington Cemetery. This statue is based on the Pulitzer-Prize Winning photograph by Joe Rosenthal taken in February 1945 of six US Marines raising the American Flag at Mount Suribachi at Iwo Jima.



Image 1:



Image 2:

Figure 18. Raising the Saltire

I wondered if this was coincidental so I contacted *The Scotsman* which holds the copyright of the photograph by Ian Rutherford which graces the Devine cover. It was taken at the top of Arthur's Seat the day after the vote in favour of devolution, and it was deliberately set up to look like the Rosenthal Iwo Jima photograph.⁴⁶ Thus it would seem to signify the winning of a battle, in this case the battle for a devolved Scottish parliament. The similarity to the Iwo Jima photograph is possibly the reason this image was not used on the US cover of the book, in that it may have been seen as disrespectful to those who had died in World War II (and indeed some of the soldiers in the Iwo Jima photograph were killed later that very day.) However, the US covers are entirely different. The hardback version has a picture, of Eilean Donan, with medieval style fonts and the softback version has an eighteenth century map of Scotland. Both are quite "old" in their style unlike the modern forward looking picture on the UK version. Eilean Donan is a well known image of Scotland, however it does imply a history prior to the 1700s (despite its 1930s restoration), as it was mainly built in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The map softback cover is also more reminiscent of the earlier period of the 1700-

Magazine at <http://www.bbcworldwide.com/historymag/default.htm>

⁴⁵ Image 1. Photograph by Ian Rutherford: © The Scotsman Publ. Ltd. Edinburgh. Used with Permission. Image 2. Photograph by Joe Rosenthal © Associated Press. Used with Permission.

⁴⁶ In correspondence by email with B. Brady, Content Syndication Department, Scotsman Publications Ltd 26 August 2002

2000 timespan of the book than anything more modern. Magnus Magnusson's recent book on Scotland has also received similar treatment, with a modern photograph of Edinburgh Castle by night on the UK version, and a historical painting of Edinburgh on the US imprint, complete with celtic knotwork and a Lion Rampant for good measure.⁴⁷

Arthur Herman's recent book, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World The True Story of how Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created our World and Everything in It* also has a kilted man on the cover as well as a Dickensque barefoot child wrapped in a tartan blanket. Considering the subject matter of the book, including Enlightenment, Empire, Scots in America and Science and Industry as well as Highlandism, there could have been a more forward looking cover.⁴⁸

Scottish Academic History Online

You would think there would be a wealth of Scottish history available online amongst the Scottish academic history community, and their publications. Sadly, but unsurprisingly given the other findings, this is not the case. A survey of history information found at Scottish universities, in terms of course information and online resources reveals that there is little information of use available.⁴⁹ (See Appendix H, Table H4).

⁴⁷ To compare covers, searches were carried out in August 2002 on <http://www.amazon.co.uk> and <http://www.amazon.com>. It is common for book sale sites to carry cover graphics of their wares.

⁴⁸ It should also be noted that this is not just a situation faced by history books about Scotland. The most popular fictional author in the survey, Diana Gabaldon, has had her books published all over the world, and a visit to <http://www.lallybroch.com> has a collection of these covers. This shows that tartan is the favoured aspect of covers from countries as diverse as Russia, Finland and Argentina.

⁴⁹ There are numerous areas where these University sites could be improved. An obvious comment is that none of these sites links the publications of the academics listed to somewhere they could be purchased. Not only would this be helpful to anyone browsing these web pages, but this is also an important commercial consideration in that should a department link all its academics works to an online book seller such as <http://www.amazon.co.uk>, and directed students that they could order their textbooks through the department web pages, they could make a substantial commission. Amazon is prepared to pay registered partners a % of every sale it makes through their web links - they even provide all the relevant graphics and links to set up the web pages to do this. All commercial transactions take place at Amazon's own site, all the departmental web page has to do is provide the link. Furthermore, there is not much in the way of information about recent journal articles. Again, academics in other subjects are quick to exploit the self-promotion possibilities offered by having their own web pages - some even establish their own pages outside the university system. Publications in journals articles can be linked

Furthermore, no online course resources are offered. Whilst some university websites have more information than others, for example, Glasgow has very detailed information on course contents, essay questions and sample exam papers, others, such as Strathclyde or Stirling have only brief descriptions.⁵⁰ There is no basic course materials such as primary documentation, and no evidence of links to SCRAN as a resource outside specific web links pages. None of these academic websites offer any information for “lay” browsers. I am not suggesting it is the function of a departmental website to provide such information, but some pointers to where reliable information could be found would be very helpful. In America this concept has been explored in far more detail with reference to history.

The George Mason University in Virginia has two major online history resource sites, “History Matters” and the “Centre for History and New Media”. History Matters (<http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu>) is a collaboration with the City University of New York and is funded by various national foundations. Its aim is to provide history students and educators with primary documents in multimedia, discussion groups mediated by scholars, sample topics, information on referencing and research techniques, historical themes and links to other sites. ALL the content is screened and approved by a panel of professional historians, and guidance given about the information on the sites selected as to their strengths and weaknesses. Research carried out on the role of history on the web in further education has come up with some interesting justification for this project. T Mills Kelly found that 90% of students on the one of his/her courses preferred a course taught on the web rather than through print sources. (S)he acknowledges that ‘student satisfaction is not the same as student learning’ but are students who are enjoying a course not more likely to do well?⁵¹ More recent research seems to confirm these results. Bruce Wilson and Philip Pollock studied the effects of online teaching with their

directly to the relevant journal website where these articles could be purchased.

⁵⁰ In comparison, by 2000, the University of the West of England delivered a compulsory first year module to all 150 students via a website. R. Pearce, ‘History at University 2000’, *History Today*, Vol 50, no. 8, (August, 2000), pp.54-58. By 2002, Manchester Metropolitan history students were expected to be able to produce their own web pages, and UWE was in the process of creating web sites for all their history modules including source materials, whilst Birkbeck expressed a hope that increasing use of the Internet would ease the pressure on the library. R. Pearce, “History at University 2002”, *History Today*, Vol. 52, no. 8, (August, 2002), pp. 58-62

⁵¹ T. Mills Kelly “For better or Worse? The Marriage of the Web and Classroom”, presentation to the American Historical Association Annual General Meeting, January 2001, available online at <http://www.chnm.gmu.edu/assets/historyessays/e2/betterorworsep.html>

undergraduate politics students. They found that those who had 50% of their course delivered online scored higher than those who had received a course delivered wholly offline. A contributory factor to this was felt to be the fact that online, small communities developed to discuss topics, which did not happen to this extent in large lecture theatres with over 100 students, leading to a deeper understanding of the subject.⁵²

The Centre for History and New Media (<http://www.chnm.gmu.edu>) carries a searchable database of over 1,200 history departments worldwide as well as a guide to over 5,000 history websites. There are also several online projects currently running, including a digital archive for September 11, 2001, as well as a major archive on the French Revolution, an attempt to recreate in cyberspace PT Barnum's 1865 American Museum, as well as an online magazine placing modern events in their wider historical context.⁵³

What can be seen here is that we are rapidly approaching a situation where universities outwith Scotland will step into the gap to provide an online history resource. Other countries' educators are constantly looking for online content - for example, one survey respondent (WEB/94/USA/F) who has a site about Tartan Day amongst other holidays, has had her site selected and recommended by the French Department of Education for students of elementary English.⁵⁴ Thus personal homepages are receiving validation from educational authorities. Obviously the content is therefore approved by the educational group involved but the important factor is that once again knowledge is being democratised. At the same time other, "unofficial" sites are riding high in the search engine rankings.

Unfortunately the publishers of Scottish history journals are also well behind the game when it comes to providing their content digitally. The *Scottish Historical Review* website is amateur in appearance and frequently out of date, showing April 1999 as the current contents list and an old cover with no possibility of buying articles offered to date.⁵⁵ *Scottish Affairs*, after an overhaul in late summer 2002 is much better, allowing readers search articles online, and to print out a form and

downloaded 28 August 2002

⁵² E. Buie, 'Students "do better without lecturers"', *The Herald*, September 10 2002

⁵³ <http://www.chnm.gmu.edu/projects/index.html> visited 28 August 2002

⁵⁴ Personal correspondence by email with (WEB/94/USA/F) 4 August 2002

order photocopies of articles or whole issues of the journal, however, both lag well behind their contemporaries in other areas of history,⁵⁶ which have their articles available for electronic access and in some cases pay per view. The Scottish Labour History Society journal archive is also out of date as the most recent volume listed is *Scottish Labour History* Volume 34, 1999 and again there is no function to download articles. One sample article is available online in basic HTML but there is no use of PDF (portable document format) files,⁵⁷ and certainly no sign of SGML.

Scottish history journals are lagging behind their cousins in the social sciences in making sure the Internet has academically reviewed and approved content. University projects, for example Strathclyde's "Hamish" Project do not seem to have progressed, nor do they demonstrate the same presentational quality as some other sites. This means that Scottish history is being used and portrayed to a global audience by inexperienced practitioners, and providing a distorted image of both Scottish history and identity. Unfortunately a well designed and impressive looking website is likely to hold more sway with an everyday user of the Internet than a simplistic and obviously amateur site which has been well researched:

The information content of Web pages, *per se*, does not appear to attract visitors to the Web sites. Web page popularity, however, is found to be strongly and positively influenced by the number of changes made to it in the preceding three-month period. ... The number of other Web pages that a home page is linked to, is also found to be a significant determinant of popularity. ... Several specific attributes of home pages are also examined.

Results show that pages should have a greater number of pictures and specifically clickable pictures, leading to other Web pages. Thus, Web sites utilizing the multi-media capabilities of the Web by making use of graphics and pictures, are likely to be more popular.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ <http://www.eup.ed.ac.uk/Newweb/journals/Historical/contents.html> visited on 28 August 2002

⁵⁶ For example, journals from different publishers available online include: *Journal of Medieval History* (Elsevier Science); *Journal of Contemporary History* (Sage Publications); *Journal of Early Modern History* (Brill Academic Publishers); *History Workshop Journal* (Oxford University Press); *History* (Blackwell Publishing); *European Review of History* (Carfax Publishing, part of the Taylor & Francis Group) and *Contemporary British History* (Frank Cass Publishers) all available through Ingenta checked 27 October 2002

⁵⁷ http://slhs.org.uk/journal_archive.htm visited 28 August 2002

⁵⁸ U. M. Dholakia, and L. L. Rego, 'What makes commercial Web pages popular? An empirical investigation of Web page effectiveness', *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 32, no. 7/8, (1998), pp. 724-736, quote pp.734-735

One factor which may be contributing to the poor showing of academic Scottish history on the Internet is a reliance on “Field of Dreams” Syndrome (FDS) - if you build it, they will come, they being potential respondents. On the Internet this is a common failing of many worthwhile sites. It may be that readers of this thesis say ‘well, you’ve missed talking about site X’. Whilst the Internet is a vast and ever increasing resource, if I cannot find a site over the last five years of this research, then it is highly unlikely casual browsers looking for information on Scotland and her history would find it either. The important factor to remember is that people are not going to browse indefinitely. Many Internet users have a core of sites which they regularly visit and if these fulfil their needs, unless new information is sought, they may not venture much further.

Scottish History on the Internet

So, just how is Scotland presented on the web, and how does this compare with other nations? There seem to be eight distinct groups of “Scottish” websites: societies, clans, Highland Games and festivals, links pages, official Scottish institutions, community websites, visitor attractions, and most prevalently, personal home pages. How does history fare in these presentations?

In an article in *BBC History Magazine* in February 2001, Caroline Westbrook looked at Scottish history on the Internet. Her views on the quality of presentations of Scottish history online were reinforced by Ewen Cameron from Edinburgh University:

It strikes me as anachronistic that such a potentially innovative media as the www is being used to peddle old fashioned views of Scottish history ... the concentration on clans, tartans and William Wallace presents a view of Scottish History which is utterly regressive and outmoded. That said, I suppose Scotland’s historians might be said to be culpable in this matter in that we have not got our act together to make a decent contribution to the Internet.⁵⁹

Indeed, Cameron has his own advice about where to look online for reliable Scottish history information: ‘My own advice for someone wishing to use the web to learn something about Scottish History would be to log onto an online bookshop and

⁵⁹ E. Cameron, quoted by Westbrook, *BBC History Magazine*

order a decent book about Scottish History'⁶⁰. However, as has been shown elsewhere, a search for Scottish or Scotland on <http://www.amazon.com> did not find anything recognisably Scottish in the first 25 search results - 'even in the world's electronic marketplace, you can't request Scotland by name'.⁶¹

Furthermore the idea of buying a book about Scottish history online may seem a noble sentiment, but in fact misses the whole point of the Internet - the importance of being able to access information immediately. This also highlights one of the major flaws of the main site cited by Cameron, SCRAN, the Scottish Cultural Resource Access Network. Whilst an online database of original source material, SCRAN has a major disadvantage in that you have to pay to use it - the minimum fee for a user for a year is currently £29.99. Universities and other institutions can buy site licences for several hundred pounds. However, here is where major flaw number two appears. For an individual user to subscribe to the website they need to print out an application form, fill it in and send it by post to the SCRAN offices. Now, if you are a student in Australia doing a project on Scotland, this is not exactly an appealing proposition when there are plenty of other websites offering content for free and immediate access.⁶² This is particularly irksome when you consider that the SCRAN online shop has SSL (secure socket layering) allowing users to shop and fill their basket then purchase online using credit cards (<http://shop.scran.ac.uk/scran/docs/security.htm>)

People looking for information might be therefore be tempted to go somewhere else to get free data - after all, another source is only a couple of mouse-clicks away. This is particularly ironic considering Scotland's long tradition in keeping access to museums free wherever possible, although understandable when you consider the legal minefield of copyright, and the costs, even with funding, in running such a mammoth project. However, the fact must be faced that the very costs which ensure the quality of the resources, are the same costs which could be driving users away.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ C. McCracken-Fraser, 'Stealth Scottishness? Studying Scotland in North America', *Scottish Studies Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2, (Autumn, 2001), pp.134-139

⁶² Not only that, the application form is poorly designed in that users are instructed to fill out the onscreen boxes then print out the form - however, the box sizes on screen are not correctly size limited which means an address can be typed in which does not appear on printing out the form.

Although SCRAN fulfils an important function it operates as a charity when it should really be publicly funded for free access, and a look at many other nations worldwide would indicate that this is feasible. Furthermore, SCRAN needs to increase its visibility. A survey of Internet search engines on 8 August 2002 found that on Google, Altavista, Yahoo and AlltheWeb, SCRAN was nowhere in the top 20 webpages found on the subject of 'Scotland' and on 'Scotland History' it only managed number four on Google and nowhere on the other search engines polled. Two months later on 8 November 2002, it had dropped to ninth place on this search parameter.

However, SCRAN is the main project currently in action attempting to provide an online presence for Scottish culture. Professor Bruce Royan, the Chief Executive of SCRAN states that they have £15 million of funding to digitise resources:

Until recently, humanities teaching in Scotland has been hampered by a lack of Scottish Examples and resources ... yet Scotland abounds in material culture – museum objects and historic sites, photos, film, music and the spoken word – resources that could bring the subject alive if they were more widely available.

SCRAN is well funded ... but there is no end to the material that might be included in the resource base and it is necessary to be selective ... A view of Scottish life that dwelt only on the harsh realities of a *Trainspotting* would be just as misleading as one which favoured the soft-focus myths of a *Brigadoon*. SCRAN will inevitably include a catalogue of "great Scots" and much will be made of romantic failures such as Bonnie Prince Charlie and Mary Queen of Scots.⁶³

It is estimated that SCRAN will have 1.5 million records of artefacts, buildings and sites of interest, and 100,000 of these will employ the full resources of multimedia (In fact it was estimated that by the end of August 2001 this would have increased to 120,000)⁶⁴. Content is gathered from a variety of sources, including the Royal Commission, Historic Scotland, The Highland Folk Museum, and the Glasgow Art Galleries. SCRAN not only positions itself as a tool for education, with special

⁶³ B. Royan, 'Scotia on an Ashnet: SCRAN and the Digitisation of Scottish Culture', paper presented at *Scotland's Boundaries and Identities in the new Millennium*, at Abertay, 14-15 April 1998, summary downloaded from <http://www.scran.ac.uk> 19 October 2001

⁶⁴ B. Royan. <http://www.cultivate-int.org/issue1/scran/> visited 19 October 2001

projects and teacher support at a variety of education levels, but also states its intention to 'increase international awareness of Scottish Landscapes, Scottish Heritage and Scottish Visitor Attractions' and as such can benefit the Scottish Tourist Industry as a resource. It also notes the development of other sites, for example, The Tartan Pages, Scotland Online and Discovering Scotland as evidence of a growing market for information about Scotland.⁶⁵ However, the SCRAN links pages have such tiny type on them they are not very helpful.⁶⁶ Although 2,000 educational institutions have signed up including libraries, and it is intended that SCRAN will be provided to every Higher and Further Education institution in the UK by the UK Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC), what impact this will have on international perceptions of Scotland remains to be seen.

SCRAN is also taking more of its content into the members only category and more clearly differentiating free and licensed content.⁶⁷ The other thing about SCRAN is that it is obvious that has been conceived and led by librarians. Librarians think that they have the necessary experience to bring collections online because they are used to handling large amounts of information - and note that it is Scottish Librarians Information Council (SLIC) that has been given the important job of creating the pilot for Scotland's cultural online portal. However, this database mentality, whilst serving as a background architecture for this kind of site, should not be obvious from the front end. Novice users need something to ease them into a subject before being hit with catalogues of data with little contextual information obvious, and this is the case with SCRAN. What it really needs is a few pages to explain a basic historical framework for Scotland, including a timeline, which links into their data. If you know nothing about Scotland's history and you go to SCRAN it is very difficult to find anything useful, because if you input "history of Scotland" into the search box you get an alphabetized listing of resources. Starting with a '19th Century engraving of Charles II' and moving onto 'aerial views of Abbotsford', 'aerial remains of a Norse settlement', 'aerial remains of Viking settlement' etc. You get the idea. Whilst there is the Pathfinder series designed to introduce you to basic

⁶⁵ B. Royan, 'Multimedia at work: art and culture, tourism and SCRAN', <http://www.scran.ac.uk/articles/article4.htm> visited 19 October 2001

⁶⁶ <http://www.scran.ac.uk/cgi-bin/links/view.pl?parent=%2FC.%20Other%20Sites%20about%20Scotland> visited 12 September 2002. Depending on your browser you can ask it to resize the text onscreen, but this is not necessarily something that is commonly known - SCRAN should probably have a note on this page that if users are finding it hard to read they should use their browsers View tools to enlarge the text

aspects, for example covenanting, again there is no wider timeline or context. If you search for "William Wallace" you can look at a basic history of Wallace, but again there is no context of references to further reading or sites which could help.

It should also be noted that school level education in Scottish history is seen as sorely lacking:

The education of today's children in Scotland leaves them vulnerable to the images of identity created to attract tourists who have heard of Wallace, Bruce, Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie: it leaves them open to persuasion that films like *Braveheart* indeed convey historically accurate accounts of the past: it encourages the glamorising of narrow nationalism rather than self-critical investigation.⁶⁸

There needs to be an introductory level. If you know exactly what you are looking for then SCRAN is a good resource, but it is not visible enough, a fact borne out by the fact that no-one surveyed remarked upon it, and furthermore, that it ranks lowly in the common search engines.

SCRAN is not the only online Scottish resource. There is also SCAN, the Scottish Archive Network at <http://www.scan.org.uk> This site again supplies digitised versions of Scottish documents, and indeed has its own sub-site, <http://www.scottishdocuments.com> mainly covering digitised Scottish Wills. SCAN is supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund, the National Archives of Scotland and the Genealogical Society of Utah, and its aims, as well as digitising Scottish archives, include 'to provide a host of other valuable online resources for anyone interested in the written history of Scotland'.⁶⁹ Its 'Knowledge Base' is designed to be a starting point for historical research, but considering the list of people it offers is limited to [Brahan Seer / Robert Ferguson / Madeleine Smith / Mary Queen of Scots / Sawney Bean and the general categories of Scottish: emigrants / photographers / suffragettes and witches] it has not got very far. The site down say it is a growing resource, however, it does appear to have been online for two years if we look at the

⁶⁷ <http://www.scran.ac.uk/news/articles/2002/008/> dated and visited 12 September 2002

⁶⁸ S. Wood, 'Issues of National Identity and the School Curriculum in Scotland' in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture*, (Shaftesbury, 1998), pp. 213-221, quote from p.220. Amongst other sources this article discussed the findings of a 1997 report into Scottish History on the curriculum.

⁶⁹ <http://www.scan.org.uk/aboutus/index.htm> visited 12 September 2002

copyright date stamp, so progress seems slow. Whilst the data offered within these categories is a good basic introduction – for example, the Mary Queen of Scots Page has a brief biography, a listing of available books and historical records, and a few “Frequently Asked Questions” they are simply not wide enough to make this a useful general history resource. Consolidated funding of one resource would probably produce better results than the growing number of websites created by the large number of Scottish cultural bodies. The affect of the National Cultural Strategy on this approach will be discussed later in this chapter.

Other Countries Presence Online

A very good example of a similar sized country to Scotland is New Zealand. If you search for ‘New Zealand history’ on Google the number one link takes you straight to <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz>⁷⁰ a site that aims to be ‘your first port of call when you voyage the World Wide Web in search of information on New Zealand history’⁷¹, an aim which its ranking on Google would suggest it has achieved. Set up by the History Group of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage in New Zealand, the site was launched at the National Archives in Wellington on 16 March 1999 and now has an impressive wealth of information online.

The Ministry itself is responsible for, among other things:

- provision of policy advice on arts, culture, heritage and broadcasting issues, as determined in consultation with Ministers, including legislation, major policy proposals, and developments and initiatives which have significance to the sector;
- management and disbursement of payments to a number of arts, heritage, broadcasting and sports sector organisations, and the monitoring of the Crown’s interests in these organisations;
- research, writing and publication of New Zealand history; the administration of grants and the provision of advice about New Zealand history;
- research, writing and publication of major references works including the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (<http://www.mch.govt.nz/ref/DNZB/index.html>) and online Encyclopedia of New Zealand (<http://www.mch.govt.nz/ref/enz/index.html>);

⁷⁰ Also branded as Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho o Aotearoa thereby acknowledging the Maori language

⁷¹ <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/AboutContentFrame.html> visited 25 August 2002

- management of national monuments, war and historic graves;
- the administration of the Antiquities Act 1975;
- administration of legislation relating to the symbols and emblems of New Zealand sovereignty (including the administration of the New Zealand Flag, New Zealand National Anthems and the New Zealand Coat of Arms) and to commemorative days;
- administration of the Regional Museums Policy for Capital Construction Projects and the Government Indemnity to Museums policies and the Commemorating Waitangi Day Fund.⁷²

Just a look at *current* History Group projects of the Ministry is fascinating.⁷³ Every item on this list is hyperlinked to more information on the research being pursued. And New Zealand is not alone in having a government which is actively sponsoring the pursuit of national history and its place on the world wide web. The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides a history of Denmark in five languages at its website at <http://www.um.dk/english/danmark/danmarksbog/kap6/6.asp>, whilst Norway's "Odin" site offers a history and geography of the nation at <http://odin.dep.no/odin/engelsk.norway/history/032005-990454/index-dok000-b-n-a.html> The National Library of Australia also offers a history of its continent which is linked into the government webpages, including links to online historical journals at <http://www.nla.gov.au/oz/histsite.html> and these are all sites that are coming up within the top 20 hits on Google when you search for the name of the country and history.⁷⁴

There could be a fear amongst the academic community that a government sponsored website would follow a positivistic history, with a linear "storyline" – much like the arguments encountered in many studies of nationalism about the role of education in promoting a homogenising patriotic identity through history, as was seen in chapter two. However, the very nature of multimedia means this is far from the truth. The coding of hypertext markup language allows multiple argument threads to be linked at appropriate points throughout a narrative.

The UK and "CultureOnline"

The British government is now pursuing the CultureOnline project to digitise the

⁷² <http://www.mch.govt.nz/introduction.html> visited 25 August 2002

⁷³ See Appendix I for a full listing.

⁷⁴ All Web searches referred to carried out 25 August 2002

nation's heritage and has carried out several studies on the use of culture on the Internet. The process for this initiative began in 2000, and by 2002 £13million had been earmarked by the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport to take the project to 2004. The ambition is to fund up to 30 projects for lifelong learners using a 'CultureOnline' gateway and other websites with specially produced digital materials.⁷⁵ This project has not been without criticism – an article in *The Guardian* denounced the idea as a 'shiny' vote-winner and castigated the government for putting money into this kind of project rather than funding existing museums.⁷⁶ However, research done so far for the project suggests that there is a market for this kind of resource.

A survey of English people showed that a significant proportion (37%) of online users had 'visited web sites or used CD-ROMS on arts or culture in the past 6 months'.⁷⁷ More in-depth research found that there was enthusiasm for online resources across a range of age groups. Discussion groups were held with school children aged 9/10, 15/16 and 17/18 and their relevant teachers, as well as lifelong learners aged 35-55 over a variety of methods for digital online resource access. Younger children and their teachers specified interactivity, and the provision of video and photographic stills as stimulating, whilst older children and to an extent lifelong learners appreciated the ability to see different opinions on topics and the possibility of access to reliable information and access to experts. The importance of imagery now has an acknowledged place in academic history.⁷⁸ Teachers were also concerned that whilst they use the Internet increasingly in teaching, especially at a primary school level, they wanted access to reliable quality information which was if possible tailored to specific themes. 'A few teachers went so far as to say they could see this service replacing books as a primary source of information'.⁷⁹ This is a vitally important thing for academics, particularly academics in arts and social studies, to grasp, that learning and research at all life stages is increasingly moving online.

⁷⁵ <http://www.cultureonline.gov.uk/html/intro/intro01.html> visited 27 August 2002.

⁷⁶ M. Kennedy, 'Minister's Culture Website Scorned', *The Guardian*, March 8 2001

⁷⁷ 'Results of Omnibus Survey of people in England' carried out by Taylor Nelson Sofres Phonebus and available at http://www.cultureonline.gov.uk/html/intro/omnibus_results.pdf downloaded 27 August 2002

⁷⁸ P. Burke, 'Picturing History', *History Today*, Vol. 51, no. 4, (April, 2001), pp.2-23

⁷⁹ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 'Culture Online: Second Stage Qualitative Study Report', presented by SRU Limited on 27 April 2001,

http://www.cultureonline.gov.uk/html/intro/sru_report.pdf downloaded 27 August 2002

However, the UK has been left behind by other nations as we have already seen – the New Zealand initiative went online in March 1999. And this cultural strategy is not necessarily extending to the whole of the UK – certainly Wales has already developed its own cultural strategy.⁸⁰ To find out the Scottish position we must look at the recent Scottish Executive publications concerning their “National Cultural Strategy.”

Scottish Cultural Ambitions

In August 1999 Rhona Brankin, the then Deputy Minister for Culture and Sport launched a consultation process to establish a National Cultural Strategy. A driving ambition of the original consultation was that culture should be open to all, and to that end 15 public meetings were held to discuss creating a National Cultural Strategy (details of the consultation documents can be found online at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/nationalculturalstrategy/docs/csnse-00.htm>) with over 750 attendees and 350 returned consultation documents. In turn after the Report of Responses in February 2000 this was turned into a Consultation document published 16 August 2000 (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/nationalculturalstrategy/docs/keenlyside.pdf>) and after this the first National Cultural Strategy Report was published on 25 October 2001 (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library3/heritage/ncsr.pdf>).

Page eight of the consultation report states that: ‘3.26. Everyone recognised the potential of new technologies. The Internet was mentioned often as a key communication tool, particularly by young people and those in rural communities. But it should not be a substitute for physical access.’ This was reiterated later in the same document:

New Technologies

4.75. There was strong support for the principle of using new technologies, primarily through the Internet to improve distribution, communication and access, building on the success of SCRAN and other ventures.

4.76. One idea to which almost everyone subscribed was the creation of a Scottish web site. This could have an internal and external purpose, promoting Scotland’s diverse cultures abroad and providing resources at home. It also presents an opportunity to commission artists.

⁸⁰ <http://www.peoplesnetwork.gov.uk/content/uk.asp> visited 29 August 2002

4.77. The Internet was seen as an opportunity to encourage enterprise in art companies.

4.78. Several respondents stated that access to digitised images should not be a substitute for physical and social access.⁸¹

Whilst it is important to recognise the importance of physical access to resources, it must be acknowledged that for the majority of the Scottish diaspora, this is an impossibility. The next best alternative is to provide this same content, as far as is possible, in an electronic format which is freely accessible from anywhere in the world. The improvement of wireless and satellite technologies are now making even the presence of a physical phoneline obsolete, and whilst a receptacle for the information is still required, this is no longer limited to a full computer with the advent of improving telecommunications technology and handheld communications devices. The rapidly growing number of Internet cafes and public access to the net at libraries also limit the costs involved in getting online. Furthermore, the Internet is an ideal way of highlighting Scotland's history and identity whilst at the same time showcasing innovative use of technology, a perfect marriage of history and modernity to present a cultural message to the wider world.

Respondents to the consultation documents recognised the importance of the diaspora and echoed the sentiments expressed in Paul Basu's research about the importance of communications with the larger Scottish "people". Tourism was recognised as a major factor in presenting Scottish culture to the wider world:

Promotion and Internationalism

4.90. Our self-image as a nation and the way in which it is projected concerned many. There was a strong view that Scottish identity should be inclusive and go beyond narrow images of tartan and shortbread, that its plurality and diversity, tradition and contemporary innovation should be communicated, particularly using new technologies. Equally, there is an opportunity to celebrate pipes and tartan.

4.91. Several respondents commented on the opportunity for culture to make a more positive contribution to tourism including attracting more young people to Scotland as tourists through marketing its contemporary culture. The Scottish

⁸¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library3/heritage/ncsr.pdf>, downloaded 27 August 2002, p.16

diaspora and existing UK, European and world-wide alliances were also presented as opportunities.

4.92. Some arts organisations commented on a rather negative relationship with tourism agencies.

4.93. There was widespread support for emphasising Scotland's links internationally, both in terms of the historic links with Nordic and other cultures, and in terms of Scotland's contemporary culture.

4.94. Several emphasised the need to avoid parochialism and the importance of international links. This included the need to contextualise the presentation of Scottish arts and culture in an international setting.

4.95. It was also linked to the role of culture in representing Scotland abroad. Several respondents had ideas for promoting Scotland including developing cultural ambassadors, extending the "Taste of Scotland" idea to the arts and creating a dynamic web page.

4.96. There was criticism of the activities of existing agencies and the fragmentation of others. The British Council was thought unable to promote Scotland to the full extent and Scottish Trade International, Trade Initiative, Scotland Europa, Scotland the Brand and SAC were all mentioned as potentially useful.

4.97. A suggestion was made for a Caledonian Institute to promote Scottish culture.⁸²

Other countries were cited which had models for cultural activity which could usefully be applied to Scotland. These included: Denmark, where a Danish Cultural Institute has been established with international offices with the purpose of promoting Danish Culture overseas; in Sweden there is a Cultural Heritage Bill and government funded support for cultural activities; Norway publicly funds cultural expression, and The Netherlands, Ireland and Catalonia (which has an autonomous self-government within the nation of Spain) are also given as examples where culture has been put at the forefront of government policy.⁸³ It is also important to note the disparity in funding between these nations and Scotland, for example, National Museums and Galleries receive £3.9 per capita in Scotland compared with £6.9 in Denmark and £4.7 in England, and central government support for museums

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp.17-18

⁸³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/nationalculturalstrategy/docs/keenlyside.pdf> downloaded 27 August 2002, pp.23-26

equates to £0.3 per capita compared to £3.6 in Ireland and £2.8 in Denmark.⁸⁴

Cultural agencies in Scotland also published their responses to the National Cultural Strategy documentation. SLIC and the Scottish Library Association report highlighted the fact that different cultural agencies in Scotland are funded in different ways and with different organisational structures, and that combining all the cultural agencies into a single body would not necessarily be a solution when the individual agencies have a good track record of co-operation on projects. Furthermore, there is also a recognition of the 'profound implications' for the cultural industry of technological developments which, importantly, 'will also give the opportunity and the *market* to encourage cultural diversity and improve access to minority cultures and indigenous languages such as Gaelic or Scots'.⁸⁵ Again notice the importance of the modern consumer in helping to develop Scotland's cultural identity.

The Scottish Museums Council defines culture as 'the historic record and contemporary creativity which distinguishes Scotland and Scottish Life'. The Council highlights the role of museums in the technological age in providing online learning for any age group, and admits that new media means museums are 'radically revising our ideas of how individuals access knowledge and indeed what constitutes knowledge'. They agree that projects like SCRAN, conceived on an educational basis, could be interlinked with tourism and the international cultural reputation of Scotland.⁸⁶

The role of the Internet in growing tourism to Scotland is an important one. VisitScotland developed <http://www.ancestralscotland.com> to attract the new genealogy tourists, and the Internet has a growing role in people booking travel worldwide. Importantly, 'using the Internet not only provides information about the tourism products they can consume but also a whole range of additional data

⁸⁴ Scottish Museums Council, 'Response to National Cultural Strategy', <http://www.scottishmuseums.org.uk/htdocs/information/services/response.pdf> downloaded 29 August 2002

⁸⁵ My Emphasis. The Scottish Library and Information Council (SLIC) and the Scottish Library Association, 'Celebrating Scotland: A National Cultural Strategy, Response from the Scottish Library and Information Council and the Scottish Library Association', <http://www.slainte.org.uk/slicpubs/celebresp.pdf> downloaded 29 August 2002

⁸⁶ Scottish Museums Council, 'Response to National Cultural Strategy', <http://www.scottishmuseums.org.uk/htdocs/information/services/response.pdf> downloaded 29

about the resources, history, social and economic structure of destinations'.⁸⁷

Disappointingly, few of the Internet recommendations come to fruition in the First Annual Report on the National Cultural Strategy. Under the heading Current/Next stages come the statements:

The Executive will keep in touch with UK website developments. Historic Scotland will build on SCRAN to provide increased access to information on its estate; HS is also developing its website to include a dedicated section for schools and children

Increase access to collections by means of ICT, including securing the future of SCRAN

There are two other mentions of the use of websites in the document

The British Council Scotland have developed a co-ordinated UK Arts web network and cultural portal, working with SAC on the Scottish content "Key priority 2.3 p. 17

Establish a national "portal" website with information, links and discussion forums on Scotland's culture. * The Executive is working with SAC to develop a specification for a portal * The Executive is investigating the potential and implications of "Culture Online", a DCMS proposal for a major cultural portal/website and the impact of other portals and websites under development Key Priority 3.2 p. 25

Further investigation shows that the British Council portal is really just a page of links to Scottish arts institutions. Whilst this is the basic function of a portal, to link websites together, there really is the scope for so much more. Even a basic search of the linked sites would enable a user to find what they were looking for rather than having to guess which institution provided which information. Another factor it is important to understand about portals are the protocols in place for linking pages. It is standard for links pages of websites these days to carry a disclaimer that links

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⁸⁷ D. Buhalis, 'Tourism in an era of Information Technology, pp.163-180, in B. Faulkner, G. Moscardo and E. Laws (eds), *Tourism in the 21st Century: Lessons from Experience*, (London, 2000), quotation p.168

to other pages do not imply a sanctioning of the content of those pages by the host of the link. This is because the Internet thrives on reciprocal linking between sites. However, the advent of webrings, as described in a previous chapter, now fulfils this service by allowing people to join rings of like-minded sites without any criteria for acceptance. There is space for portal sites to direct people to these webrings with the provisos on content already mentioned, however, a successful portal should also provide a list of "approved" links to give amateur researchers somewhere to start. Although this seems to smack of "big brother" the exponential rise in the number of web pages means this is fast becoming a necessity - and in a way it is already a fact of Internet life. Search engines such as Google and Yahoo must employ some kind of ranking of web pages which they do by measuring relevance and traffic so sites are already being subjected to an approval rating.

So, what progress has been made on the proposal for a national portal site? Correspondence with the Scottish Executive uncovered that they have decided not to join CultureOnline at present, and that instead £250,000 has been allocated over 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 to SLIC for a pilot site to be launched in Spring 2003. SLIC was chosen because they have already set up their own website, <http://www.slainte.org.uk> which has given them some experience in this area.⁸⁸

The technological ideas behind <http://www.slainte.org.uk> are being utilised to produce the pilot portal site outlined in the National Cultural Strategy.⁸⁹ On a technical level the infrastructure being built is impressive, ensuring that all participating bodies have databases and metadata which reach recognised standards such as e-GIF and Dublin Core⁹⁰, which will enable the portal site to search across many different sites

⁸⁸ In correspondence with P. Hymers, Scottish Executive by email, 28 August 2002. However, a quick visit to Slainte shows that this site is quite basic and amateur in appearance. The search engine appears dated and has not been upgraded since 1999 - light years in technological development on the Internet. <http://www.slainte.org.uk> visited 29 August 2002

⁸⁹ I interviewed Elaine Fulton, the Assistant Director of SLIC and also the Project Manager for the pilot site to find out more about the aims of the project. Interview held at SLIC offices in Hamilton on 24 September 2002, 2.30pm

⁹⁰ The Government aims to have all government information online by 2005, and part of this is ensuring standardised data practices. This includes the adoption of e-GIF (e-Government Interoperability Framework) which is designed to ensure alignment with the Internet, adoption of XML and use of browsers as the key information interface. XML is Extensible Markup Language, a computer language which allows different "front ends" to draw and use data from the same source. Z39.50 is the Internationally adopted standard for standardising data to enable retrieval across different platforms, and this specifications is

simultaneously. This is one of the advantages of being a small country in that it is easier to implement these platforms allowing what will be a technically advanced search site to be built. At the moment, SLIC is unaware of any similar project being undertaken anywhere else in the world.

However, whilst the portal site is designed to be technically advanced, there are downsides. Firstly, this is only a pilot project, which means only certain areas, for example music, are able to be covered at this stage. There is currently no plan for a history section on the site. Although one will be created eventually the indications are that it will in fact be links to other sites already online with perhaps a timeline to give some kind of context. One thing SLIC is stressing is that all content is quality controlled, and that means that all sites will have to be checked for quality, although as this chapter will show, there does not appear to be any Scottish history site currently available with this kind of quality control in place.⁹¹

Current Primary Source Data About Scotland Available Online

Scotland does have primary source data in the form of public records available electronically, for example, the National Archives at <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/sct/intro.html#NAS> has wills and testaments, non-conformist Church records, Kirk Session records of the Established Church of Scotland, legal, court, land and estate records and maps and plans. The Public Record Office <http://www.pro.gov.uk> holds records such as those for Scottish soldiers

being targeted by agencies across Scotland, as well as worldwide. The Dublin Core is a set of 15 variables which should be included in site metadata. Information from 'Organising information implementing standards for interoperability and access', Scottish Library and Information Council, 2001

⁹¹ Furthermore, when I asked about the targeted users of the site, to my mind a parochial stance was taken. I thought the site would be aimed at the diaspora, especially with the involvement of VisitScotland, and as such asked how the site would be publicised. The answer given was that there would be 3,500 PCs in Scotland's public libraries by end December 2002, and all schools and universities would also have a link placed onto their desktops to get to the site. Search engines such as Google were dismissed because they had no qualitative analysis built into their ranking systems (although I would argue against this if you look at the system used by Google, there is a qualitative rating built in). The SLIC approach is backed up by data contained in the SLIC interoperability report, which states that of the 11 currently available commercial search engines, only 43% of content on the Internet can be found, and this figure has been reducing. SLIC interoperability report, p7. Whilst portal sites and technical standardisation can help to overcome this, if users cannot find the portal itself we are no better off, and dismissing the search engines which the majority of the Internet population use will not help the situation. From my own personal observations I would suggest that some of the agencies involved in the site are working at crossed purposes, or at least expecting different things from the site which it may not be able

in the British army (Scottish and non-Scottish regiments) post 1707, records about the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 and some emigration records. The General Register Office for Scotland (GRO) has recently launched its own pay per view database of genealogical records including Old Parish Registers from 1553-1854, Indexes to the Statutory Registers of births deaths and marriages from 1855-1898, and the index to census records from 1891.

A by-product of the increasingly available on-line public records, and one which directly impinges on people's perceptions of their identity, is the particularly striking growth in the field of genealogy. Sites such as <http://www.genealogy.com>, <http://www.gengateway.com>, and perhaps one of the most comprehensive, <http://www.cyndislist.com> allow users to access literally thousands of on-line resources. Between 4 March 1996 and 27 March 2000, 14,061,231 people had used Cyndi's List of genealogical links on the Internet, and by 8 April 2002, 27,206,109 users had visited.⁹² Scotland is a particular area of interest for genealogists (at the time of writing, it is the only country outside the USA with its own listing at www.gengateway.com) and interest in their Scottish ancestry has caused many websites devoted to the topic.

Scotland's genealogical resources have always been admired, and again these seem to be spread over several different services. <http://www.scotsorigins.com> has no longer got access to the GRO records because as of September 2002, this has come under the control of <http://www.scotlandpeople.gov.uk> the 'Official Government source of genealogical data for Scotland', which includes baptisms from 1553 (to 1854). The site argues that this is the best place to find this data because it is constantly being updated by its "offline" staff as they and their customers spot errors in the paper records which are then corrected in the online database, so it is therefore more up to date than for example, the International Genealogical Index.⁹³ The aim is clear. 'By the end of 2003, Scotland will probably have the most complete online genealogical information source for any country in the world.'⁹⁴ And, in this

to deliver. Only time will tell.

⁹² <http://www.cyndislist.com/> visited March 27 2000 and April 8 2002

⁹³ <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/grosweb/grosweb.nsf/pages/sinternt> downloaded 17 September 2002. The IGI is the Mormon online index which is based on what are essentially "photographed" records rather than an actual database like the GROS

⁹⁴ Dr R. Simpson, Deputy Minister for Justice, quoted in 'Scotland leads way in family history online', *The Times*, September 19 2002

respect at least, Scotland has got its online act together, because VisitScotland is using <http://www.ancestralscotland.com> to promote genealogical tourism.

A by-product of this burgeoning interest in Scotland has been the addition through online sites, of many families' private family letters and histories, and the dissemination of oral testimony passed down through generations of migrant Scots. This highlights the fact that the Internet is a vast oral history archive, and there are numerous personal websites dedicated to Scottish genealogy and history. An analysis of the top 250 Google webpages and the largest Scottish webring on the Internet later in this chapter will show this fact.

Thus the Internet can act as a repository for formal historical data. However, there is growing evidence that informal historical information, can find a home on the Net. One site which is trying to do this in a Scottish context is <http://www.theclearances.org>, a web project designed to

tell some of the stories from the Highland Clearances, their aftermath and consequences. There is no shortage of literature on the subject but most of it concentrates on the **what** and the **why**. This site is more concerned with the **who**: whether one considers the Clearances ethnic cleansing or economic necessity or something in-between, the whole is made up of many different stories: most sad, some happy; of greed, of despair and, occasionally, of altruism. Some of them are not even narrative - a passenger record, 'died on board, aged 8'. One account cannot reconcile them. Form your own conclusions or reinforce prejudices you already hold but all the stories are important, to our past, our present and our future.

The home page begins with a quotation from John Berger's *G*:

Never again will a single story be told as though it's the only one'. The same phrase is used also in Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* and Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*. There are obvious similarities between the cleared and the characters of these two novels, immigrants and outsiders in a caste system. Like these novels, the Clearances have no main characters. To treat them as the Duke of Sutherland or Patrick Sellar and thousands of dispossessed

trivialises and depersonalises and stills many voices which should be heard. We have tried to use first person accounts as much as possible.

Many voices telling different stories may sit uncomfortably with some museum directors. We are accustomed to museums and their "truth telling" with Peter Walsh's memorable phrase "the unassailable Voice". If a digital archive, web-based or otherwise, is to be more than a *Wunderkammer* with html tags, we must admit more voices, answering the questions the audience poses rather than those the institution chooses to answer. By necessity in this project (there being a lack of early nineteenth century audio recordings) some of these voices will be fictional. This will raise some hackles particularly among those who say the need for this archive is to separate the myth of the Clearances from the reality. It is not clear that anyone can do this. It is even less clear, to me at least, why anyone should want to. The myths are as much a part of the history as any other account. There is only a danger when the myths are presented as the only possible story. This is usually called heritage.

In *The God of Small Things*, there is the history house. "With all the lamps lit. And ancestors whispering inside". When it was surrounded by transplanted homes full of furniture and knick-knacks "labelled with edifying placards", it became a hotel called "Heritage".

Help us build a history house.⁹⁵

Thus there are sites which are attempting to use the technology of the Internet to create a meaningful archive of knowledge about a period in Scotland's history which is hotly contested. This site is the ideal counterpoint to the other approach to memorialising the Clearances as outlined in chapter five.

Amount of Content on the Internet

So, we have seen that there is academically sound information on the Internet if you know where to look - and often if you are prepared to pay. We have also seen that there are attempts to use the technology of the internet to collect legitimate historical source material. However, are these "legitimate" sources for information about Scotland accessible in the huge amount of information found on the Net? March 2000 and 2002 searches for the following topics revealed the depth of

⁹⁵ <http://www.theclearances.org/clearances/about.php> visited 7 November 2002

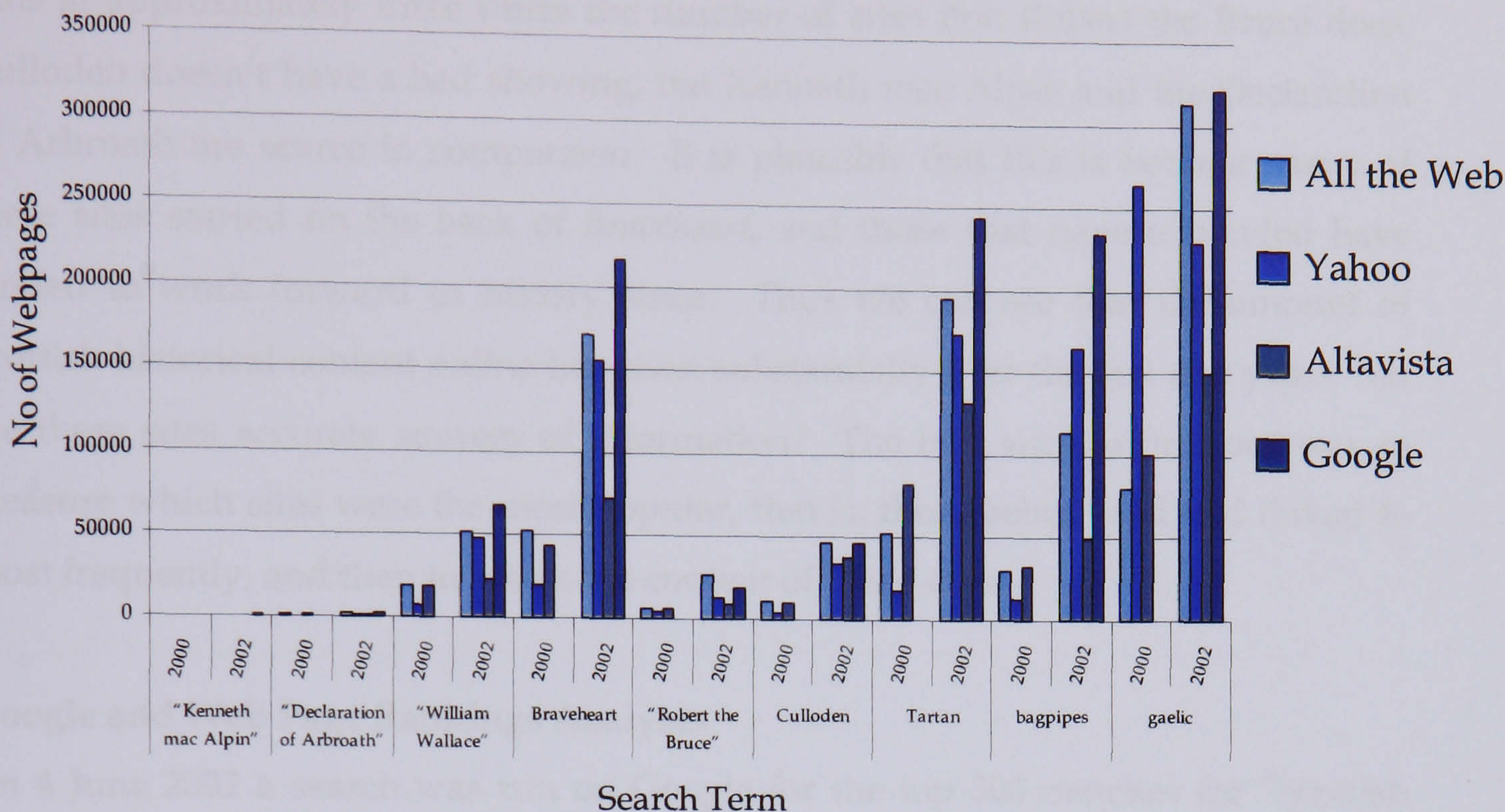


Figure 19. Number of "Scottish" Webpages found on Major Search Engines in 2000 and 2002

However, with this many pages on offer, as highlighted by the education research cited earlier, the untrained researcher is in trouble. How do they know which sources are reliable? Original? And remember that a lot of people are on the web for commercial purposes. The best way to tell is to know something about the

⁹⁶ Websites polled on 22 March 2000 and 23 March 2002. Note that search engine 'hits' can include pages from the same site, and that these counts are of webpages not websites. Different search engines have different modus operandi over time. All search terms of more than one word were searched in quotation marks so that the search engine was looking for the whole phrase, not just the words. In the 2000 survey, Northernlight.com was surveyed, but this has changed from being a search engine into being a search facility for specific sources, mainly research based, so I have not shown the results as there would be no comparable 2002 figures. Yahoo is now 'powered by Google' (note the similarity in 2002 figures with very round numbers being found, due to Google's time limited search factor) The new kid on the block is Google, now seen as the most comprehensive search engine on the net, which delivers results with a time factor given, for example, 18,700 results in 0.07 seconds. The search probably cuts off after 0.15 secs approx due to the sheer size - and the rating system Google employs which makes it an efficient finder of information. Google's 'Page Rank™' system combines a sophisticated text matching system with ranking criteria based upon linkages. So, if my site carries a link to your site, that counts as a 'vote' for your site. However, this 'vote' carries more weight if my site has lots of other people linking to me. Links from high-quality sites from reliable sources are also weighted more heavily. For a full explanation of Google's systems, see <http://www.google.com/technology/index.html> visited 3 September 2002. These numbers must be seen in the light of the changing search technology, but the consistent increase in numbers suggests that this is not purely due to this change.

subject to start with, but this is of course a catch-22 situation. The Internet by definition will tend to concentrate on topics in the public eye, thus William Wallace runs at approximately three times the number of sites that Robert the Bruce does. Culloden doesn't have a bad showing, but Kenneth mac Alpin and the Declaration of Arbroath are scarce in comparison. It is plausible that this is because many of these sites started on the back of *Braveheart*, and those that have expanded have tended to work forward in history since. Thus we can see that the amount of Scottish historical content online has risen substantially over the last two years, but are these sites accurate sources of information? The best way to find out was to measure which sites were the most popular, that is, those being used and linked to most frequently, and then to assess the content of these sites.

Google and Web Page Rankings Analyses

On 4 June 2002 a search was run on Google for the top 500 matches for "Scottish history". This was used to harvest email addresses to contact to participate in the online survey. However, an analysis of the results themselves are also useful.

If we look at the top 250 results and categorise the webpages found, the following breakdown appears: Personal webpages 23%, Commercial pages 16%, Booksales pages 14% and then Academic pages 12%. These Academic pages break down into links to the Scottish history course descriptions of universities in the following levels: Edinburgh five; Glasgow, St Andrews and Strathclyde four each, Dundee, Stirling, Guelph (one of these was a call for papers) and Cumbernauld College two each; one for the Glasgow Caledonian Women's History Network, and finally two for the Edinburgh University geography department site. Sites termed educational included SCRAN, Lothene Archaeology and the Hamish Project. This demonstrates the problem with the net as a repository which keeps growing. People do not tend to delete things, therefore the Hamish Project, which was supposed to be Strathclyde University's attempt at a Scottish resource site is very out of date and forlorn, and it seems, abandoned. Also represented in this section were sites such as Suite101, a site which gives students essays about various topics which are marketed as being of a content suitable to reuse in essays and the like to university level (these tend to be American sites).

Commercial pages make up 16% of the top 250 sites. This is important for a reason

highlighted earlier. The commercialising of “Scottishness” has enabled people to purchase the trappings of this identity, thus validating their enactment of “being Scottish”. The Internet is a growing marketplace for this. The idea that Scottish sources are more authentic means that Scottish companies on the Internet have a willing audience for their products. One can now even buy land deeds for a ‘Square Inch of Scotland’ – Highland Scotland at that, playing on nostalgia for the homeland amongst the diaspora.⁹⁷ Again the Internet allows users to partake in Scottish identity by providing access to the material trappings of that identity.

From an academic point of view you would expect to see resources like the *Scottish Historical Review* feature strongly on any such list – it came 210. *Scottish Affairs* did not feature at all. Consider that Google shows only ten results per page and you can see how dedicated a “browser” would be required to get this far down the listing.

Table 3. Top Ten Websites for Scottish History August 2002

Rank	‘Scottish History’ ⁹⁸	‘Scotland History’ ⁹⁹
1.	Scot web Scottish History Magazine	Electric Scotland history
2.	ScotWeb Scottish History Magazine	Electric Scotland general
3.	Electric Scotland	Bbc.co.uk Scottish history
4.	Electric Scotland	SCRAN
5.	Skyelander Scottish and Medieval History Website	Britannia.com (Travel agency to the UK)
6.	Skyelander Complete Scottish History Timeline	ScotWeb Scottish History Magazine
7.	ScottishHistory.com (The Scottish History Tour)	Edinburgh University Notable Dates
8.	ScottishHistory.com	Edinburgh University Gateway to Scotland
9.	Edinburgh University Notable Dates	Scotland.org
10.	Edinburgh University Gateway to Scotland	Rampant Scotland

Because search listings can change over time, the same search terms were searched again exactly three months later on 8 November 2002

⁹⁷ <http://www.squareinchland.com> visited 21 December 2002

⁹⁸ Search carried out 4 June 2002 on Google

Table 4. Top Ten Websites for Scottish History November 2002

Rank	'Scottish History'	'Scotland History'
1.	North Scotland.co.uk	Electric Scotland
2.	Scotweb	Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society
3.	Electric Scotland	Rampant Scotland
4.	Skyelander	Scottish Radiance
5.	Bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory	Edinburgh Uni Gateway
6.	Edinburgh Uni Notable dates	Scottish History.com
7.	Scottishhistory.com	The Capital Scot
8.	Scotshistoryclub.co.uk	BBC Scotland
9.	SCRAN	SCRAN
10.	Rampant Scotland	Britannia.com (travel agency)

Also searched were AlltheWeb, Altavista, Yahoo and Lycos, and remarkably similar results were provided by all of these.¹⁰⁰ Searches for the term "Scotland" on its own also revealed similar results across search engines and across time, with the following sites appearing across search engines and searches separated by time: Electric Scotland, Historic Scotland, VisitScotland, the Scottish Executive and the Edinburgh University Gateway to Scotland.¹⁰¹

The Most Popular Scottish Websites on the Internet

Two websites which consistently top polls of Scottish interest websites are Electric Scotland and Rampant Scotland. Both are sites with weekly email newsletters about events in Scotland which users can sign up for, and providing many links to other websites as well as their own content. However, both these sites share a very important origin – they were both set up by part-time hobbyists with an enthusiasm for Scotland.

Electric Scotland was started in 1994 in Grangemouth by Alastair McIntrye as a part-time operation, and has grown into a massive site. It hosts web boards and has over 20,000 members. Rampant Scotland was started in 1996 by a sixtysomething banker in Bearsden who was glad to retire from his day job to run the site full-time. Alan Scott, known as Scottie in cyberspace, has a thriving list of approximately 6000

⁹⁹ Search carried out 8 August 2002 on Google

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that the Google search system is increasingly being licensed to other search engines, for example, Yahoo and AlltheWeb, which is one possible explanation for this conformity.

¹⁰¹ It should also be noted that a search undertaken on 27 August 2001 for the term 'Scottish History' on Google pulled up, albeit indifferent order, the exact same 10 websites found in

readers of his weekly email of 'Scottish Snippets' which are used by radio stations and Scottish societies worldwide, with approximately 70% of his subscribers being ex-pat Scots or those of Scottish descent.¹⁰² Again, this compares with the Caithness community website previously discussed, started by a retired person looking for a part time hobby which has grown into a massive undertaking. This is not in any way to denigrate these sites, but it is a worthwhile question to ask why Scotland's online presentations are being left in the hands of enthusiasts, whilst contemporary countries have government sponsored sites online to do the same job. Indeed, respondents in the 2002 Electric Scotland survey not only commented on how important the site was to them in helping them find books and information on Scotland's history, but also brought up the necessity for a proper portal site to act as an umbrella for all Scottish interest sites. One respondent highlighted how in Maine in the US the state sponsors such a site.¹⁰³

In a recent newsletter of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland, Electric Scotland was highlighted as a site where over 10,000 web pages on Scottish historical matters reside, and described as 'the largest Scottish history site on the web', as well as being the online home of the *Family Tree* newspaper of the Odom library, 'the largest genealogy publication in the world and the largest Scottish publication outside Scotland'.¹⁰⁴

November 2002, showing that there is no significant movement in this listing even over the space of a year.

¹⁰² I. Andsell, 'Web master with a human touch', and also through email correspondence August 2002 with Alan Scott

¹⁰³ http://www.electricscotland.com/questionnairer_2002.htm visited 9 August 2002. Worryingly, a dismissive attitude appeared to be taken by SLIC towards sites such as Electric Scotland and Rampant Scotland, which consistently top the search engine rankings for information about Scotland. The point was made that because these pages are run by amateurs, if they lose interest the pages quickly go out of date, to which the obvious riposte is that if the portal site lost funding it too would have the same problems. However, it would seem sensible for these agencies to collaborate with the people behind these sites - after all, they have made them the most popular on the Internet, and they will also know where to find web content.

¹⁰⁴ *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Newsletter*, no 14.1, (September 2002), p.8 If the *Family Tree* is indeed the largest Scottish Publication outside Scotland then this is a classic example of how Scotland is perceived and presented to the wider world. A choice excerpt from *The Family Tree* highlight this:

'One thing that our parents taught us was not to forget where we came from, and from time to time, some of us, myself included, need to be reminded of that bit of information about our past. In this particular case, I'm talking about our ancestors of yesteryear and the land they loved. Some are content to belong to a Scottish group that chooses not to acknowledge or associate with Chief, Clan or Land. Let me hasten to say that is their right. If they choose not to recognize the historical Scottish tradition of Chief, Clan or Land, that is their privilege. Yet, failure to do so while wearing Scottish clothes, walking the walk, and talking the talk

Other publications for the diaspora include the now defunct *US Scots Magazine*, *The Scottish Banner*, founded in 1977¹⁰⁵, the *Highlander* and also the growing number of radio stations broadcasting over the Internet, for example, *Scot Radio* is a 24 hour Internet station available at http://members.aol.com/_ht_a/radioscotland/index.html?mtbrand=AOL_US

A brief summary of the Scottish history content on sites highly ranked by search engines is given below. It should also be noted that web surfers can use domain names to browse the Internet, entering in site names likely to be relevant to their search. Often highly ranked sites have well known domain names:

appears to be a little hollow sounding, like that of a hammer banking on an empty metal drum. It just does not ring true. There is something missing, no matter what they say.

We make no apology for being a Scottish publication, for dressing the part, talking the talk or walking the walk! We are proud of our Scottish heritage and history, our Scottish origin and tradition.

It is an honour to tell you how we feel about our relationship to the Chief, Clan and Land that we cherish and are so important to us.

Here is a partial list of the things we do to exhibit our Scottishness: we wear the Scottish kilt; we pin on the Chief's Crest; we strap on a belt with the same crest (which is encircled by the clansmen's belt to show our loyalty to and recognition from our Chief and Clan); we play the bagpipes; we belong to Scottish societies; we attend and participate in Scottish/Highland Games, ceilidhs, Kirkin' of the Tartan, Highland competition in athletic and dancing events; we dress the part for Burns Night and Hogmanay; we attempt to toss the caber; we love the pipe and drum corps presentations and parades, we study Scottish history and share what we learn with others; we send our money to *The Scottish Banner*, *The Highlander* and *The Family Tree*; we sign off our letters with "Yours Aye"; we go over to Scotland if we are lucky; we name our newsletters with Scottish/Gaelic names and then have to interpret them; we learn to spell Rothiemurchus and pronounce Tordarroach correctly; we purchase CDs by Scottish singers about Scotland; we listen to the wonderful Scottish Fiddle Orchestra by the hour; we plant a purple plant time after time that never lives (down south anyway); we wear shoes today that our ancestors would throw in the burn; we crochet Scottish terriers; we wear eight yards of 16 ounce wool in 90 degree heat; we stick knives into our socks; our friends tease us that we wear a purse with a skirt; we buy Scottish calendars and paintings to hang on our walls; we drink from Scottish crystal; we cook Scottish dishes; we bring dozens of pictures back from Scotland; we are frugal, if not outright "tight" and being a good Scot, we brag about it; we slip off to the sponsors' tent when the wife is not looking for you know what; we may have a "wee dram" or two of whisky more than we should; we fly the gold Rampant Lion flag when we know we should fly the blue Scottish Saltire of St Andrews[sic]; we worship a dish few of us eat that is brought into the banquet hall escorted by piper and presented by the high brass while being protected by guards; but we do all of these wild, crazy Scottish things because we love them and somehow they feel they are a part of our Scottishness ...', F. R. Shaw, 'Please pardon our Scottishness', *The Family Tree*, October-November 1997, p.12b

Table 5. Domain Names Commonly in Use

Site Address	Content
Rampant Scotland http://www.rampantscotland.com	Mainly links to other sites and work of authors such as Skyelander and Sconemac.
Electric Scotland http://www.electricscotland.com	Most of the content on here is either taken from (and attributed to) James Halliday's history of Scotland. There is also a lot of unattributed and personally written history
Scottish Radiance http://www.claymore.wisemagic.com/scotradiance/scothistory/scothistory9805.htm	This site is interesting in that it directly copies chunks of Michael Lynch's <i>Scotland: A New History</i> . Although it does mention Lynch's book as a source it is not a very overt attribution, (he is not named on some pages) and I wondered if they were using the "up to 800 words" copyright clause to try and get round this. It would be interesting to follow this up.
Edinburgh University Gateway to Scotland http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/home/scotland/scotland.html	Links to other sites including the BBC, and a basic timeline of Scottish history from the <i>Gazeteer</i> , links to skyelander, scotshistoryonline,
Scottish Clans http://www.scotclans.com	Company selling multimedia CDs
http://www.Scotshistory.org	... seems to have now turned into a commercial search page (It did carry history pages previously as there are still many dead links to the history works).
http://www.scottishhistory.com	This site is home to a CSYS student's history homework from 1990, and other work by them since on their way to their degree. ¹⁰⁶
ScotWeb History Magazine http://www.clan.com/history/	Uses the work of Skyelander (see below)
Skyelander http://members.aol.com/skyelander/	Robert M. Gunn's site which carries '... compositions by Author/Medieval Historian, Robert M. Gunn, MA, hwa' and also logos from the University of Edinburgh and the Friends of Scotland.

Cont'd...

¹⁰⁵ E. Hague, 'The Scottish Diaspora: tartan day and the appropriation of Scottish identities in the United States', in D. C. Harvey, R. Jones, N. McNroy and C. Milligan (eds) *Celtic Geographies old culture, new times*, (London, 2002), pp. 139-

¹⁰⁶ Last checked 12 September 2002. At least this site has the grace to publicise the fact that that is what the content is. Some sites give no real indication of the identity of the author.

Site Address	Content
Sconemac http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/2897/preface.html	Known as Lady Nancy McCorkhill, although as she explains I hold the honorary title of Lady, which was given to me by the East, Northeastern and Midwest Scottish Societies, who gave it to me in appreciation for my work: in advancing "All Things Scottish"; for performing as a Highland Dancer, Scottish Highland Official Board Certified and Certified Highland Dancer in the USA; in earlier years, and teaching Highland Dancing in later years; also for the many articles I have authored for them and for publication. By my birthright, I seldom use this title, preferring to be (proudly) a Scotswoman.
www.scotshistoryonline.co.uk www.north-scotland.co.uk	A personal homepage about Scotland linked to from sources such as Edinburgh Uni's gateway, contributions are invited (this site is also access at www.north-scotland.co.uk)
www.historicalscotland.com www.scottishhistory.net and www.scotlandsheritage.com	Personal homepages about Scotland 'under construction' at the time of writing (September 2002)

The Internet has its own hierarchy of historians online. In Scottish history, the two names which crop up again and again are Robert Gunn (online identity Skyelander) and "Lady" Nancy McCorkhill (also known online by SconeMac). Many sites link to these two's personal web pages, and Skyelander's 'Timeline' is particularly popular. Indeed Scotweb have now taken Skyelander under their wing to provide all their historical content. An aspect of these sites is the fact that they are "Award Winning", again something which confers legitimacy and authority on the content therein. However, there are numerous awards available for sites online, and the giver is as important a factor as the recipient. From my experience, awards seem to be handed out on criteria as diverse as size of the site in webpages, graphical content and the number of visitors to a site, none of which are reliable indicators of content. Furthermore these sites are not only legitimised by their high rankings on search engines, but by the fact that other sites link to them and rate them highly. For example, the sites of both Sconemac and Skyelander are given a five-star rating at <http://www.usscots.com> As this site is home to one of the largest webring on Scotland on the Internet, this kind of endorsement carries weight in the online world, further authenticated by the fact that US Scots publishes a hard copy

magazine which is read worldwide by over 70,000 subscribers. Other visual cues are used on the Internet to give sites authenticity. For example, visit to <http://www.pipingumlimited.com> does not seem to show any link or endorsement by VisitScotland, however, their logo is a replica of the VisitScotland thistle logo. A feature of the Internet is that it is very easy to copy logos and graphics from official sites onto other, unofficial sites, again inferring legitimacy and authenticity. A common logo on websites about Scotland is the thistle logo which appears on *The Scotsman* newspaper, again subconsciously legitimising the site displaying it.

Essentially these sites are offering factual histories without any kind of referencing or comparative analysis. Some sites do claim to “debunk” myths, but this is done on a fact by fact basis, rather than explaining why the myths came about in the first place. However, to give a small flavour here, I have taken an introductory passage from the Scotweb history pages, written by Skyelander, who, as we have seen, is frequently listed at the top of search engines as a source for Scottish history on the Internet. The following passage is the introduction to his piece on the Clearances:

Prologue

More than any single battle; more than any one event in Scottish history that I've had numerous requests for - is a realistic look at the Highland Clearances.

Being of Highland descent myself, I have always had an interest in finding as much of the truth of this tragic event as possible. But there is a danger for a historian writing about ones own ancestors, who were, literally, purged from their own country as the Highlanders were. I accept this danger - the danger of presenting a personal, but historically accurate, look at the Highland Clearances - rather than a cut, dry and brittle year by year accounting of numbers of emigrants, evicted tenants and statutes.

In this work, we shall look at the awful truths of the Highland Clearances, if occasionally from a Highlanders perspective. I don't apologise for this approach - rather, it is one that is sorely needed.

If readers find a perspective look at history objectionable, then they are forewarned ahead of time. If, however, one falsely deduces that a perspective is subjective and thus flawed by its very nature, then I invite those readers, and all others, to read the story of the Highland Clearances and the truths of the matters.

This account will always stay true to historical facts and conventions, even if

occasionally, given from a Highland point of view. After all, I owe this much to my own Highland ancestors, most of whom were forcibly expelled from their picturesque, ancient Highland glens and lochs by unsympathetic and uncaring eighteenth and nineteenth century "Improvers". The only thing the "Improvers", improved, were their own greedy pocketbooks. To tell this emotional and terrible story of our ancestors sufferings -- unknown or dismissed by careless historians for centuries -- I shall willingly endure the slings and arrows of the history critic. After all I am one and I know how critical we can be. Many of these historians and history story tellers' preferred versions, until fairly recently, have been the uncaring and excuse-making perspectives of the "improver" southrons and sheep fattened Clan Chiefs. In the end, I know I have told the truth of it, and my Highland soul is no longer bound to the revisionist and "blameless" historians, who would have you believe it was simply a tragic circumstance - no-one's fault. It simply isn't that simple, nor is it blameless. It was, however, inevitable.

Now, whilst Skyelander admits his prejudices in advance, these very prejudices are exactly those which a proper academic historian would seek to exorcise from their analysis. Paragraph one of the piece itself continues the tone of the introduction:

The "pacification" of the Highland clans which followed the disaster of Culloden destroyed the ancient life of the glens. The "pacification" of the Highlanders and the Clearances which followed a generation later, completed the ruin of that once proud and ancient tribal society known as the Highland Clan System.¹⁰⁷

Thus the history of Scotland in its online form is filled with the myths that academic history within Scotland has tried to expose in the late twentieth century.

The only site which appears to have any kind of academic backing is the Geography department at Edinburgh's 'Gateway to Scotland' (although Skyelander's site does carry an Edinburgh University logo, again inferring legitimacy). This site though mainly links to other webpages on Scottish history as listed above. Whilst I am not going to go into a deep individual analysis of the work of Skyelander or Sconemac, or indeed any of the other pages here, they all give a version of history. They tend

¹⁰⁷ Both quotations from <http://www.scotwebshops.com/history/features/clearances> visited 17 November 2002

not to reference, only carrying suggested further reading, and again these tend to be to general texts, not anything more in depth. Thus there is definitely a gap in the market for a good online Scottish history website. Even a site which carried short extracts from contemporary Scottish historians and allowed their analysis of certain events would be a step forward. In the meantime, however, the sources for Scottish history, and the identity based in that history on the new global medium of the Internet, is in the hands of anyone who wants to post their own site. You could argue that democratising history is a good thing, and that from a postmodern perspective this multiplicity of online Scottish histories expands our understanding of the subject. However, the understanding it expands is that of the academic, studying representations of Scottish history online and seeking to understand the perceptions of those who created them. The crucial factor here is that at the same time, these sites are receiving hit in their millions, and these surfers are getting information about Scottish history and identity from them. When you compare this with the best-selling *The Scottish Nation* of Devine with 70,000 sales, you can see how powerful the Internet is in spreading perceptions. I am not arguing that the book is dead, far from it, I am just saying that Scottish historians need to embrace this new medium and make sure that the research and findings of their books and papers are also accessible to a wider public, and the Internet is the ideal conduit for this. The introduction to this thesis highlighted the scorn which cultural commentators and some academics pour upon Scottish iconography, yet there appears to be no serious attempt to counteract this on a wider scale. All that historians can do is present their evidence and let their audience draw their own conclusions, but in the world of the Internet, there has been little attempt at this so far. If no evidence to countermand this stereotypical view of Scotland's history and identity is presented, can we really sneer at people for using the only evidence that they have available?

This chapter has shown that the Internet is an important and growing global medium. Whilst it can offer useful academic resources and information to experienced users, this does not seem to be the case with Scottish history, and we are being left behind by other similar sized countries. The main sites which are highly ranked by search engines are those run by "amateurs". Meanwhile, the Scottish diaspora is using the Internet to facilitate communication between both their spiritual homeland of Scotland, and within their own communities. Personal homepages are springing up and continuing the stereotypical representation of

Scotland found in other media, such as film and television, and these images are being further ingrained as representative of Scottish identity to the wider world.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Conclusions

This thesis has highlighted a number of important factors in the establishment and dispersal of a stereotypical Scottish Highland identity to the wider world. It has looked at the history of the creation of a stereotypical Scottish identity, and how this identity has been adopted and legitimised within and without Scotland. It has also discussed the parameters of Scottishness applicable to the diaspora and how the diaspora is representing Scotland to the wider world. The role of the Internet and the democratisation of culture is considered as part of this process.

Chapter two discussed theories of national identity, looking at definitions of the nation as a geographically limited construct in comparison to definitions of the people as the nation. Classical, modern and postmodern approaches to identity were summarised, and compared with approaches taken by other historians. Social science research into the essence of Scottishness was identified, and classical approaches to measuring Scottish identity discussed. The importance of symbolism and myth to national identity were analysed, and the differences between history and heritage were explored. This chapter concluded that whilst there are many definitions of nation and national identity, the only certainty is that identity is a question of personal belief. Certain markers have been linked with Scottish identity in previous research carried out within Scotland, namely country of birth, country of residence and ancestry, however, these markers have not been applied to the wider diaspora. Furthermore, the importance of the customerisation of history into heritage and the growing commercialisation of culture generally was identified as an important factor in individuals' definitions of identity.

It was shown in chapter three that a distinctly Scottish sense of identity was in place by the twelfth century, and that written presentations of the mythic origins of the Scottish nation had been in existence from the seventh century. These mythic presentations were politically motivated, and as such are an early example of history being written by providers, for consumers. It is important to understand that at the time, these mythic histories were accepted as factual history. Furthermore, history was not just used to justify a national sense of identity, but was also used on a local level to explain the unexplainable and to maintain social

order. Thus history was to prove a vital building block in the creation of identity.

The providers of identity, namely the Church and the Kingship, and later including the law and education, were also the institutions in which this identity was founded, with the Kingship in particular vital to a sense of national identity. This faith in the King as the bedrock of the nation saw a largely unbroken royal line in Scotland, in comparison to other European countries. However, by the middle ages, Scotland had begun to embrace the concept of constitutional Kingship, showing an awareness of the symbiotic relationship between the King and the people of the nation. This symbiosis meant that when the Union of the Crowns saw the King removed to the English court, this was a blow to the carefully created structure of Scottish identity. Instead of the personal role of the King in everyday Scottish affairs, the basic tenet of Kingship, this remote leader took on the newer role of Monarchy, leaving the other institutions of identity, namely the church, law and education to run the nation. However, without the presence of the King these institutions began to falter. This was not due entirely to the distance of the Monarch, but also to socio-economic factors created by the increasing commercialisation of society, and reflected across Europe. However, identity in Scotland did remain vested in a feudal structure of society, but the Jacobite uprisings of the eighteenth century put paid to this once and for all. At the same time, a process of intellectual advance had meant that the traditional origin myths which had gone hand in hand with the Kingship were deconstructed, and new unionist ideologies saw an attempt to reconstruct Scotland's historic identity.

Thus prior to the nineteenth century any real sense of Scottish national identity which had existed based in history was deconstructed, and failure of traditional institutions in which identity was vested left a gap in Scotland's sense of self. Full Union with England saw an effort by the Scots to become North Britons, but when these overtures were unreciprocated, a new place for Scotland within the Union had to be found. At this juncture a number of factors combined to create a new identity for Scotland. Culture itself was undergoing an increasing process of commercialisation. Literature and the arts were at the forefront of the European cult of Romanticism, and a fascination with viewing improvement meant Scotland became a subject of inquiry. The ascribed barbaric qualities of the Highlanders which were to make them such an important part of the military became a subject of

scientific fascination. The works of Walter Scott helped make Jacobitism appear a sterile force, and also give Scotland the royal seal of approval. Ironically the Monarchy whose desertion had helped break down traditional notions of Scottish identity were instrumental in creating and legitimising a new one. At the same time, unrest in Europe meant that the traditional past-time of the Grand Tour was redirected to Scotland, and improvements in technology in terms of road, rail and water travel opened up the Highlands to a new breed of visitor. Again ironically, these visitors, hoping to see improvement in action, brought it to the Highlands as a commercial infrastructure was created to cater for them, and thus contributed to a heritage interpretation of Scottish history. Consumers of Scottish history became customers as their consumption began to create material benefits. However, whilst the Highlands suddenly appeared to be a place of beauty and interest, and their stereotyped inhabitant representative of the nation as a whole, large numbers of real Highlanders were forced by economic necessity to migrate, be it to urban centres or overseas.

Thus, at just the moment a new vision of Scottish identity was created, it was transported abroad. Within Europe the Romantic movement helped spread a vision of Scotland through theatre and literature. The Highland troops took their tartan clad image to ever further corners of the globe, and the migrants themselves spread Scottish identity further a field. Ironically, by the end of the nineteenth century the cult of Highlandism within Scotland had died down again, as literary and tourist fashions shifted elsewhere, and national feeling became invested in civil society and political definitions of nationalism. The Empire gave Scotland a position of importance within Britain, and there was no need at home for a strong sense of Scottishness. By the early twentieth century popular culture within Scotland had adopted the tartan stereotype, and spread this to a wider class of audience. But whilst the stereotypes of the wily Highlander were popular at home, another perception had emerged overseas. Performers travelling to the US in particular found that nostalgia for Scotland amongst their audience meant that a different market to that at home had emerged, and had to be catered for.

The Scots who had travelled abroad in the earlier years of migration had in many cases kept a measure of their identity. Often groups travelled to settle the same areas abroad, particularly in Canada and North America, for example, Nova Scotia

and Cape Fear, and, as migrants began to set up benevolent societies to aid their families and communities which followed them, networks of Scots were established. Traditions in language and song were upheld, and transplanted institutions of Scottish identity such as the Church helped to establish new focal points overseas at the very time their power at home was waning. Waves of emigration occurred, and the later migrants from Scotland's urban centres tended to go to other urban centres, and also to the New World destinations of Australia and New Zealand. These later migrants were more transitory, and the use of Gaelic and family as traditional markers of identity tended to have been eroded before they left Scotland. However, they also provided the majority of Scottish emigrants.

As time went on, the established migrant societies found that their benevolent roots were no longer necessary, and instead turned their activities to social events. By the 1950s the US in particular saw a number of Highland Games established, and by the 1970s increasing interest in identity and roots saw the beginnings of a revival in interest in Scottish societies and activities.

The twentieth century saw huge steps forward in technology and media, allowing a mass audience access to audio-visual representations. Thus imagery, that most salient of identity markers, further ingrained the Highland stereotype associated with Scotland. Early films used the works of Walter Scott and the later Kailyard writers to create a tartan vision of Scotland on the big screen, and latterly on television. The twentieth century also saw the establishment in Scotland of formal agencies which promoted Scottish identity, for example the Scottish Tourist Board (now VisitScotland), Scottish Enterprise, and latterly Scotland the Brand. These agencies adopted and legitimised the Highland stereotype of Scotland presented in the media. This created a vicious circle in the representation of Scotland. Scottish agencies adopted images they found already in use in the wider world, and the wider world saw this adoption as legitimising and authenticating these images. This was replicated on a commercial level by the kind of souvenirs and holidays presented within Scotland, for those who visited Scotland expected certain markers of Scottishness to be available. Market forces dictated that they were available, and hence their appearance reinforced the original expectation, and was carried back into the wider world again.

Modern Scottish societies were found to enact their Scottish identity in a variety of ways, including Highland Games, Burns' Suppers, Tartan Day, Kirkin' o' the Tartan and ceilidhs amongst others. These events present an image of Scotland on a local level throughout the world. The adoption of some of these events on a wider basis, for example Tartan Day being adopted as a nationally recognised event in the US, has brought them to a wider audience. This research has shown that members of the Scottish diaspora are aware they are enacting Scottishness in a way not found within Scotland. However, they do not see this as problematic. They see it as their role to represent Scotland to the wider world.

The Scottish diaspora as encountered in this study does not fit any predefined parameters. Prior to this research, markers of Scottish identity have been considered to be country of birth, country of residence, and ancestry to a second generation. The studies which defined these markers have all been carried out within Scotland. However, this thesis has found that within the diaspora, these markers of identity do not appear to be applicable. Country of birth and residence are certainly not barriers to "being Scottish", and even respondents who have never even visited Scotland have professed a sense of Scottish identity. More people define themselves as Scottish, or Scottish in combination with another identity, than define themselves purely by their country of birth or residence. In terms of ancestry, the limitation of this parameter to only a parent or grandparent does also not seem to represent the respondents. Whilst ancestry may be a factor, it goes far beyond two generations. Some respondents even cite 900 years of history as behind their claims to Scottishness. This raises the important factor of genealogy in Scottish identity.

The publication of Arthur Hayley's *Roots* in the 1970s represented a new interest in personal identity. The commercialisation of culture saw a backlash in that people became increasingly interested in where they came from, to fulfil a need for self-identity away from material representations of worth. The last decade of the twentieth century saw this new interest multiply exponentially as the technology of the Internet made researching one's ancestry something which could be done from home. Researchers did not need to spend large amounts of money to travel to a country to research birth records on-site as they became available in the electronic medium. Scotland found itself at the forefront of this genealogical revolution

because she has some of the most complete, and importantly in the main English language, records in the world, in part due to the relative stability of the country over the centuries. The completeness of this information also means that people may come to identify their ancestry as Scottish because they find it easier to track records further back in time through Scottish records than in other countries.

Other markers of identity were identified amongst the diaspora. Links as simplistic as having a Scottish sounding surname, to the mere desire to be Scottish were identified. Some respondents saw their Scottishness conferred in other ways, for example the playing of bagpipes - in other words the enaction of "Scottish" activities is seen as conferring Scottish identity. Importantly, when asked outright if respondents felt themselves to be Scottish, several thought not on grounds that they did not fulfil the traditional criteria, that is, they were not born or resident in Scotland. However, when allowed to define their own identity, respondents were much more likely to identify themselves as Scottish, or Scottish in combination with another identity. This reinforces the crucial point that identity is a matter of personal belief, and that identities are fluid.

The major aspect of Scottishness identified was pride. Being Scottish is considered something to be proud of, in contrast to the "cringe factor" raised by some cultural commentators. Anti-Englishness, identified in studies within Scotland, was not widely replicated amongst the diaspora respondents. Independence and freedom were other factors identified with Scotland, however, anecdotal evidence would suggest that there exists an ignorance of Scotland's current political status amongst the diaspora, and therefore these attributes can be seen as part of the *Braveheart* effect on perceptions of Scotland.

Scottish identity is found to be an easy one to appropriate because it has so many symbolic markers, and legitimatised ways of "being Scottish". Clans and Septs allow family names to be easily identified with Scotland, and with particular tartans and crests and mottos within that Scottish identity. The increasing commercialisation of culture also makes Scottish identity easy to adopt. Computer records can instantly connect (however spuriously) names with clans, and then immediately available for purchase are the trappings of this new identity, and the Internet makes these commercial trappings of identity easier to access.

Scottish identity has a very distinctive base symbolism. Respondents identified Scotland primarily with scenery and symbolic items such as tartan, kilts, bagpipes. Respondents from overseas were aware this was a stereotypical image, but again this did not seem to bother them. Respondents resident within Scotland acknowledged the commercial necessity of such an image, although it was not always felt to be truly reflective of their interpretation of Scotland. In terms of representations of Scotland in contemporary film, television and literature, the tartan stereotype was again confirmed, although one could argue an absence of any competing images. This may excuse the situation in the film industry where there is little impact from home-grown production companies, but the main television series named are produced within Scotland, again legitimising the stereotypical image of Scotland. The most modern literary presentation highlighted was again a Highland romance based in history.

Contemporary Scottish academics and historians did not receive much recognition in comparison with older histories written by Prebble and Tranter, and an assessment of the presentation of Scotland's academic history abroad showed that the covers of these books maintain the stereotypical image of Scotland as a historic country, even when, for example, the subject matter of the book is only the last three centuries. Despite recent attempts by Scottish historians to make their history books more accessible, this did not seem to impact on those surveyed in this research.

One thing which also emerged through the first two phases of the research was the growing role of the Internet in presenting Scottish history and identity to a wide audience. The third phase results and additional research into the kind of content available online shows that Scotland is again being portrayed with stereotypical symbols representing a Highland identity.

An important factor here though is that there are no particular institutions presenting this image, such as a television or film production company. Instead, the Internet has democratised culture and allows a multiplicity of Scotlands to be presented online. However, the overwhelming presentation found is the tartan stereotype of Scottish identity.

Other countries of a similar size to Scotland, for example New Zealand or Denmark,

have presented an officially sanctioned version of their history online. However, Scotland has no comparable initiative. The most popular websites about Scotland online are those started by hobbyists, and although a National Cultural Strategy has been adopted, this currently has no place for a history of Scotland outwith the sources already available. Initiatives such as SCRAN are limited by the costs and difficulty in subscribing online to such services, and offer little in the way of contextual synthesis or comparative analysis. Indeed, the Scottish agencies which are digitising our culture are driven by producing electronic archives and catalogues of resources. Whilst this is in itself an important building block for the future, the lack of a resource which can provide some sort of contextual background is obvious.

Unlike the academic communities in other countries, and indeed other disciplines within the UK, historians in Scotland have been slow to appreciate the opportunities offered by the Internet. Whilst it could be argued that government funded and sanctioned history resources in other countries could lead to a linear narrative, the nature of HTML means this is not necessarily the case. Furthermore, by using the Internet to present Scotland's history in a professional manner, the modern technically advanced image which Scotland wishes to portray would be married to the historical image which is traditionally perceived.

What is apparent is that this thesis has opened up new avenues for research in Scottish identity, and the presentation of Scottishness online. Future suggestions for research include an analysis amongst the diaspora about perceptions of Scotland's political status, as this research suggests that a large part of the diaspora are ignorant of Scotland's exact status. Furthermore, research is required to see if the Internet population of the diaspora is representative of the whole. The set of replies gathered between the first postal survey and the second and third electronic surveys suggests this is the case, but with the small sample size of the first survey it would be dangerous to generalise too widely. However, the Internet has also been identified in this research as a useful tool in studying perceptions on a worldwide basis, and this methodology should be considered in future research in this area.

This research acknowledges its limitations. It is dangerous to draw general conclusions about the whole diaspora from a small sample, particularly when the majority of respondents were part of the limited, online part of the diaspora.

Furthermore, the changing nature of the Internet means that webpages and websites can quickly become outdated, or their content can be updated. This is why all webpages cited have the date they were visited cited. However, I would argue that this thesis gives a fair reflection of the current content available online, and as such is a useful starting point for future research in this area.

In conclusion, it has been confirmed that the stereotypical historic perception of Scotland is continuing, and growing with the new technology of the Internet. Members of the diaspora are aware for the most part that they are partaking in a mythic identity, however, the continued use of these images and events within Scotland itself, and by agencies which officially represent Scotland to the wider world, means that these images are legitimised in the eyes of the diaspora. The impact of films like *Braveheart* should not be underestimated, and whilst these kinds of representation are castigated within Scotland, again they are images which are replicated and thus authenticated elsewhere. This means that Scotland's historic identity is caught in a vicious circle. The unwillingness of academics to fully engage with this stereotype within the mass media means that the image is self-perpetuating, with little evidence to the contrary for those who wish to learn the full story. The Internet is the ideal chance for Scotland to present herself to a worldwide audience, but the lack of action sees her left behind by other similar nations, and the myths of Scottish history and identity continue unchecked.

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Appendix A: Perceptual Cues

The process of perception is one of several stages. The first stage of course is the kind of information that is available for processing - in this case, what images of Scotland are portrayed and associated with Scottish identity. Chapter five shall look at this question in more depth, but the important thing to note is that a catch-22 situation has developed in which those who portray Scotland are guided by what consumers expect to see, as it is generally companies or the tourist board which is actively promoting Scotland. As was shown in chapter one, what people expect to see associated with Scotland is tartanry and kilts, history and scenery. These expectations are probably from incidental information about Scotland as portrayed in the media, from *Braveheart* to *Trainspotting*, to pipe bands and military regiments at important events - for example the handback of Hong Kong to China, and also from local experience of Caledonian societies, Highland games, etc. Thus, the tourist board and business promoters abroad tend to use what is expected to give Scotland an international "brand identity".

The second stage is how humans take in this information. Of course, the amount of information a person is exposed to, and the amount that is retained is vastly different. Many criteria determine what is retained, as the input is passed through our own strategy of "information processing". We can use the information processing model of William McGuire to illustrate this.¹

1 Exposure, 2 Attention, 3 Comprehension, 4 Acceptance, 5 Retention

The information itself is referred to as the stimulus. *Exposure* occurs when one of the senses is activated by the stimulus, for example, seeing someone in highland dress, hearing bagpipe music etc. This is not enough to guarantee the brain will notice this stimulus though - it must achieve a threshold level to be regarded by the brain as an actual sensation. There is some debate as to what the threshold level is, as subliminal persuasion can be effective, and this is generally acknowledged to operate at the lowest threshold level, as the subject does not have to be conscious of

¹ W. J. McGuire, 'Some internal psychological factors influencing consumer choice', *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 2, (March, 1976), pp.302-319

the stimulus to perceive it. However, research reports that the effectiveness of subliminal persuasion is weak,² and it is likely that greater stimulation is necessary to cement a perception in a person's mind. This requires that the subject pays *attention* to the sensation transmitted to the brain. It is generally held that short term memory can handle seven pieces of information, + or - 2, at any one time.³ Therefore attention must be directed towards these seven pieces, or chunks, and concentrated on the most vital aspects. There is a constant process of decay and displacement of information in this store, and vital information is moved into long term memory through a number of processes during the attention, comprehension and acceptance stages, as well as in the final stage of retention. During the attention stage of processing, several criteria determine consideration. Firstly, there are personal characteristics. Each individual has prior knowledge they bring to bear on any situation. Beliefs and attitudes exist, and psychologists hold that the mind aims for a state of equilibrium, and therefore we are more likely to be receptive to information which fits in with preconceived notions - much like the catch-22 situation outlined above. Thus, if we have a notion of Scotland of the tartan and heather variety, we are more likely to pay attention to something that fits this image than something contradictory.⁴ However, after a time we become adapted to a certain kind of stimuli, so something out of the ordinary will attract more attention, though whether this can be incorporated into the existing model in the brain is another question. Furthermore, the general mood of the subject at the point of stimulation will affect attention. Their motivation, their knowledge and their expectations are all powerful factors. So, a visitor to a Highland Games in the US with little experience of such representations of Scotland is more likely to conform with what they find, a tartan vision of Scotland which is taken very seriously, as the work of Celeste Ray highlights.

The stimulus itself also has certain criteria which affect attention. Characteristics such as size, colour and movement all help a stimulus attract attention. However,

² T. Moore, 'Subliminal advertising: what you see is what you get', *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 46, (Spring, 1982) pp.38-47

³ This is known as Miller's Magic Number - G. Miller, 'The magical number seven plus or minus two: Some limits in our capacity for processing information' *Psychological Review*, Vol. 63, (1956) pp.94-99

⁴ J. F. Engel, R. D. Blackwell and P. W. Miniard, *Consumer Behaviour*, 8th Edn., (Fort Worth, Orlando, 1995) p.478

the stimuli must be interpreted, which is part of the *comprehension* stage. Again a priori knowledge is brought to bear at this stage, but it is mainly the characteristics of the stimuli themselves that are important at this stage. Linking stimuli to existing stimuli is termed elaboration. There are several possible ways in which incoming information is organised. Gestalt psychology tends to cover these possibilities, and this branch of research is interested in information in a holistic sense. Information is integrated into existing information to make a meaningful whole. Interestingly, the area of *miscomprehension* has also received study, and this area is particularly pertinent in studying representations of Scottish identity. As the first chapter has shown, people do perceive Scotland as a country of history, scenery and tartanry. If this is indeed a miscomprehension, how has it come about? Perception is a two way process.

Appendix B: A Brief History of Tartan

The origins of Highland dress are an area where there are many different interpretations of available evidence. One of the most well known critiques of the origin of Highland dress is offered by Hugh Trevor-Roper. In fact, Trevor-Roper argues that 'Indeed, the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention. Before the later years of the seventeenth century, the Highlanders of Scotland did not form a distinct people. They were simply the overflow of Ireland.'¹ Highland dress is similarly castigated 'This apparatus, to which they ascribe great antiquity, is in fact largely modern'.² A timeline of sources (See Table B1) indicates that although what is now called 'Highland dress' may be of a modern style, there is evidence for its roots prior to this incarnation.

Trevor-Roper goes on to argue that tartan appeared in the sixteenth century via Flanders and the Lowlands, and the *philibeg*, or small kilt, was unknown before the eighteenth century and invented by an Englishman. The clan tartans themselves were invented by the English Allen brothers, known now as the Sobieski Stuarts. Although this evidence will be examined later, Trevor-Roper only describes the most modern incarnation of what is now known as 'Highland Dress' (just like he only acknowledges the most modern incarnation of 'nationalism'). Highland dress seems to have evolved over a long period of time, and what Trevor-Roper describes as invention is really modernisation. This modernisation transformed Highland clothing and tartan into its more dressy form, away from its original utilitarian purposes. Scarlett warns that there are a great many sources which can be used to prove one theory or the other, but that there is no clear answer as to how Highland dress originated.³ Furthermore, difficulty in translating certain ancient texts accurately has allowed latitude in interpretation. However, evidence from the very beginnings of 'Scottish' history show the ancient origins of what is now known throughout the world as the style of dress which is distinctly Scottish.

¹ H. Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', pp.15-42, p.31, E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1984), p.15

² *Ibid.*, p.15

³ J. D. Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, (London, 1990), p.9

Table B1: Pre Eighteenth Century evidence of "Tartan"

Date	Evidence of 'Tartan'
Pre 500BC	Scotti ancestors from Ireland have been depicted as wearing an outfit showing what look like modern trows, and a version of the Roman tunic (even though they were not colonised by the Romans). Interestingly, their tunic, which ended above the knee, was striped , the number and colour of the stripes representing the rank of the wearer. Thus a High King wore seven stripes, one of which was purple, whilst the next highest ranked person, an Ollamh (head of a learned order), wore six stripes ⁴
c. 300	'and must be almost as ancient as weaving itself. A piece of third - century fabric excavated in Falkirk shows a simple check, a form of design which has survived, known more recently as "Shepherd's Plaid". Simple decorative weaving was known in all early cultures. Dark and light natural shades of wool were separated out and woven together in regular patterns. This early introduction of pattern into weaving shows how fabric and clothes were seen not just as protection but as an expression of creativity. That creativity has evolved a distinctive woollen cloth woven in a regular banded pattern, the fabric now called tartan - attractive, unmistakable and indissolubly Scottish' ⁵
1104	Guibert, Abbot of Nogent in France describes some Scots soldiers, possibly going to join the First Crusade, as having bare legs and shaggy cloaks, and wearing something which resembled a sporran. ⁶
1355	Adam (in Johnston, check 1955) cites that in 1355, John, Lord of the Isles listed amongst his expenses 'one pair of tartan truis' (Adam?), which he translates from ' <i>unus caligularium braccatarum de tiretatana</i> '. ' <i>Tiretatana</i> ', Scarlett holds, can only be from the Spanish ' <i>tiretaña</i> ' or the French ' <i>tiretaine</i> '. Neither of these bore a pattern. ⁷ Cheape holds that the origin of the word was ' <i>tiretaine</i> ' from France. This described a half wool/half linen cloth, also known in English as linsey-woolsey. The word tartan itself was in use in Scotland early in the sixteenth century, at a time when Scotland was dynastically linked to France. ⁸
1538	It is not until 1538 that the word appears in Scots, amongst the accounts of James V's treasurer 'for iij elnes of Helande Tertane to be hoiss to the Kingis Grace ...'. ⁹ From then on references to 'tartan' increase, though it could be used to describe plain cloth as well as patterned, as in 1825, when Wilson's of Bannockburn received an order for 'plain green coloured tartan without pattern'. ¹⁰

⁴ J. Keay and J. Keay (eds), *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, (London, 1994), p.927, and also they reference A. Bruford, 'Is "tartan" a gaelic word?', in D. S. Thomson (ed), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Languages of Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1988), pp.57-71, who argues that the modern word 'Tartan' is a derivation of the Gaelic tarsuinn

⁵ H. Cheape, *Tartan: The Highland Habit*, (Edinburgh, 1991), p.3

⁶ B. Webster, *Medieval Scotland, The Making of an Identity*, (London, 1997), p.115

⁷ Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.11

⁸ Cheape, *Tartan: The Highland Habit*, p.3

⁹ Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.11

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.11

Date	Evidence of 'Tartan'
1549	The word tartan probably derives from the French word <i>tiretaine</i> , meaning 'woven cloth' Jean de Beaugué describes Highlanders at the seige of Haddington in 1549 'Ils sont nuz fors de leurs chemises taintes et de certaines couvertures légères faites de laine, de plusiers couleurs'. ¹¹ (It should be noted that if the origin of the word tartan was the French <i>tiretaine</i> it seems odd that this is not the word used here.)
1582	<p>In 1582, George Buchanan commented of the Hebridean islanders in his <i>Rerum Scoticorum Historia</i> that:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">'They delight in variegated garments, especially striped, and their favourite colours are purple and blue. Their ancestors wore plaids of many different colours and numbers still retain this custom, but the majority, now, in their dress, prefer a dark brown, imitating nearly the leaves of the heather, that when lying upon the heath in the day, they may not be discovered by the appearance of their clothes ...'.¹²</p> <p>Keays points out that it is a pity that Buchanan did not describe '<i>Vers gaudent varia ac maxime virgata</i>' in his native Gaelic, to truly clarify his meaning.¹³</p>
1594	Lughaidh O'Clery used the Gaelic terms <i>breachbrait ioldathacha</i> to describe the tartan plaids of the Scottish Gaels, as distinct from the Irish. ¹⁴
1618	The 'King's Water Poet' John Taylor, during a visit to the Braes of Mar in 1618, noted that the Highlanders wore '...a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours'. He also remarked that they wore stockings 'which they call a short hose, made of a warm stuff of divers colours, which they call Tartant'. The Keays therefore assumes that the 'divers colours' of the cloak was the same style as the 'divers colours' of the tartan stockings. ¹⁵ John Taylor also noted that 'any man of what degree soever that comes amongst them, must not disdain to wear it'. Scarlett suggests that this not only indicates a pride in Highland dress and tartans, but also their suitability to the elements, particularly for ill-prepared guests. ¹⁶
c. 1631	A German artist made a woodcutting depicting Highland soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus, and these certainly seem to be wearing tartan material, in an assortment of above the knee garments, fashioned like skirts or pantaloons.
c. 1695	Martin Martin's <i>A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, circa 1695</i> is often quoted by those researching the history of Highland dress. He tells us

¹¹ Keay and Keay, *Encyclopedia*, p.927

¹² Translated from Latin, quoted in Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.11

¹³ Keay and Keay, *Encyclopedia*, p.927

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.927

¹⁵ Keay and Keay, *Encyclopedia*, p.927

¹⁶ Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.12

Date	Evidence of 'Tartan'
	<p>The first habit worn by persons of distinction in the islands was the leni-croich, from the Irish word leni, which signifies a shirt, and croach saffron, because the shirt was dyed with that herb. ... It was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle ; but the islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago.¹⁷</p> <p>He then goes on to remark that now trews are worn, and the style of the modern shoes. Then he makes a remark which seems somewhat ignored in work citing Martin. A single line paragraph states that: 'But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the south of Scotland'.¹⁸ He then goes on to describe that :</p> <p>'The plaid wore only by the men is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind. It consists of divers colours ; and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells. The one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also - the right hand above it is to be a liberty to do anything upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able at first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence.'¹⁹</p> <p>Although this indicates that each area had particular patterns associated with it, it also suggests an element of uniformity not normally described until the pattern books of the Sobieski Stuarts. Also, it is interesting to note that Martin describes the dress of the women, a fact often overlooked. 'The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called arisad, is a white plaid, having a few small stripes of black, blue and red.'²⁰ Thus plaid is again evident in the history of Highland dress.</p>

Alan Bruford has argued that the Gaelic word for tartan was derived from the old Irish word *tarsna*, which means cross-piece. Middle Irish uses the variant *tarstan*, and Dineen's dictionary of Modern Irish translates *tarsna* as 'transverse' or

¹⁷ M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, circa 1695* (Edinburgh, 1698; reprinted 1994), p.245

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.246

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.246-247

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.247

'crosswise'. Modern Scottish Gaelic uses *tarsuinn* to mean 'across', and, it is held, this explains the use of the word tartan. Here Bruford is following the example of James Logan in *The Scottish Gael* (1831). However, Highlanders themselves have only ever referred to tartan as *breacan*, a derivative of *breac*, which describes any pattern, as long as it is not plain. The word *tarsuinn* itself does not appear in the Gaelic language used to describe weaving.²¹

The idea that an area could be associated with a certain tartan was backed up by the fact that in 1782, when tartan was released from proscription, basic patterns seemed to serve wide areas. Different weavers made small changes to these basic patterns. Scarlett points out that the MacKintosh tartan could be seen to spread from Moy through the Great Glen and down to Perthshire.²² Elements of group identity were suggested by the victorian translation of a latin poem written in 1691 by James Philip. This poem seems to ascribe different tartans to family groupings - for example Maclean brothers wearing 'flowing plaid with yellow stripe'. By July in 1703 six hundred men of the Laird of Grant were commanded to appear for a hunting match 'with Tartan Coats all of one colour and fashion'.²³ The next year they were ordered to turn out in uniform again within 48 hours of being ordered to, or a fine would be levied. Scarlett suggests that if tartan was really common to family groupings, it is feasible to argue that it would not be necessary to order men to wear it.

Although some 'Highland regiments' date from earlier in the seventeenth century²⁴, the first Highland Independent Companies were raised in 1667 as a kind of military police. In 1709 a report stated that, for purposes of subterfuge:

There is a peculiar clothing for the 3 Highland Companies in North Britain, not at all military but like the clothing of the natives there ... it is humbly proposed that some particular directions or instructions may given therein for allowing such clothing for the future, consisting of plads, tartan coats, trousers, hose, pumps,

²¹ Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.3 and p.8

²² *Ibid.*, p.12

²³ Scarlett, *Tartan, the Highland Textile*, p.13

²⁴ For example the Royal Scots founded in 1633 as Sir John Hepburn's regiment, expressly formed to enter French service and The Scots Guards, raised as Argyll's Regiment in 1649. From D. M. Henderson, *The Scottish Regiments*, (Glasgow, 1993)

bonets, shirts, cravats, shoulder belts, broad belts, powder horns with belts and measures , and broadswords with basket hilts²⁵

This would seem to suggest that military Highland dress was an approximation of that of the ordinary man in the street, as it was to be used so the members of these Highland Companies 'may the better discover any designs or machinations against the Government, or the country'.

It has been argued that during the 35 years of the Proscription Act against tartan after 1746, it was the use of tartan by the Highland regiments which kept the wearing of such clothing alive.²⁶ However, contemporary writers point out that in the far reaches of the Highlands and Isles, it was not feasible for the Proscription Act to be enforced.. On the other hand we have the evidence of writers such as Boswell and Johnson, who stated in 1774 that 'The law by which the Highlanders have been obliged to change the form of their dress has, in all the places that we have visited, been universally obeyed'²⁷ - although the presence of strangers in their midst, and one of them English at that, would be unlikely to encourage people to wear a banned form of dress!

It is important to note that the Highland regiments' tartan was provided by manufacturers south of the Highlands, for example Wilson of Bannockburn, obtained through a military agent and paid for, through commanding officers, by the government. Therefore it is feasible to propose that localised spinning and weaving of tartan deteriorated in this period²⁸ - an indication of a new commercial footing for the production of tartan. A point raised by Telfer Dunbar is that not only were many of the recipes used to make the original dyes forgotten in this period, but that when Proscription was lifted in 1783, many new foreign dyes were imported, of greater strength and saturation of colour than were previously available. Although lichen based dyes were still used in some areas - for example

²⁵ J. Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, (London, 1962), p.155. Cited from a report of 21 February 1709, W.O.71.1

²⁶ W. A. Thorburn, 'Notes on Scottish Military Tartans', *Dispatch* (On-line), *The Journal of the Scottish Military Historical Society*, article at http://www.virtual-pc.com/journal/disp_020.htm

²⁷ Johnson quoted in *The Costume of the Clans* by John Sobieski Solberg Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart, in itself quoted in Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, p.110

²⁸ I. F. Grant and H. Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, (London, 1997), p.268

Harris tweed - by the mid nineteenth century chemical dyes and industrial weaving had replaced the traditional production processes.²⁹ This in some way may have given rise to the idea of 'ancient' and 'modern' tartans, with modernists claiming authenticity of ancient designs due to their muted colourways .

An interesting point to be raised here is that tartan was not something simply assigned to the regiments. In many cases, it was the regiments themselves which were active in creating and associating family lines with tartan. For example, the Gordon Highlanders, first raised in 1778, wore the regulation Black Watch tartan, but when raised in 1793, a yellow line was added to distinguish the regiment. After some experimentation, the Black Watch tartan with yellow lines added, purely a regimental creation, became the family tartan of the Gordons.³⁰ Indeed many tartans came about in this way, with the adultery of the regulation Black Watch. The Black Watch tartan was first adopted in 1739 on the regimentation of the six Independent Companies first created in 1725. Although the precise origin of the tartan is unknown, and it is possible that it was used already by some of the six companies, it is certain that the Black Watch became the official tartan for all troops in government service wearing Highland dress. Many regiments used a stripe of their regimental facing colour to personalise the government tartan in the way of the Gordon Highlanders, and this is how many regimental tartans, and with them some family tartans, came about.³¹

Bagpipes

The bagpipes, a very potent symbol of Scottishness, were an aspect of Highland society which were particularly closely linked with the Highland Regiments. Early examples of Highland Regiments using pipers in this way, particularly in their foreign campaigns, included the Scots Brigade of Captain Balfour in Holland in 1586 and Sir Donald Mackay's 1626 regiment in the Swedish army, which had 36 pipers.³²

It has been estimated that the bagpipes, known in Europe throughout the Middle

²⁹ Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, p.222

³⁰ Thorburn, 'Notes on Scottish Military Tartans'. For documentary evidence of the formation of the Gordon Tartan see Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, pp.159-160. This also contains the history of many regimental tartan formations

³¹ Thorburn, 'Notes on Scottish Military Tartans'

³² Grant and Cheape, *Periods*, p.181

Ages, came to Scotland around 1400. In Gaelic culture they were noted as instruments played in battle or at funerals, and appeared as such from the mid-sixteenth century, with harps being the preferred instrument for Highland musicians. From 1700 there is evidence that Clan Chiefs were sending their pipers for training under a master player, and the terms *ceòl beag*, describing dance tunes and slow airs, and *ceòl mór* (known today as *pìobaireachd* - a ten to fifteen minute piece of music elaborating on a central theme) emerged to describe the two main kinds of music played on the pipes.³³

³³ R. Cannon, 'Bagpipe, Highland', in D. S. Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (Oxford, 1983), pp.17-20

Appendix C: Senate Resolution 155

Designating April 6 of each year as “National Tartan Day” to recognize the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States.

Whereas April 6 has a special significance for all Americans, and especially those Americans of Scottish descent, because the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scottish Declaration of Independence, was signed on April 6, 1320 and the American Declaration of Independence was modeled on that inspirational document;

Whereas this resolution honors the major role that Scottish Americans played in the founding of this Nation, such as the fact that almost half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Scottish descent, the Governors in 9 of the original 13 States were of Scottish ancestry, Scottish Americans successfully helped shape this country in its formative years and guide this Nation through its most troubled times;

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

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

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

Resolved, That the Senate designates April 6 of each year as “National Tartan Day”.¹

¹ Senate Resolution 155, presented November 10 1997, passed March 20 1998, downloaded from http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/useftp.cgi?IPaddress=wais.access.../105_cong_bill,DOCID:f:sr155is.txt and confirmed at <http://www.tartanday.com/about.htm>

Appendix D: Questionnaires

Questionnaire 1. Letter to Scottish Societies

FAO The Secretary, XXXXX

Dear

My name is Anne Baker, and I am a doctoral student in the Department of History at the University of Strathclyde. I am studying the development of perceptions of Scottish identity, and one of my chapters will be concerned with the role of Scots abroad in promoting a Scottish identity to the wider public. Although this will look at aspects such as the role of the military in the empire, and the role of individual Scots, I am also very interested in the role of Scottish societies and Highland gatherings. There are a number of issues I wish to address, and I have written to several societies all over the world (I got names and addresses of possible contacts from Michael Brander's 1996 publication *The World Directory of Scottish Associations*). I would be very grateful if you could complete the short questionnaire included, and write to me with any information you feel relevant. This would be of great assistance in compiling my thesis. I intend to use the information collected to assist in a qualitative analysis of the role of Scottish Associations abroad in promoting Scottish identity, and would of course give proper acknowledgement to the information used in the thesis.

I hope to hear from you soon and thank you in advance for any assistance you can offer. Please also feel free to give my name and address to anyone you feel would be interested in contributing. I would be most grateful if you could try to reply within one month of receipt of this letter. Please also find enclosed address labels to facilitate any correspondence.

Yours faithfully

Anne Baker BA(Hons)

Encs

(For the term 'society' in the questionnaire, please read 'gathering', if this is appropriate).

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Please feel free to include statistical evidence if available, and your source for this. Also feel free to include extra information if the space provided is not sufficient).

(1) Please could you give some background information on the society - for example, a short history, including the start-up date, the reasons for the creation of the society, and the number of members, initially and now.

(2) What are the current aims of the society?

(3) What are the activities of the society?

Cont/...

(4) What do members of the society feel it means to be Scottish, or of Scottish descent?

(5) What do they feel that Scottish identity is now, in the 1990's?

(6) What does the society do to promote Scottishness?

(7) What proportion of the members of the society are Scottish by birth, and what proportion of those who are not, have visited Scotland?

Cont/...

- (8) Have films such as *Rob Roy* and *Braveheart* caused a significant increase in membership and interest in the society, and have these films *changed* public perception of Scotland?
- (9) Have more modern portrayals of Scotland, for example, the film *Trainspotting*, affected the public perception of Scotland and Scottish identity?
- (10) Are there any other times when interest has peaked in the history of the society, and could you offer an explanation for this?

Cont/...

- (11) Can you recommend any relevant books, journals or websites that I would find useful? (If you know of anyone who is currently researching in this area, please feel free to give them my name and address.)

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR TAKING THE TIME TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Questionnaire 2. Email Personal Survey

Thank you for your interest in my research. I would appreciate it if you would e-mail me your replies in the next month as I am giving a paper on my research so far at the beginning of February, and feel free to send the questionnaire on to anyone else interested, as long as they reply by the 1st May 1998.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please state where you live, where you were brought up, and give an indication of your age.
2. Why are you interested in Scotland?
3. When did you first become interested in Scotland? If a particular event triggered your interest, please describe it.
4. Have you ever been to Scotland? If so, where did you visit, and why?
5. What words and images immediately come to mind when you hear the word 'Scotland'?
6. What words and images immediately come to mind when you hear the word 'Scottish'?
7. Do you consider yourself to be Scottish? If so, why?
8. Are you a member of a Scottish Association or Society. If you are, please give me some information on its history and activities, eg founding date, reason for existence.
9. Do you do any activities traditionally associated with Scotland, and if so, what are they?
10. To your knowledge, have films such as 'Rob Roy' and 'Braveheart' changed perceptions of Scotland?
11. What do you think about the 'tartan' image of Scotland?

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR TAKING PART. If you ever have any queries about Scottish history, feel free to contact me. I may not be able to help, but I should be able to point you in the right direction.

Questionnaire 3.

Initial Contact Email

Hello

I am a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, and I am conducting research into Scottish Identity. I would be very grateful if you could spare approximately 15 minutes of your time to complete an online survey to help my research.

If you would like to take part, please visit *www.scottishhistoryresearch.net*
[hyperlinked to *http://www.scottishhistoryresearch.net*]

The website will be online until midday GMT on August 31st 2002.

Data gathered in the survey will only be used for academic research and there is a full explanation on the site of how data gathered will be used and protected. Your email address was selected for this research by browsing the Internet, and will not be used again or made available to anyone else by this researcher. If you know of other specific people who may be interested in taking part in this survey, you may forward this email to them. However, please observe 'netiquette', and do not forward this email to anyone you do not already know. If this email has come to you in error I apologise for any inconvenience caused, and if you receive this email more than once please also accept my apologies.

Thank you for taking the time to read this email

Text put out in Rampant Scotland Newsletter

and online at *http://www.rampantscotland.com/let020817.htm*

Survey Into Scottish Identity - Can You Help?

Anne Foy is a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, and she is conducting research into Scottish Identity. She would be very grateful if any people with Scottish connections could spare approximately 15 minutes of their time to

complete an online survey to help her research. If you would like to take part, please visit www.scottishhistoryresearch.net [hyperlinked to <http://www.scottishhistoryresearch.net>]The website will be online until midday GMT on August 31st 2002. Data gathered in the survey will only be used for academic research and there is a full explanation of how data will be used and protected on the site. If you know of other specific people who may be interested in taking part in this survey, you may forward this information to them. However, please observe "netiquette", and do not forward this to anyone you do not already know.

On the next 6 pages you will find a print out of the web survey and the data and thank you pages which were also on the site. Some coding is visible as these are created from offline webpages so do not have Frontpage Extensions installed to actively run the page. The Full Contents of drop down lists are not visible from this so please find below an explanation of the full contents of the collapsed menus from the web questionnaire. [A disk can be provided of the website, however, due the need for Microsoft Frontpage Extensions which have to be installed on a web server for these pages to work, this was not considered necessary. The author can be contacted if electronic copy of the website is required.]

Full drop down lists:

Q2 Please indicate age range in years, ...

Possible Age selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

0-20

21-40

41-60

61 and over

Q20 Who built the site? (Choose one option from the drop down list)

Possible selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

Yourself

Professional Web Designer

Other

Q22 and Q38 When did it first go online?

Possible selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

2002

2001

2000

1999

1998

1997

1996

1995

1994

1993

1992

1991

1990

Pre-1990

Q24 and Q40 If so, how many hits have you had?

Possible selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

1-1,000

1,001-10,000

1,0001-50,000

50,001-100,000

100,001-500,000

500,000-1,000,000

Over 1,000,000

Q25 and Q41 How many web rings are you a member of ?

Possible selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

0

1-4

5-9

10-14

15 or more

Q37 Who built the society site?

Possible selections:

Please select one of the following (default)

Yourself

Professional Web Designer

Other Society Member

Other

Appendix E: Country Codes

Country	Letter Code Used
Australia	AUS
Belgium	BEL
Bermuda	BER
Brasil[sic]	BRA
Canada	CAN
Chile	CHI
Czech Republic	CZR
England	ENG
Federated Malay States	FMS
France	FRA
Germany	GER
Iceland	ICE
Indonesia	IND
Ireland	IRE
Italy	ITA
Japan	JAP
Korea	KOR
New Zealand	NZ
Nigeria	NIG
P.R. China	PRC
Portugal	POR
Scotland	SCO
Singapore	SIN
South Africa	SA
Switzerland	SWI
Tanzania	TAN
Thailand	THA
The Gambia	GAM
UK	UK
Uruguay	URU
USA	USA
Wales	WAL

Appendix F: A Brief History of the Internet

The internet, that is the physical network of computers necessary to host the web, really became possible with two major breakthroughs in 1961 - the commencement of commercial production of the silicon chip, allowing computers to dramatically reduce in size and increase in speed, and the introduction by IBM of the 'Compatible Time Sharing System' into some of its computers, which allowed computers to be networked for the first time. (That is, more than one "remote" terminal could access the same information on a central "host" computer, effectively linking two computers together).¹

At the same time as these technical breakthroughs, the whole approach to computers and technology was undergoing a revolution. After the launch of Sputnik I in 1957 by the USSR, the Americans created ARPA, the Advanced Research Projects Agency. This agency was designed to make sure that America became sufficiently technologically advanced to keep ahead of the Russians, and in 1962 appointed John Licklider to head its Computer Research Programme. Licklider was a visionary who had already published his 'Galactic Network' theory, which foresaw a global network of computers accessible to all. Although still limited by technology - in 1965 Berkeley and MIT were linked via a telephone line, which revealed the telephone system was unable to cope with the data demands of programming of that era - by December 1969 ARPANET came into existence, with 4 computers at different sites, growing to 23 host computers in December 1971. By 1972, the origins of e-mail appeared, and during the early '70s a common language for the different networks to communicate was developed, TCP/IP (transmission control protocol/internet protocol). Government departments and academic institutions were quick to see the potential of the emerging technologies and by the early 1980s networks from the UK and the rest of Europe were joining the original ARPANET. With the influx of new connections, in 1982 ARPANET took on the TCP/IP standard. At this stage, it is considered that the internet was born - that is, the physical network. The incredible growth of the medium saw several more milestones - in 1984 the number of host computers reached 1000, and Domain

¹ R. T. Griffiths, 'Internet for historians, History of the Internet, The Development of the Internet' at <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/ivh/INTERNET.HTM> visited 19 May 2000

Name Servers were introduced. Domain names are the addresses used to navigate the web - for example Strathclyde University's domain name is strath.ac.uk, the strath denoting the institution, the ac that it is an academic institution, and the uk its country of origin. Really these names are the front end of a numeric code assigned to each host computer, but names are a lot easier to remember than large number strings - also known as IP addresses. National Governments decided to back the growth of the new media, with the British government endorsing JANET (the Joint Academic Network) which linked British Universities, and the US creation of NSFNet (National Science Foundation Network). NSFNet in particular boosted the growth of the internet by not only supplying supercomputers allowing a massive increase in the amount of traffic able to use the internet, but also by making this use exclusive to research and education users. This had the added (and intended) effect of encouraging private Internet Service Providers to join the net, which again massively increased the amount of traffic which could be supported. By 1989, the number of hosts had risen to 100,000, and to 300,000 a year later.

At this stage the internet still carried very plain text based information, with the first search engine, Archie, not being developed until 1990. The internet was mainly a messenger service rather than the multimedia experience we know today. The creation of the web itself began in 1989 with Tim Berners-Lee and colleagues at CERN in Geneva, who not only invented the phrase World Wide Web, they also pioneered the use of HTML. HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) is the computer language which allows users to click on a word or picture and be transported to another web page or site, allowing the multiple layering of information which is now such a common aspect of multimedia. The introduction of HTML and the new browser technology which utilised it (pioneered by Mark Andreessen's MosaicX in 1993, which he later commercially developed into Netscape) allowed a graphical interface which was infinitely more appealing than the previous text based model. By 1994 there were 3.2 million hosts and 3,000 web sites, and in a year the number of hosts doubled and the number of web sites increased by 22,000. By 1998, the number of hosts was 36.8 million and the number of websites 4.2 million.²

² All the preceding information on the history of the internet is taken from R. T. Griffiths paper, Professor at Leiden University History Department. By launching their web site in 1994, Leiden University History Department were amongst the first 5% of web sites ever built, and by 1997, the same department was utilising the web not only for course-based web

The new media of the internet is still growing at an amazing rate. In December 1997, *Science Magazine* reported the size of the web as approximately 320 million pages, and in February 1999, *Nature* reported it as being about 800 million publicly available web pages.³ The Censorware Project estimated that in a 24 hour period as many as 4,020,000 new pages were added, and 44,900,000 pages were changed on the web⁴ – and consider also that the size of a web page is not finite like a sheet of A4. Constant advances in technology are making the web more and more available to ordinary people – witness the latest range of GPRS mobile phones, which have already overtaken WAP (wireless applied protocol) as the new standard, and the growth of digital broadcasters (for example, Sky in the UK⁵) offering internet and e-mail services through our television screens, or Amstrad joining the fray to offer email screens on telephones. On top of this is the increasing speed of access available to the internet. Consider that modems reached their peak with the 56k modem, which meant at maximum speed it could transfer 56 kilobits of information per second up and down an ordinary phone line. Double ISDN lines upped this to 128k, and now the advent of permanent “broadband” connections are allowing connection speeds of up to 512k, enough to provide streaming video. Consider also that not only can telephone lines and cable provide these services, but that satellites can also allow users remote from a telecommunications hub to transmit and receive data.

sites but also to enhance their course ‘Internet for Historians’, putting them at the forefront of history academia utilising the web.

³ Both of these papers were by the same researchers: S. Lawrence and C. L. Giles *Science* (1998) ‘Searching the World Wide Web’, Vol. 280, 3 April 1999, pp.98-100 and S. Lawrence and C. L. Giles, *Nature*, (1999) ‘Accessibility of Information on the Web’ Vol. 400, no. 6740, pp.107-109, and were referred to as part of the Censorware project web page, ‘Size of the Web: A dynamic essay for a dynamic medium’ at http://censorware.org/web_size/ visited 19 May 2000

⁴ Figures approximated on the 19 May 2000 from http://censorware.org/web_size/ which are dynamically computer generated on a daily basis and cover the preceding 24 hours.

⁵ At this point, the demise of ITVDigital, and the difficulties of NTL Cable, the main rivals to Sky in the UK, should be noted. The Government’s wish to see terrestrial broadcasting terminated by 2010 is now looking doubtful, but the failure of some digital providers should not be seen as a failing of the technology, but of mismanagement – for example, ITVDigital paying huge amounts for the rights to broadcast Premiership Football and the fact that on a content basis, Sky clearly outstripped its opponents in ‘bang for your buck’, with a much wider channel selection available at competitive prices. The BBC has recently launched *Freeview*, a digital system using a set top box which also can use the old ITVDigital equipment. However, this offers restricted digital services and a limited channel range.

Appendix G: Technical Information Regarding the Phase Three Web Questionnaire

Potential Disadvantages of Electronic Data Collection Methods

It is prudent to note that many of the studies regarding electronic data collection cited in this thesis may now be out of date, such is the growth and expansion of the web. Whilst I have tried to follow up these references with the most up-to-date data available, there are invariably problems with data collection about the web. For example, a user could be identified as someone with their own computer with internet access. However, many people share computers, and on another measurement level, even email addresses are not an accurate measure. One email address may have a number of users, and conversely, one user can have a number of email addresses. Indeed it is common for many users now to have at least two email addresses, one belonging to their home computer account, and another “passport” device which can be logged into from anywhere in the world, for example Hotmail or Yahoo email. This is also of course true of IP addresses as you can have many users from one IP address, and conversely, a single user can be assigned different IP addresses every time they log on depending on their ISP.

There was no need in this case to use a mixed mode survey, because the people I want to survey are web users. There also shouldn't be a problem of social desirability prompting users to give “correct answers” – although the site is a piece of academic research and does ask respondents about sources used, no examples are given which could intimate the kind of response expected which could lead to a respondent feeling self-conscious about their response.

Furthermore, I purposely avoided taking part in any lists which could contain possible respondents targeted in my survey. Although I could have gleaned useful information in this kind of environment, it would not have been ethically sound to do so unless in all messages I stated my intentions and requested permission to use data gathered. This would not have been a welcome addition to genuine users of the list who may not have appreciated such a ‘lab-rat’ approach with no choice where I jumped into threads of discussion. On another level, it would also have meant that my own views could have influenced discussions, and that it would

have been extremely difficult in some of the real-time discussion groups to make sure that questions and discussions were not leading or biased. Furthermore, if I had taken part in any of these lists, and then requested survey respondents, my previous input into the lists could have again caused bias in the survey results.

Advantages of Online Surveys

Web surveys also take advantage of immediacy – users tend not to mull too long over answers. Kiesler and Sproull found that people participating in e-surveys were ‘more likely to be self-absorbed and uninhibited’ and consequently may concentrate more on the questionnaire.¹ Furthermore, respondents are more likely to give long and self-disclosing comments on open ended responses, with Schaefer (1998) showing a four-fold increase in length of open ended responses using electronic methods. It has been suggested this is due to the speed of typewriting over handwriting.² During the testing period of the site I timed several responses and found that a person should be able to fill out the whole survey in approximately 15 minutes. Although there was a total of 51 questions, the majority of these were simple yes/no responses or selections from presented lists. Furthermore, the whole survey was not applicable to all respondents, and users were told to skip to the next relevant question depending on their answers.

It is possible to employ “filtering” in compiling online questionnaires. In other words, as respondents answer questions, the rest of the questionnaire unfolds depending on their answers. So, for example, if question A has four follow-up questions dependent on the respondent answering A in the affirmative, they will only appear on screen once the respondent has actually clicked Yes. Otherwise, a No response will just take the respondent onto the next relevant question. However, this not only slows down the process, the extra coding limits access to users with older browsers and can cause technical problems. It was decided that it

¹ S. Kiesler and L. Sproull, ‘Response effects in the electronic survey’, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 50, (1986), pp.402-413, cited in Gi Woong Yun, and Craig W. Trumbo, ‘Comparative response to a survey executed by post, e-mail and web form’, *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 6, no. 1, (2001), available online at <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue1/yun.html> visited 25 February 2002

² D. R. Schaefer, and D. A. Dillman, ‘Development of standard e-mail methodology: Results of an experiment’, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 62, no. 3, (1998), pp.378-397. D. Bachmann and J. Elfrink, ‘Tracking the progress of e-mail versus snail-mail’, *Marketing Research*, Vol. 8, no. 2, (1996), pp.31-35 cited in Yun and Trumbo, ‘Comparative Response to a Survey’

was better to keep the site simple in appearance and in technical level to make it easy for users. Each question carried instructions about how to provide an answer that particular question.

Sample Size and Ethical Considerations

The sheer size of the internet can cause problems. Although I decided to allow the snowball method with my web questionnaire, this has caused other problems in the past. This is why it is important to target the initial mailout to preselected groups, and to make a deadline clear. It is also why a five week window was deemed sufficient for the purposes of this research. Furthermore, the initial email (see Appendix D) made it clear that this contact email was not to be passed on unless the respondent personally knew the other potential recipients. In the event, I received requests from respondents about passing on the email, so this “anti-spam” and “data integrity” statement was obviously noticed by some respondents.

Although I started out collecting data a numerical sample, due to the very nature of the web it is unrealistic to assume that this would limit the survey to that sample - a fact other web surveyors have not mentioned often. This kind of effect, where the sample takes on a life of its own, is known as “snowball sampling”.³ Perhaps these researchers have asked people not to pass on the message to others, but if there is no appendix with the exact wording of the initial contact email, this effect cannot be discounted. Some researchers have tried to use access controls to prevent people outside the initial sample from responding, or to minimise multiple responses from the same person. These include using password protected systems,⁴ or placing cookies on an individual’s browser to see if they come back for a return visit. The cookie question is a difficult one. Whilst utilised by e-tailers such as Amazon to welcome you back to their site by name, cookies are in fact seen by some as an invasion of privacy, as sites, without your permission, are placing information onto your machine which allow them to identify you, and consequently your shopping or browsing habits.⁵

³ Hilary Coombes, *Research Using IT*, (Basingstoke, 2001), p.35

⁴ D. Heerewegh, and G. Loosveldt, ‘Web Surveys: The effect of controlling survey access using PIN numbers’, *Social Science Computer Review*, Vol. 20, no. 1, (February, 2002), pp.10-21

⁵ Cookies are little pieces of code which latch onto your computer’s temporary internet files when you visit a site, and sit there until you revisit. You can switch cookies off in your

The initial contact email contained a clear data protection statement (See Appendix D) which was reiterated on the website itself. Not only is the Data Protection statement an important factor - and a legal requirement for UK based sites which collect personal data, but there needs to be clear instructions in how to use the survey. In this case, there is a clear statement at both the beginning and the end of the survey, and on the Thank you page, that users can click to see the data protection statement. The data protection implications are also made clear in the initial contact email. All the data gathered in the three surveys is covered by the University's data protection registration, which I signed a form to register with, and which complies with UK legal restrictions. Furthermore, the University code of ethics for research was consulted, although in this case it did not apply.

Data Handling of Responses

One of the best things about using an online questionnaire is the improved efficiency in data handling. If the "submit" tag on the form is correctly set up, you can store replies on your web server and then download all the data at the end of the survey period directly to a pre built database so that responses are automatically filled in to the database, rather than having to re-enter data manually. (every questionnaire response was also emailed to me in text format automatically as it was submitted as a back-up procedure) In this instance this was achieved by using Microsoft Frontpage Server Extensions on the form. This meant that I could specify that responses were received as delimited text. The reason for this is that a Microsoft Access database (in this case version XP) can use user-determined import specification rules to recognise the selected limiters, in this case quotation marks, as field breaks and automatically assign the data to the correct fields in the database without manual data entry being required. Then the database can easily be utilised to analyse the data collected. This is another reason why the form has so many yes/no or checkbox questions, as well as making the questionnaire itself reliable. Whilst a lot of interesting data was gathered from the initial two surveys with their open-ended questions, and the possibility of a large response, I wanted to make the data as easy to quantify as possible for ease of analysis. However, in an effort not to constrain respondents entirely, I also included an option for 'Other' with most

browser security settings, or clear them by emptying the temporary internet cache your computer creates. The disadvantage of cookies is particularly relevant if you share a PC - anyone using that PC is considered to be 'you' when they visit the same site.

questions, with an opportunity to define the nature of this 'Other' and there was a free response question at the end of the questionnaire for any comments from respondents.

Whilst there is software available for qualitative analysis which has been used by other social science research in this area, I felt they were not appropriate for this study. Software such as NUD*IST, NVivo, Hypersoft or Atlas.ti can be used to analyse large amounts of data, however, they are best suited to large scale surveys, or surveys with free-response text as answers to questions. They are commonly used to analyse data gathered in large-scale interview surveys, and this survey did not have a large enough sample size, nor enough free response sections to make this necessary. Products like NUD*IST are essentially fancy database programs and the functionality they provide which was relevant to this particular study, for example, categorising responses, can be replicated in standard database software.

Respondents can potentially skew results by making multiple submissions of the survey. In this case this is unlikely because of the nature of the survey - there is no mathematical analysis evident which could be skewed - for example, although respondents are asked to rank their top 3 famous Scots, this is not from a finite list of names.

Hosting and Design

It is vitally important to choose the correct host for the online questionnaire. Scripts which allow the processing of forms require to be present on the server, and it is up to the server administrator to elect which scripts to run. A common example of this is with the use of Frontpage, Microsoft's own web design package.⁶ The scripting shortcuts used by Frontpage make it easier for users to design online forms. The

⁶ To perform more complex actions, Frontpage requires that its own set of scripts, also known as Frontpage Extensions, are installed on the host server. This is in all probability because Frontpage, in common with other Microsoft products, likes to keep everything within the Microsoft family of products, and uses coding shortcuts which make it less compatible than other products. Although Frontpage is in itself a fairly powerful product, it is not popular with professional web designers due to its shortcuts in coding, which mean it is not as easy to use across design platforms. Webmasters prefer to use products such as Macromedia Dreamweaver which, while allowing much coding to be automatically generated in a design format, uses 'pure' coding for all its actions, allowing other web authoring software to easily read and edit pages created within Dreamweaver.

website used in this survey was initially designed in Dreamweaver 4 and then transported into Frontpage to utilise the inbuilt compatibility between Microsoft products. The requirement for Frontpage server extensions meant that the site had to be hosted on servers operating Windows 2000 rather than Linux servers.

It is also vitally important in designing an online questionnaire that simplicity is the key. Not only does this reduce technical errors, it also decreases download time. Dillman et al. identified a correlation between higher quit rates and fancy designs, and surmised this was possible due to the increased time to download for such complicated designs.⁷ Whilst some researchers have suggested that using surveys that 'unfold' on screen according to what responses are given can produce much more finely targeted data, there are several reasons against this. First of all, on a technical level, this means there are more things to go wrong, particularly as the java scripting required for such interactivity is not a feature of older browsers. Furthermore, Dillman found that novice web users were put off by such aspects of as pull down menus and unclear instructions.⁸ Although pull down menus are used in this instance, they are clearly labelled, and they are used where only one answer is required. Drop down lists can be used to give multiple responses, but it is believed this is a much more potentially confusing use of such lists. Consequently check boxes were used where multiple choices were allowed.

Questionnaire Structure

Interestingly, whilst some guides recommend placing personal information at the end of a survey so as not to 'scare off' potential responses⁹, some online researchers have found this not to be the case - for example, Frick, Baechtinger and Reips (1999) found there to be a significantly lower quit rate when personal questions were at the

⁷ D. Dillman, R. D. Totoro, J. Conradt, and D. Bowker, 'Influence of plain versus fancy design on response rates for web surveys'. Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Dallas, TX (1998) cited in M. Bosnjak and T. L. Tuten 'Classifying response behaviours in web based surveys', *Journal of Computer Mediated Communications*, Vol. 6, no. 3, (2001), <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue3/boznjak.html> downloaded 8th May 2002

⁸ D. A. Dillman, *Mail and Internet surveys: The tailored design method*, (New York, 2000) cited in Bosnjak and Tuten, 'Classifying response behaviours in web based surveys'

⁹ Coombes, *Research using IT*, p.128

beginning as opposed to the end of the online questionnaire(10.3% versus 17.5%).¹⁰ It has been suggested that this is due to the prevalence of web forms asking for this information up front making people used to this approach,¹¹ however, it is just as likely that we base the assumption that personal questions should come at the end of a questionnaire on interview based surveys where it is often felt it is better to build up a rapport with a subject before asking 'personal' questions. Furthermore, the addition of a clear data protection statement could aid the low drop out rate regarding personal questions.

I was able to track how many people visited the site and do not complete the survey using the log file analysis tools, however, this is not an entirely reliable method of assessing interest in the survey as, for example, someone could visit the site briefly on receipt of the email, decide that it was of interest, and save the email to revisit the site at a later date when they had the time to complete the survey. I tried to give respondents an estimate of how long it would take them to complete the survey in the initial email of 15 minutes, which was figure reached by assessing respondents in the technical testing phase of the site being online.

Cross-Platform Usability

Although there are technical difficulties in online interactive questionnaires, the growing standardisation of the web can help to overcome this. This site was tested using a variety of versions of Internet Explorer (3 to 6) and also Netscape Navigator as part of Netscape Communicator (4.6). It was also tested on both PCs and Macs. When designing the site I deliberately chose not to use 'pop-up' windows to define terms used in the survey, nor did I utilise the 'open window in new browser' pre-coding available. Although these are common on many sites, their functionality is limited to versions of Internet Explorer 4 and higher. Whilst we are currently on release 6.0 of Internet Explorer, many casual users of the internet do not upgrade their browser because they do not need the advanced functionality such new browsers offer. This was confirmed by the log file analysis. So that respondents did

¹⁰ A. Frick, , M. T. Bächtiger and U-D. Reips, 'Financial incentives, personal information and drop-out rate in online studies', in U-D. Reips et al. (eds), *Current Internet science. Trends, techniques, results*. (1999), Available: http://www.dgof.de/tband99/pdfs/a_h/frick.pdf cited in Bosnjak and Tuten, 'Classifying response behaviours in web based surveys'

¹¹ Bosnjak and Tuten, 'Classifying response behaviours in web based surveys'

not lose their answers if they wanted to check something on another web page, for example definitions of terms used in the questionnaire, or the number of hits their own web page had received, PC users were instructed to 'right click' on links and choose to open them in another window. Mac users, who only have one mouse button, find that other windows automatically open when a link is clicked. This was not hard coded into the site as this kind of coding functionality is specific to version 4 browsers and later.

Log File Analysis

The site shall was for 5 weeks, and in that time, it was monitored daily for activity. Obviously completed questionnaires submitted would give an idea of this, but it is potentially more revealing and accurate to use Log File Analysis to monitor site traffic.¹² Not only will this tell the user how many hits a site has had, but where these hits have originated, if they have come through particular search engines, what kind of browser the respondent is using etc. To analyse this data, I made an FTP (file transfer protocol) connection to the website, and downloaded the automatically generated log files. Then I ran them through software to analyse the log data. The particular software used in this research was FastStats Analyser.

Data Handling Conventions

The online survey uses several programming approaches to make sure the data collected was reliable. Users of the site, for example, would notice that there were square boxes which when clicked appear to be 'ticked' and round buttons which when clicked show a 'dot'. All of these are in their 'unchecked' state on beginning the questionnaire - that is, the default value of each response is at zero. Therefore there is no skewing of results by having the default value as 'No', although it does of course mean that people can decline to respond to certain questions. However, this is also ethically a more sound model.

¹² Smith recommends that log file analysis is something that all web surveys should consider for the extra data generated. C. B. Smith, 'Casting the net: Surveying an Internet population', *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 3, no. 1, (1997) available online at <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol3/issue1/smith.html> downloaded 25 Feb 2002. Also for a more detailed analysis of the use of log files in web site data analysis, see Mary C. Burton and Joseph B. Walther, "The Value of Web Log Data in Use-Based Design and Testing", *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, Vol. 6, no. 3, (2001), <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue3/burton.html> downloaded 8 May 2002

Radio buttons are the round symbols, and these are used when you want to elicit a single response only. For example, from the choice, Yes, No, Don't know, (and of course no response) you would only want respondents to be able to choose one alternative. This is done by linking these three radio buttons together with coding, so that the computer knows that if one of them is checked, by default, all the others must be unchecked.

Check boxes are slightly different. Although they are again grouped by coding, any number of the boxes can be checked, and these are used when the respondent may choose more than one answer to a question. Then there are drop down lists. These are used when you would like the respondent to select one response from a long list. The visible comment is 'Please select one of the following', so although there is a 'default' entry, there is a clear instruction to at least look at the other options. Although order of the lists could be a factor, in this survey all the drop down lists are on items that have a chronological or numerical value order. Any terms used in the survey, for example, forum, were defined on another page, and this was made clear throughout the survey. The questionnaire also followed each question with a specification of what the respondent was required to do. For example:

Q9 Name the first three famous Scots that come to mind (Type in, Firstname Lastname)

1.	
2.	
3.	

None of the survey respondents indicated that they had any problems understanding how to use the survey.

Log File Analysis Results

After the questionnaire was taken offline at midday on 31 August 2002, the log files for the period the site was live were saved. The first email was sent out on July 28, and the log files record activity from July 28 to 31 August. The results of the Log File Analysis are summarised below.

In all the site received 2305 hits, and of these there were 1261 different users

identified. Each user visited an average of 1.24 times, and the 'home' page received 1308 hits. I received a total of 524 questionnaires of which 53 were duplicates, that is, partially filled out questionnaires which were superseded by fully completed questionnaires from the same respondents. Therefore this suggests that of the unique hits the site generated, I received (471 as percentage of 1308) 36% response rate. However, a number of factors should be noted which would increase this percentage. If users were accessing the site from different IP addresses each time they visited this would account for a false increase in the number of users. A large number of the emails targeted were from passport mail accounts such as hotmail or yahoo. Therefore, the user could be accessing these accounts from any number of computers, and even if using just one computer, if their ISP generates different IP addresses, as most do, this would also account for this phenomenon. Furthermore, because I registered a domain name, I would also have been receiving 'hits' from webcrawler software used by search engines, again falsely inflating the number of visitors to the site..

Browsers used were Netscape Navigator (Versions 2 to 6) 55%¹³, Internet Explorer (versions 4 and 5) 41% and 3% other (this category could include the most recent IE release, version 6, which the software can not distinguish). Operating systems of users included Windows (95/98/nt/2000/me) 90% and Macintosh 5% as well as Linux 1% (20 hits). The use of Linux shows that some hits were generated by more experienced users as Linux is a constantly evolving operating system, more often favoured by people 'in the know'. Furthermore, there was no evidence of people using older browsers(internet explorer versions 2 or 3 or Mosaic) or operating systems (windows 3.1), which had been allowed for in the site design. However, it is important to note that both Mac and PC users were able to use the site successfully.

Only 346 people visited the "Data" page which showed the information about data protection and how to complete the questionnaire. This is possibly due to a number of reasons: users felt their data protection worries were adequately addressed in the invitation message; users were not worried about data protection; and users were comfortable with the terminology and functionality of the questionnaire page

¹³ All percentages rounded to the nearest whole as in the rest of the thesis

design and did not need further assistance.

If we look at hits over time we see two distinct patterns emerging:

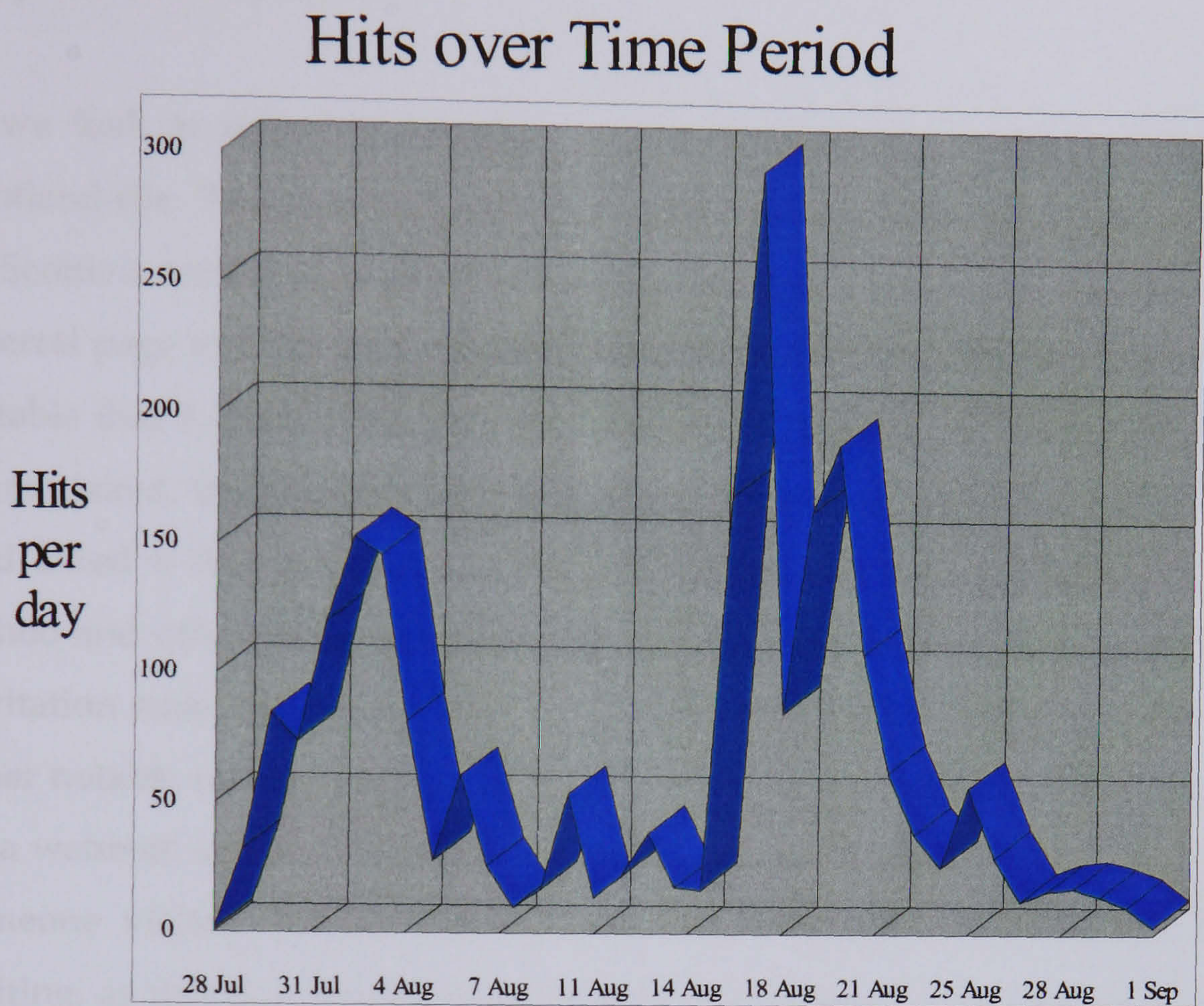


Figure G1. Log File Analysis Hit Rate

The first peak is over 1 to 3 August which occurs 4-6 days after the first email was sent out. Emails were sent out daily to approximately 100 addresses per day from July 28 to August 2 inclusive. Two other peaks occur on August 16 and 17 (August 17 having the highest single number of hits in a day of 295, 13% of the total number of hits), and again on August 19 through 21. Allan Scott from Rampant Scotland sent out his email newsletter on August 16, so again backing up previous research findings, the majority of responses occurred within 5 days of the initial contact. A plausible explanation for the dip in responses on August 18 is that this was a Sunday, and it could be argued that this also indicates a greater religious awareness amongst the sample group. However, one could also argue that people are unlikely to work on a Sunday and therefore may not have internet access on that day, so

further study would be required to substantiate this, particularly as other Sundays did not show a marked dip, and indeed overall Wednesday was the lowest ranking day of the week for hits. The peak time of day for hits was midnight GMT which equates to between 4 and 6 pm in the US, the geographical area with the highest proportion of respondents.

If we look at referring domains, we see that 216 hits came from the Rampant Scotland site. This is notable because it means people were reading and responding to Scottie's online newsletter rather than just replying to it by email. The specific referral page of <http://www.rampantscotland.com/newsletter> referred 212 hits. It is also notable that 5 hits came from <http://www.lochlomondceltic.org> and when these pages were visited, the email invitation had been posted on the news pages, which they had asked if they could do. The great majority of other referring domains were Yahoo and other email services, indicating users were clicking on the link in their invitation email rather than linking from another website. There were a couple of other notable referral pages <http://clanbrown.com/up/nph-mr.cgi> which turned out to be a webmail service like Yahoo, and <http://www.whoisreport.com/> This means that someone visited "Whois" to find out exactly who was behind the site before visiting, as this is a domain name register which allows users to see all the contact addresses and phone numbers etc for people who register domain names. The biggest example of this is www.register.com The report also highlights any error messages or failures of the site, but these were few.

Appendix H. Supplementary Tables

Table H1. Approximation of Number of "Scots" Worldwide

Country	Total Pop.	Percent Scots	Total Scots
Scotland (estimate)	5,200,000	87.5%	4,550,000
Northern Ireland (Tel. Directory)	1,540,000	26.9%	414,260
New Zealand (European, Auckland Tel. Direct.)	2,880,000	16.5%	475,200
Canada (Toronto Tel. Direct.)	23,940,000	15.8%	3,782,520
Australia (Sydney Tel. Direct.)	14,620,000	14.1%	2,061,420
England and Wales (London Tel. Direct.)	50,000,000	7.3%	3,650,000
USA (US Bureau Census, Suppl. Report PC80-S1-10, p.12)	230,000,000	5.3%	12,190,000
South Africa (European, Cape town & Jo'burg Tel. Direct's.)	7,322,000	3.9%	285,558
Other Countries			500,000
TOTAL WORLD			27,908,958

Source: D. A. Bruce, *The Mark of the Scots*, (Secaucus, N. J., 1996), pp.280-281
 These figures are also those used by VisitScotland. Figures from Table at <http://www.scotexchange.net/KnowYourMarket/Niche/Genealogy2.asp> visited 28 July 2002

Table H2. Declining Numbers of Gaelic Speakers within Scotland

Source	Gaelic-only speakers % of total pop.	Gaelic and English Speakers % of total pop.	Total % of population Gaelic speaking
Walker* (1769)	22.9	-	-
SelKirk* (1806)	18.5	-	-
1881	6.2	-	-
1891	1.1	5.2	6.3
1901	0.6	4.5	5.1
1911	0.4	3.9	4.3
1921	0.2	3.3	3.5

Source: Adapted from C. W. J. Withers, and K. MacKinnon, 'Gaelic Speaking in Scotland, Demographic History', in D. S. Thomson (ed), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (London, 1983), pp.109-114, p.111

* Walker's research published in 1808. These figures are subject to the vagaries of their authors in their definition of a 'Gaelic Speaker'. It is only with the beginning of the official census in 1881 that we get a controlled measure of the number of Gaelic speakers.

Table H3. Survey Respondents by Country of Birth and Country of Residence

	Country of Birth																	Totals	Visit Yes	Visit No
	None given	Australia	Belgium	Bermuda	Canada	Czech Rep	England	Federated Malay States	Germany	New Zealand	Nigeria	Scotland	Seoul, Korea	UK	Uruguay	USA	Wales			
None given	5																	5	5	
Australia	1	10				3				1	22		1					38	31	2
Belgium			1															1	0	1
Bermuda				1							1							2	2	
Brazil											1							1	1	
Canada	1				21	2					41		1					66	55	5
Czech Republic						1												1		
England						3					16							19	19	
France															1			1	1	
Germany											1							1	1	
Iceland															1			1	1	
Indonesia								1			9							10	9	
Ireland											1							1	1	
Italy											1							1	1	
Japan					1													1	1	
New Zealand		1							7		9							17	11	
P.R.China											2							2	2	
Portugal											1							1	1	
Scotland						1					41				1	1		144	44	
Singapore											1							1	1	
South Africa											2							2	2	
Switzerland											1							1	1	
Tanzania											1							1	1	
Thailand											1							1	1	
The Gambia											1							1	1	
UK															1			1	1	
Uruguay														1				1	0	1
USA	1				2	1		1			32	1	1		210			249	122	61
Totals	8	11	1	1	24	1	10	1	1	7	1	185	1	3	1	214	1	471		

Table H4: Scottish University History Department Sites

University (Scottish) History department	TIMELINE OR TOPICS	NON STUDENT INFO	COURSE CONTENT	COURSE RESOURCES	PRIMARY RESOURCES ONLINE	LINKS TO OTHER WEB SOURCES	STAFF BOOK LINKS	STAFF ONLINE ARTICLES	INTRANET	DESIGN STANDARD#
Aberdeen	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	4/5
Dundee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	2/5
Edinburgh	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y*	4/5
Glasgow	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	3/5
St Andrews	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	4/5
Stirling	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	3/5
Strathclyde	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	2/5

Sites all visited 28 August 2002

* Single course only

This is a mark given out of 5 by me, so is somewhat arbitrary - however, this mark was given on the basis of the design and structure of the sites visited, and as someone who has designed and maintains web sites on a commercial basis, I feel I am qualified to make a qualitative judgement in this area.

Appendix I. Current Projects of the History Group of the New Zealand Ministry of Culture as at July 2002

Historical Reference Works

- The Peopling of New Zealand Project
- Historical Atlases for Schools
- Television History of New Zealand

History of Government, State Activities and Institutional Histories

- History of the Vote
- History of Tourism
- History of New Zealand Governors and Governors-General
- History of the House of Representatives
- History of Treasury
- History of Labour and the State
- History of Conservation in New Zealand
- History of Policing in New Zealand, Volume 5
- History of Government Policy in Maori Health, 1940-2000
- History of the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator
- History of the Auckland Institute of Technology

Maori History

- Fellowship in Maori History
- Maori Literacy

History of New Zealand in War

- History of New Zealand Forces in South East Asia, 1949-1966
- History of New Zealand's Involvement in the Vietnam War
- Artillery History
- RSA History
- Second World War Oral History Project

History of New Zealand and the Second World War <http://www.mch.govt.nz/History/projects.html> downloaded 27 August 2002
Current research projects of the History Group of the New Zealand Ministry of Culture as at July 2002