Kenneth Mufaka

Scottish Missionaries and the Circumcision Controversy in Kenya 1900-1960

At the turn of the century, the British High Commissioner in East Africa set up various areas in which Christian missionaries were allowed exclusive influence. Scottish missionaries served the largest and most politically astute tribe in Kenya, the Kikuyu. Scottish education, combining a theoretical base with vocational training, attracted the best and the brightest of Kikuyu youths. This type of education provided a basis for future employment in government and industry. Jomo Kenyatta and Mbui Koinanage, both future nationalist leaders of Kenya, were converts and protégés of Scottish missionaries. However, in 1929, a sudden rift occurred between the Kikuyu Christian elders and congregations on one hand and their Scottish missionary patrons on the other side.

The rift came about when the Scottish missionaries insisted that all Kikuyu Christians should take an oath against female initiation. Two thirds of the Kikuyu Christians left the mission church to form their own nationalist oriented churches. The rise of nationalistic feeling among Kenyans can be traced to this controversy. The issue of female circumcision seems to have touched on all the major ingredients that formed the basis of African nationalist alienation from colonial rule. This article argues that the drama of 1929 was a rehearsal of the larger drama of the Mau Mau in 1950-1960 that put an end to colonial rule in Kenya.

Though initiation practices were widespread in Kenya and the neighboring Sudan, the Scottish missionaries were unaware of them until 1904. Girls waiting for initiation were placed into an age group, the Ngweko- sometimes translated

as a love circle. Sex education, tribal history and wifely behavior are some of the lessons taught. Female circumcision is only part of the process. Because it is painful and the healing may take a long time during which the girls are secluded, it has assumed an importance that was unintentional. Four girls were brought to Thogoto Central Mission on stretchers. They had suffered from serious lacerations, and these lacerations had turned septic. A report of this incident shocked the missionary establishment. Initially the shock was based, not on the ceremony itself, but on how ignorant old women had used glass or blunt knives to make such operations and used scraps of dirty cloth to dry up the blood. It was suggested that perhaps a little education of the elder women in hygiene would solve the problem.[i]

The Church of Scotland Mission doctors took some elderly Kikuyu women under their wing in 1912 and trained them at Thogoto Hospital. The doctors' report had indicated that the "operation comprises cutting away the inner and outer soft parts lying around the birth canal. In its severest form, the cutting extends in front of the up to the pubis and into the birth canal itself. The result is the replacement of much of the normal elastic tissues of these parts, and by an unyielding ring of hard fibrous tissue."[ii] The argument at this time was purely medical. The African women elders were supervised by missionary doctors and persuaded to reduce the amount of cutting that they did. This experiment was unsuccessful for a reason that now seems clear to us, but was not clear to the Scottish missionaries at the time.

The missionaries insisted that the operation be done under their hawkish supervision and in their hospital. They apparently interfered and told the elderly women supervisors what to do and what not to do. The doctors who put their names on the memorandum were all men, namely Dr. John Arthur, Superintendent of the Hospital, Dr. S. Irvine, Dr. W. M. Brown and Dr. Elwood L. Davis. We assume then that white men, who apparently knew nothing about the tradition, were teaching the elderly African women about female circumcision. By insisting that the operation be done

in a hospital instead of in a dingy darkly lit thatched hut somewhere in the Nyeri forest, the missionaries had by the stroke of a pen removed the secrecy (mysterium) associated with this ceremony. By insisting that the operation be painless, they had removed the fear and trembling (tremendum et fascinanz) that is the hallmark of all initiation ceremonies. Jomo Kenyatta, writing under the supervision of Professor B. Malinowsky in 1930 grasped the issue.

> The real argument lies not in the defense of the general surgical operation or its details, but in the understanding of a very important fact in the tribal psychology of the Kikuyu-namely, that this operation is still regarded as the essence of an institution which has enormous educational, social moral and religious implications, quite apart from the operation itself. For the present it is impossible for a member of the tribe to imagine an initiation without clitoridoctomy. Therefore the surgical abolition of the surgical element in this custom means to the Gikuyu the abolition of the whole institution.[iii]

In 1905 The British High Commissioner set up a Board of Education consisting of representatives of the United Missionary Conference (eleven missionary societies) as well as government representatives to advise the Director of Education. It was in response to this government initiative that the missionary conference clarified their aims in relation to their work among native congregations with regard to providing an education. Dr. John Arthur was chairman of the conference. Since he was also the Superintendent of the Scottish Mission in Kikuyu, his views represented a cross section of missionary thinking. The effect of missionary conversion and education

> upon the raw heathen is so magical and profound that (we) are amazed (at) the flood of spiritual and mental development. The responsibility lie(s) in

> their intimate relationship with this great native population. The missionaries are often called upon to act as...teachers…friends and advisors…to act as spokesmen…on their behalf. The natives implicitly trust missionaries; they are grateful for the light and instruction they bring an they know that they represent non commercial interests in the penetration of Africa.[iv]

The general curriculum followed "the lines of Hampton and of Tuskegee, of Booker T. Washington fame. The idea Was to combine general education with technical instruction."

The missionaries perhaps assumed too much in the unquestionable trust of the African and perhaps unconsciously became over-bearing. All native schools, they told government, must be inspected thoroughly. "I am not referring to government inspection but to missionary inspection. Here then is the missionary's task in Kenya" to be the big brother. There is another matter on which government and the missionary societies were in complete agreement. There was great danger, argued both missionaries and government, of the native lapsing into to those conditions from which he had been uplifted. This danger can be avoided by a thorough religious indoctrination combined with industrial education. This lethal combination will allow "educated natives to fill minor posts in the administration."[v]

On September 6th, 1912 Dr. Arthur sent a report on behalf of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kikuyu to the Secretary of Education. In this report he states that the mission has "been passing through a somewhat unsettled period, and it is difficult to find the reason for it." In the previous year, 120 boys were registered at the boarding school, but "ever since the numbers have been going down. We have lost some boys during the last three months who have been on the station some years. Ever since the beginning of the year circumcisions have been going on in the villages, and as that is the greatest time in the life of a Kikuyu boy's life, it has led to a great unsettlement. The rites are accompanied by such

immorality that the lads who have become Christians cannot pass through the ceremony in their villages. (It) may mean a break with their people if they should be circumcised at the mission by the native doctor." Dr. Arthur also objected to another custom of paying bride wealth for girls. He reported that there were 35 big girls at the mission, "many of them have been bought by Christian boys, and have been sent to school so that they can be taught before they marry them."[vi]

In his reply, the Secretary of Education emphasized that the Christian Missions must impress upon the natives that they have no desire to take away their children from them, or to interfere with their customs. However, the administration "will put down with a heavy hand such tribal customs as are immoral."[vii] Though Mr. Orr advised that in this regard, progress must be very slow and deliberate and that the tribal council must be notified and advised of any desired changes in native customs, this advice fell on deaf ears. The Scottish Mission included in their curriculum female education apparently aimed at counteracting native customs as they relate to hygiene and initiation customs. One of the areas of contention mentioned by Dr. Arthur was native singing that took place at these ceremonies and at beer parties. There were two specific objections mentioned, namely that the lyrics were unclean and that the dancing which normally involved gyrations of the hips and buttocks was suggestive of the worst kind of gross immorality. The Scottish objection has more significance that would be obvious at first. It represents a diametrically opposite view of life to that held by the Kikuyu. These parties and ceremonies were for the enjoyment of life and the gyrations of the body parts and the loud singing was an expression of that attitude. The Scottish missionaries on the other hand taught Psalms (and Hymns) which were to be sung with reverence and certain rectitude. Reading through Dr. Arthur's papers, one finds references to Jomo Kenyatta (later president of Kenya) and their star student, as a person guilty of self-aggrandizement, exaggerations and falsehoods.

The Missionary Conference, consisting of representatives from the Episcopal Church, the Church of Scotland Mission,

the British Bible and Foreign Society, the Methodist Church Mission and the Africa Inland Mission met in July 1918. It agreed that early marriages in African society constituted an evil and all member missionary societies were admonished to teach against the practice. Further, after studying South African practices, the conference urged government to open a register of marriages.[viii] The Conference met again in January 1922. Dr. Arthur was unanimously reelected chairman of the conference. Dr. Arthur had just returned from South Africa where he had noted some practices for adoption by the Conference. In the discussion that followed, two educationists, the Reverend Mr. Britton and Mrs. McGregor Ross, both working among the Kikuyu, supported him. The recommendations were that native women needed rigorous training in "self-control, a sense of responsibility, self respect" and that a psychologist should be hired to study their brains. Dr. Arthur was concerned with the 50 percent infant mortality that he attributed to ignorant customs. He praised the system of native education in South Africa. "Native education in South Africa is a Christian education, largely in the hands of missions. Government is responsible for practically all finances" and the inspectorate which was European. He praised these European inspectors as specially chosen men. The natives in South Africa helped the system by paying fees.[ix]

January 1922 seems to have caught the Scottish missionaries by surprise. When the Revered H.D. Hooper returned home from furlough, he found the whole of Kikuyuland ablaze with a new nationalist spirit. There was a new anti-white spirit among the young missionary-educated Kikuyu, and it seemed that the depth of their feelings had been underestimated. Hooper says at first he had heard credible reports from "two of our ablest missionaries…one of them, at any rate, has got right at the back of the native mind." However, when he returned to own mission station at Kahuhia, he found that a hundred Kikuyu Christians wanted an urgent meeting with him, the results of which would be "momentous. (We) stand at the cross roads, to rebellion and the destruction of all that has gone before. The day after I

arrived, a deputation of Christian natives wished to see me in secret session. They were in the habit of meeting at regular intervals with natives of surrounding district - a large area under the guidance of a clever native Kikuyu, Harry Thuku …he formerly belonged to the Kikuyu Native Association. Thuku owes his influence to the very real grievances of the native." Thuku intended to use civil obedience in order to remedy these grievances.[x]

If the missionaries knew the native mind as well as they said they did, it came as a surprise that such a large organization, with huge financial resources and contact with the Indian National Congress had grown up under their very noses without them knowing about it. At then time of this meeting, the Kikuyu Native Association had already written a letter to the Colonial office and to the Governor of Kenya detailing their complaints, which Hopper found to be credible. In summary, the Association said that after the war, Europeans had been awarded bonuses and farms, free of charge. Africans who served in the war had been given medals and watches as a thank you. An overall hut tax burden had in fact been imposed on all natives. The hut tax hit hard on native customs. A polygamist with three wives would have three separate huts for each of his wives as well as one for himself in addition to having two separate huts, one for boys and one for girls. The second grievance was that Africans were supposed to carry a registration card the Kipandi (translated meaning sexual rape) even when they were within their own tribal area. The third grievance was that the District Officers took food from the people without paying for it. They also refused to give change when collecting taxes. The taxes themselves, according to Hooper were unaffordable. A hardworking African would ear five English pounds per year plus eight shillings. His tax on three huts would amount to three pounds and four shillings, leaving him two pounds and four shillings per year.[xi]

In addition the District Commissioner had removed popular chiefs and installed friendly natives in their place without following procedures.[xii]

Dr. Arthur confirms that the missionaries had been surprised by the speed with which events had happened and the way secret associations had operated without them knowing about it. In one letter to World Missionary Conference general Secretary J.H. Oldham, he rejoiced that at least Africans were "now able to safeguard themselves against oppression and exploitation." However, in the same letter he feared that a native "uprising led by the young educated Christians and resulting in bloodshed. The movement is anti-European and anti-Missionary." There was a serious division between the young educated Africans and the older Christians who were being called "Judases."[xiii] Dr. Arthur wrote this letter on the 14th of March. One week later, he wrote again to Dr. Oldham. His worst fears had been realized. During the night (of the 8th) five hundred natives surrounded a police station and demanded an audience with Governor Sir Charles Bowring. Messengers were sent to all the surrounding European households ordering the cooks and house servants to leave work and show solidarity with the protesters. The protest march had been provoked by the arrest of Harry Thuku. Many groups were seen praying as part of their civil disobedience. In the scuffle that ensued, the police shot twenty-three Africans. "There were no arms, no spears or other native war implements. The crowd had white flags. They were mostly mission boys from Burns Church Missionary Society School. The women were mostly Nairobi's bad women but not entirely. Someone has said that this is a second Amritsar."[xiv]

The connection between the Nairobi riots and the circumcision issue lies in the polarization between the young Christians in the Kikuyu Central Association and the missionaries in general. There is some evidence that Canon Leakey of the Episcopal Church as well as Dr. Arthur were government agents. Though Thuku was now in detention and his organization proscribed, Kenyatta reformed the Kikuyu Central Association after Lord Devonshire's memorandum of July 1923. Devonshire had prepared the way for Europeans to take part in a national legislative council while Africans were

to start at the democratization process at the tribal council level. The key element in the Devonshire Memorandum was the interests of "African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and those of the immigrant races conflict, the former should prevail."[xv] The Kikuyu Central Association decided to contest the elections on the platform that Christians were destructive of native customs. If they were to succeed, they would have to start their own native schools outside the influence of missionaries. Missionaries accepted the challenge therefore went all out to take steps to banish female circumcision from native life. This they did through the missionary conference. All the eleven missionary societies were in general agreement with this policy though Dr. Arthur was more enthusiastic than others. The Roman Catholics refused to participate.[xvi]

The missionaries, through the Kikuyu Progressive Association (composed of older African Christians) won the elections. Nevertheless, serious divisions between the younger Christians and the older generation, now nicknamed Judases, did not go away. Musa Gitau, an ordained minister and Kenyatta's father, was on the missionary side. Kenyatta's wife, Grace Wahu was on her husband's side.[xvii] The arrival of Sir Edward Griggs, a racist and an admirer of South African policies in 1925 worsened the situation. He sided with the white settlers against native interests and was fed fearful stories by missionaries of ongoing secret meetings, evil dances and female circumcision. Missionaries particularly objected to one song used in the campaign by the Kikuyu. The lyrics were directed against the missionary churches.

> Little knives in their sheaths
> That they may fight with the church,
> The time has come.
> Elders (of the church)
> When Kenyatta comes
> You will be given women's clothes
> And you will have to cook him his food.[xviii]

The missionaries completely missed the boat on this occasion.

Loyal Christians were threatened. There was a huge drop in school attendance. As many as two thirds of the Kikuyu Christians left the church in protest at the restrictions placed upon their lives by Dr. Arthur. School buildings were raided and properties destroyed. Dr. Arthur, who represented native interests in the governor's advisory council, was blamed for not controlling the natives and for not knowing enough of what was happening. Griggs asked him to resign. Dr. Arthur made two mistakes. He sought the support of the Duchess of Athol in England. The Duchess was feminist fighter who made a list of all African customs, cannibalism, female circumcision, evil dances in which gyrations of the body contorted the torso, human sacrifices and trial by ordeal. The Kikuyu Central Association retorted by making a list of grievances in which the theft of Kikuyu land by Europeans topped the list. The missionaries were in a no win situation and found these tactics to be unfair. They wrote to the Kikuyu Central Association not to mix the issue of circumcision with tax and land grievances and advised the "Kikuyu people themselves (to) follow the lead of all the civilized nations throughout the world and discontinue the circumcision of their girls." On top of this an elderly American woman missionary, Hilda Stampf was murdered.[xix] The murder had nothing to do with the issue of circumcision at all, but to the white settlers, it was proof that the natives were on the loose.

With hindsight, it is obvious that Dr. Arthur and the Scottish missionaries were unable to grasp the fact that cultural practices are organic. The practice of female circumcision was very much intertwined with respect for elders and the marriage system. By trying to do away with the one custom, the Kikuyu elders saw the whole structure of tribal leadership by elders falling away. It is also clear that though the Scottish missionaries saw themselves as honest brokers between the Colonial Office and the Kikuyu, the need of white settlers for native land was ultimately irreconcilable with the interests of the natives. This, the Secretary General of the World Missionary Conference, Dr. Oldham saw clearly and thus had a protective phrase written into the Devonshire

Memorandum of 1922. Despite the Devonshire Declaration, alienation of native land accelerated after 1922 further increasing the tensions between the Kikuyu and the British settlers in Kenya. The issue of female circumcision drove a wedge between the Scottish missionaries and the Kikuyu tribe breaking the trust that had existed. The Scottish missionaries continued to represent Kikuyu land grievances to the Colonial Office as best they could. However, they lost the position of trust which they had held before the circumcision controversy.

Lander University

End Notes

[i] The idea that natives will change their customs runs throughout missionary documents as well as colonial documents. Provincial Commissioner John Ainsworth gave a speech at a Missionary Conference April 22, 1912 to that effect. Kenya Historical Documents 1988-1923 Jomo Kenyatta also believed that this would be the case. *Letter to the British Guardian*, March 18, 1930

[ii] Kenyatta by J. Murray-Brown (Allen-Unwin, London, 1972) page 136-137

[iii] Kenyatta Papers miscellaneous papers collected by author from various sources. Letter by Jomo Kenyatta to the *Guardian* (undated-presumed to be about 1930)

[iv] Report to the Missionary Conference entitled: Educating the Native by the Reverend J. Britton April 19105 Page 228 in Kenya: Select Historical Documents-1884-1923

[v] Kenya Historical Documents *Ibid.* Page 229

[vi] Report by the Church of Scotland Mission to the Director of Education in Kenya Colony September 12th, 1912. The Reverend Dr. J. W. Arthur, Superintendent of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya, wrote it

[vii] Reply to the Church of Scotland Mission. Director of Education, Kenya Colony, J.R. Orr wrote the reply. Dated December 1912.

[viii] Report of the Christian Alliance Conference, dated January 1922. Recommendations and discussions. Kenya Historical Documents - 1884-1923

[ix] Report of the Christian Conference, January 1922. Recommendations and Discussions. Kenya Historical Documents, 1984-1923

[x] Letter to the General Secretary of the World Missionary Conference, the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham, dated January 24, 1922. The Reverend H.D. Hooper wrote it. Church of Scotland Archives

[xi] Ibid.

[xii] Petition by the Gathirima Community Chiefs and Elders to the Native Commissioner, dated December 14, 1921 Kenya Historical Documents 1984-1923

[xiii] Reverend Dr. J.W. Arthur to the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham, General Secretary of the World Missionary Conference March 14, 1922 Church of Scotland Archives

[xiv] Letter from the Reverend Dr. J.W. Arthur marked Confidential to the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham March 14, 1919. Church of Scotland Archives

[xv] The Lord Devonshire Memorandum, July 1923 Kenya Historical Documents also found in Jomo Kenyatta by G. Delf (London 1961) Page 66-67 also found in Church of Scotland Archives

[xvi] Kenyatta by J. Murray Brown (Collins, London, 1971) pages 135ff

[xvii] Ibid. Page 138.

[xviii] Ibid. Page 138.

[xix] Ibid. Page 139.

Mike Paterson

Emigrants, Expatriates, Descendants and Clans

This paper discusses issue of "Scottishness" with particular reference to the contexts of emigrant, expatriate and Scottish descendant communities outside Scotland. It argues that, given considerable cultural diversity within Scotland, "Scottishness" should be a term that appropriately embraces these communities, and that that the term "Scottish" can reasonably and helpfully apply to all. Cases are put for a definition of Scottishness as "a voluntary cultural affiliation", and for a closer engagement by Scotland with such communities internationally.

Diversity

Six thousand miles of wimpled coastline enclosing 30,000 square miles of land – give or take a few lochs and lakes, but including some 60 populated islands – that's Scotland. The islands, the ever-differing shoreline, the angled northern sunlight, the lie of hills and glens, burns and rivers, the seasons and range of economic activities all help to give almost every place in Scotland its own particular character. Scotland's geography as well as its location – to the north of Britain, the west of Europe, the east of Ireland and the Atlantic, and south of the North Sea – enables Scots to experience a kind of centrality as well as marginalisation. Scots are inclined to have a strong sense of place: they say they are from Glasgow, Ayr, Easter Ross or South Uist. And, the closer one looks at the people of Scotland, the more one discerns diversity. Scotland's population is only five million or so, yet two of Scotland's languages – Scots and Gaelic – are recognised by the European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages. Both show further regional variation. Other languages, including Pictish, the languages of the early Britonic kingdoms, Saxon, Norse and Norn, have died or

been assimilated. "This variety of linguistic and cultural background is reflected in our music and can still be clearly related to the geography of the country," writes musical historian John Purser: "Yet over the entire country you would almost always know from the music that you were in Scotland."[i]

Scotland's history, despite Scotland's relative territorial integrity from the 11th century and modern assertions of nationhood, is essentially an assemblage of more particular histories that originate in and have produced arrays of cultural variation and diversity. Orcadian culture differs significantly from that of the Borders. Southwest mainland culture differs markedly from that of Islay a few miles offshore (where about one third of the population are Gaelic speakers); the northeast, the Shetlands, Perthshire, Lewis and the East Neuk are each culturally discrete. Even Edinburgh and Glasgow – two modern cities located just an hour apart in Scotland's most densely populated "central belt"– have distinctively different qualities, literatures, musics and accents – underscored by different historical experiences.

"Culture"

The term "culture" is used here in the sense of Geert Hofstede's "culture two" (his image of "software for the mind").[ii] "Culture", here, can be taken to mean a set of socially-shaped conceptual and behavioural norms and repertoires. They provide the bases on which experience and knowledge are understood, interpreted and acted upon. "Culture" necessarily includes language, accent and vocabulary, social interactions and the shared recognition of symbols and their significance. It is a context in which "meaning" is established and communicated. Culture provides a means of social self-identification, and defines accompanying roles, relationships and responsibilities. Cultures, of course, are dynamic, continuously changing, adapting and responding to externally and internally-generated forces and influences. Cultures interact with other cultures. Cultures are not homogenous. Cultures may or may

not correlate with political boundaries. Many modern states include a congregation of cultures, including representatives of cultures that also exist elsewhere. Broadly defined cultural groups or categories often embrace more finely definable cultural subgroups and categories as their constituents.

Two important if inter-related sources of cultural indoctrination have long been geographic experience (local environmental awareness) and social experience (interactions with other people). As science, mobility, migration and modernity have distanced many people from intimate experiences of their traditional environs, it is safe to conject that culture is typically instilled through social experiences: to belong to a culture, we need other people. These other people help us to shape a "cultural identity". Culture is learned behaviour. There is no "culture gene" and culture has no necessary relationship to "race" or skin colour, although cultures may promote attitudes for or against particular genetic or physiological attributes, as they do for dress, diet and social relations. A culture is therefore unlikely to be rigidly attached to particular landscapes or lines of biological descent.

Cultural identity is just one of the generic labels we use to locate ourselves in relation to others: we may advance an occupational identity, or offer one based on status or rank; we may claim a residential or national identity, a recreational identity, or an identity by virtue of descent, sex or sexual orientation. Our cultural identity is one that we intentionally base on our actual or pretended membership of a particular culture. But, claim whatever identity we might, the identity that ultimately attaches to us is something bestowed upon us. We become known, not by what we say about ourselves so much as by what others say about us.

Acculturation

Arguments that Scotland's diversity is diminishing are easy to believe. Popular culture is pervasive. Television and electricity reach every part of Scotland. Traditional sources of income in remoter areas are often no longer sustainable. Populations in remoter areas are generally falling; and, where

local young people who leave home to find work are being replaced, it is often by incoming retired folk. Old ways are diluted. Society is changing throughout Scotland. These are minor, largely local mechanisms of cultural erosion, however, compared with the worldwide forces that some see sweeping whole national identities aside like chaff: 'globalisation'. It seems self-evident. There is the internet; essentially similar products fill supermarket shelves, clothing stores and music shops wherever in the world there are people with money to buy them. Television programming and cinemas throughout the West and beyond are inundated with the same outpourings of a handful of production centres. News from around the world overwhelms our awareness of our own neighbourhoods; over vast areas, the same or similar sets of celebrities permeate the media, and hordes of people who have nothing in common with them do all they can to emulate them.

Postmodern lifestyles have been seen not as expressions of ongoing cultural change, interaction, stress or diversity, but as an inevitable imperative. However, while widening ranges of products and services probe deeper and deeper into a widening range of markets, and multinational businesses proliferate, the world has also been seeing countless ethnic revivals, from the re-opening of churches and mosques in the former Soviet Union to a growing enthusiasm for oral history and genealogy in a number of Western countries. These kinds of activity may be just the dying tremors of a reactionary rearguard – or they may be something more. Breton piping teacher Jean-luc LeMoign, for example, tells me that it is the pursuit of "quality of life" rather than "heritage" that now drives the Breton cultural revival which began in the 1950s: "It is life in community – 'to be well in the skin,' as we say – that is important." His is the kind of observation that upsets straight-line projections of trends in human behaviour and lends encouragement to the view of globalisation articulated by Daniel Mato in 1998:

> The use of the word globalization has become a widespread phenomenon these days. I think that this fact is revealing of the worldwide develop-

> ment of something that we may call a consciousness of globalization. … I would say that globalization is not a recent phenomenon, which would be just a consequence of certain business practices, communication technologies and neoliberal macroeconomics, as it is often portrayed. Globalization may be more fruitfully analysed as a long-standing historical tendency towards the worldwide interconnection of the peoples of the planet, their cultures and institutions, resulting from many different social processes … it is particularly important to highlight that the keyword to explain globalization is worldwide interconnections, and not homogenization. The diverse ongoing processes of globalization have different outcomes: while some may be said to produce homogenization, others foster differentiation, and still others have combined effects.[iii]

He has a point. Cultures have never been static, customs, rituals and languages have long been dying, converging and diverging: nobody speaks Thracian, Anglian, Etruscan or even the colloquial Latin of imperial Rome, but many have been influenced by them. To this day, cultural diversity survives, and cultural revivals are to be found around the globe.

Diaspora

Within Scotland, one finds a stereotype that, given a few generations overseas, Scottish descendants (those who haven't altogether assimilated into their host cultures) become obsessively inclined to identify their ancestors as kilted Highland Jacobite clearance victims descended from William Wallace, the Stuarts or Robert Burns. They are also thought to indulge in haggis and whisky-fuelled, bagpipe-accompanied binges of tartanry. This is a stereotype that encourages Scots from time to time to publicly disown or deride expatriate and descendant communities overseas.[iv] Those who do, miss the

point. Cultures write histories, and rewrite them. When a culture is taken into new contexts – as occurs through emigration – new priorities and experiences see people draw on new expressions of their parent culture's repertoire. Scots are not the only people to have migrated from their homeland, and many other peoples also have made cultural adjustments to new surroundings. Thus, for example, Vinay Lal, assistant professor of history at the University of California Los Angeles, points out that modern India, in all of its complexity, is not the "India" of the Indian Diaspora "whose idea of their homeland remains bound to ossified conceptions of Indian religion, tradition, and cultural practices". But he also observes that, in the Diaspora, new art and cultural forms are emerging, "and the relation between India and its diasporas offspring may yet alter our understanding of Indian civilisation":

> … It is arguable that one is more easily an Indian abroad than in India; the category of 'Indian' is not contested abroad as it is in India. This is perhaps all the more remarkable, when one considers that the 'Indianness' of the Indian diaspora is not as evidently conceptualizable, or even visible, as the distinctly Chinese characteristics of the Chinese diaspora or the Islamic features of the Arab diaspora. Hindi does not bind together diasporas Indians in the manner in which Chinese holds together the Chinese diaspora; nor does Hinduism play in the Indian diaspora a role comparable to that of Islam within, if one could speak of such a thing, the Islamic Diaspora. Thus, in Mauritius, the national language remains a French Creole, though Hindi is the language of the preponderant portion of the numerically dominant Indian community.
>
> … other forces have emerged to cement the widely disparate elements from the Indian subcontinent into an 'Indian' community. One can point, for example, to Indian cinema, Hinduism,

> and food. The popular Hindi film provides a considerable element of commonalty to Indian communities, even among those where Hindi is not spoken, a profound homage to the Hindi film's rootedness in the deep mythic structures of Indian civilization. … Likewise, Indians overseas routinely invoke Indian civilization with a self-assurance that in India would be both mocked and contested. …Finally, in the matter of food, one beholds with amazement how Mughlai food has become the cuisine of India, entirely synonymous with Indian food. The same surely cannot be said of the cuisines of Gujarat, Andhra, and Kerala, or even of the popular snack food, idlis and dosas, of South India. In the Indian Diaspora, the plurality of India is condemned to disappear, even as the most esoteric traditions are given a fresh burst of life, and a unitary vision of 'Indianness', of Indian civilization and of Hinduism, appears poised to dominate.[v]

Change a few of the details, and Vinay Lal might well be discussing Scottish diasporas communities.

If, still talking somewhat dangerously in generalities, we look a little more closely at Scottish-identifying communities overseas, we soon discern several different sorts of Scottish self-identification, the characteristics of which warrant research. Temporary expatriates, migrant expatriates, first-generation descendants and distant descendants differ in a number of ways. Scottish-born expatriates seem more inclined to look back towards Scotland, its geography and friends and relatives "back home", to nurture their identity, and they have their accents to keep them warm; overseas-born descendants appear more inclined to look to genealogy, family lore and history (including post-migration local histories). These inclinations meet – and sometimes clash – in cultural explorations of the sort represented by most of the Scottish interest niche media[vi]: Highland, Scottish country,

step and ceilidh dancing; ceilidhs, "inglesides"[vii], festivals and Highland games; summer schools; clan societies and gatherings; Caledonian, Gaelic, St Andrew's and Scottish societies of various sorts; piping, fiddling, accordion playing, singing and ensemble musical performance; Burns Societies and suppers, St Andrew's Day celebrations and the like.

Inseparable from many of these activities, and promoting and helping to sustain the identifications with Scotland that underlie them, are the signifiers that enable individuals to make their identification with Scottishness overt and unmistakable. Thus, for a proportion of expatriates, there comes a time when, with the photographs from "home" fading but with the constant reminder of translocated Scottish placenames, through a growing personal awareness of the importance of their own culture, they feel their first inclination to sport a tartan tie, wear a clan badge or buy a kilt. They begin to assimilate into the subculture through social and cultural organisations that are typically sustained by Scottish descendants rather than by Scottish-born expatriates.[viii] Thus, for example, a recent Glasgow-born migrant (to the United States) joins the descendant in an emotional subscription to the idea of Scottishness:

> Americans … always identify themselves as 'Irish-American' or 'Italian-American' or whatever else – 'Scots American' – whereas in actual fact the vast majority of them are just Americans. …But these ties (to parent cultures) are very deep and, since they're emotional ties, you can tug the heart strings. It's all emotion, but it does get to a lot of people – like myself.[ix]

A contrasting explanation, from the multiple generation descendant's point of view, was expressed by Susan Cromarty, editor of the glossy Australian-published *SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine ("more than a magazine, a way of life") in an editorial carried on the magazine's website:

> I am a fifth generation Australian and enormously proud of that fact, but I am equally proud that my roots are deeply embedded in the rich soil of the Black Isle. Pride seems to be a characteristic shared by all people of Scots descent and has always been so. … It was this pride, along with courage and determination which enabled Scots pioneers to settle into their new lands and prosper. From the ranks of these Scottish settlers rose men and women who were to distinguish themselves around the world. Throughout Scotland's long and turbulent history her greatest export has been her proud, patriotic and independent people. …Few other emigrant groups can claim to have had such a pervasive influence on the politics, commerce, banking, medicine, engineering, literature and philanthropy of the New World as have the Scots. We're a clannish, loyal people. …In today's swiftly changing world we can take inspiration from the courage and determination of our ancestors. Our people have run a proud and colourful race through the centuries and in linking ourselves to that history we make ourselves more complete human beings.[x]

There are also part-descendants who find in their "Scottish side" a particular attraction. American novelist Garrison Keillor reflects this sort of attachment to Scotland:

> We Keillors are taken for Scots, thanks to James Keillor's marmalade of Dundee, a familiar item in America, but in fact the Keillors were Yorkshiremen, and my Scots blood is on my mother's side, from my grandpa William Denham, who emigrated to Minnesota from Glasgow in 1906. He never explained why he went, and so we keep coming back to Scotland to investigate the matter. My mother, who is 85, came over last summer (1999) for a train trip through the Highlands, her

> fourth or fifth trip here, and I am coming back for my sixth time. It is a constant pull, Scotland. We keep flying over, roaming the countryside, walking the streets, trying to imagine our lives here if William hadn't gotten on the boat. We keep looking for Our People.[xi]

Without looking too deeply into the matter, Scotland the Brand has come very close to castigating these folk for a less than self-sacrificial commitment to Scotland's immediate economic interests. As Scots, said one of the organisation's reports:

> …we think that our ex patriot (sic) community is a source of strength to us due to the fact that all of them we meet abroad wish to 'Find out where they came from'. In truth though Scottish expatriates are less likely to desire to come "home" to trace their roots, compared to Irish or Israeli descendants. … This lack of contemporary support by the ex patriot (sic) community for 'mother' Scotland is a significant competitive weakness for Scotland internationally.[xii]

This statement overlooks the role that expatriates and descendants play in generating definitional experiences of "Scottishness" in their new homelands: it was they who gave Scotland "Tartan Day" in Canada and the United States, and they who have long given "Scottishness" a defining presence in their New World communities. Where attitudes towards Scotland have been surveyed, Scots generally appear in particular casts of positive light[xiii]. Although the sources of the definitional experiences that underlie these positive attitudes have yet to be researched, it is most probable that they originate in part from the often highly visible expressions of "Scottishness" arising from expatriate and descendant communities. In the United States, for example, Scottishness is one of the preferred identities of choice. The 1990 U.S. Census asked Americans to state their ethnic identity (their

ethnic origin, heritage, or birthplace – or that of their parents or ancestors before they moved to the United States). Only one in 10 identified themselves simply as "American". The most frequently claimed ethnic identity – shared by 58 million Americans (23 per cent of the population) was German – the largest heritage of choice in 29 states. But – in a country known as the world's cultural "melting pot" – things could hardly seem more highly ethnicised. No fewer than 33 different ethnic identities each had the allegiance of more than a million Americans, three in 10 of whom claimed more than one ancestral heritage. The 3.315 million Americans who claimed "Scottish" ancestry were doing fairly well. Their median household income in 1990 was a relatively healthy $36,810 a year.[xiv] Far from being a migrant or expatriate group, over 95 per cent of these people were American-born. Fewer than 22,000 had arrived in the U.S. in the previous 10 years.

The ensuing decade was an eye-opener: the number of Americans choosing "Scottishness" as their ethnic identity soared to 5.4 million – a 63 per cent gain. Scots should know that the number of Americans claiming "Englishness" rose from 21.4 million to 28 million (up 31 per cent) in the same period; the "German" population rose from 42.3 million to 47 million (11 per cent), 'Italians" went from 10.5 million to 16 million (52 per cent) and the "Irish" climbed from 21.129 million to 33 million (a 55 per cent gain).The growth rates reveal, not new waves of migration, but shifts in the United States towards new understandings of identity and cultural awareness. The "Scottish" gain suggests a shift in the nature of Scottish American-ness, and probably reflects the efforts of the countless cultural activists who organise and promote the increasingly popular "Scottish" activities that annually help to enliven communities and nurture genealogical curiosity across the United States. These activists are attracting people to their way of doing things. Why "Scottishness" should have been an attractive identity of choice in the United States over recent decades calls for on-the-ground research. It is not something to guess at, although Wayne Rethford, president

of the Association of St Andrew Societies in Chicago, can probably offer better guesses than most. He told *The Scotsman* that, while the "*Braveheart* factor" may have played a part in it, "I think Americans generally are just getting more in touch with their roots. There are a lot more Scots-related activities these days in the United States…."[xv] To say – as "a source to Scottish Secretary Helen Liddell" did, in talking to George Kerevan of *The Scotsman* – that the heightened interest was "no coincidence" but reflected "hard work put in by the Scottish executive and Scotland Office" is a naive or opportunistic conceit.

An estimated 30,000 Americans are actively involved in some 200 clan organisations alone, and many public figures and celebrities have publicly – and proudly – asserted Scottish ancestry. There are at least 60 St Andrew's Societies, and some 260 Highland games and Scottish festivals are held annually.[xvi] Work by social psychologists on the ways in which individuals are perceived has usually focused how they come to be liked. Research in relation to the perception of groups, responding to issues such as racism and negative stereotyping, has concentrated on the way groups (particularly "outgroups") come to be disliked. Recognising this, Russell Clement and Joachim Krueger (1998) devised a study that looked at both processes, side by side. They found that the "desirability" of a person's characteristics uniquely predicted how well an individual was liked. Impressions of groups, on the other hand, were based on how well people saw themselves potentially fitting into the group: "In other words, they need to ask how similar their own characteristics are to the characteristics of various group members." Clement and Krueger saw in their results a route to stereotype change:

> The crucial ingredient is a change in categorisation. Stereotypes may improve if the perceiver reassesses the similarity between himself or herself and the group. Liking for a group may increase especially if the perceiver categorises the self as a group member. This mechanism can produce

> increases in liking even without changes in the perceived desirability of the other group members' characteristics.[xvii]

In ways such as these, expatriate and descendant groups overseas function as intermediaries between their neighbours in the New World and Scotland in the Old World. A case in point is that of Duncan Bruce, a Wall Street banker who firmly believes in and promotes the achievements of Scots and Scottish descendants. As the author of *Mark of the Scots* (1996) – a best seller in its category in the United States – and *The Scottish 100* (2000), he has been an influential image-maker for his fellow expatriates and descendants. He was reported as saying of his later book that he hoped:

> … this book will be an antidote to those who think that Scots only equal Highland games, haggis, whisky and bagpipes. I like all of those things, but there is another view which I think stands out above the others: the amazing intellectual achievements of the men and women of a small ethnic group and how they have influenced the world. … I know I am going to come under fire, but it is about time people in Scotland realise you don't have to be born in Scotland to be a Scot.[xviii]

From individuals and groups associated with the expatriate and descendant communities, financial support is frequently given to cultural promotion. Said Glasgow-born Arthur McAra, vice-president of the U.S. Piping Foundation and treasurer of the executive committee of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association:

> We're very fortunate that, over the years, we've had certain individuals, who usually prefer to be anonymous, who have the interest and the resources and will put up the money to partly sponsor a competition or a workshop. Generally speaking, supporters are people of Scottish descent – quite clearly of Scottish descent – who

> have close associations with Scotland and are involved in cultural ties other than piping. …The biggest part, though, is from organisations such as St Andrews societies, clan societies and Highland games…[xix]

And then there are organisations like Scottish Heritage USA, founded in 1965 by Ward Melville "to recognise and enhance the original bonds of ancestral and national character among the peoples of Scotland and North America", and which is a booster organisation for the National Trust for Scotland.[xx]

Networks such as these can be effective mobilisers of various sorts of community resource. In August 1994, for example, a Scottish Festival was held in Wellington, New Zealand, which, through invoking Scottish networking contacts, involved Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington City Council, Government House (the office of the Governor-General of New Zealand), the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Wellington Cathedral and a number of sports groups and organisations and other bodies, public and commercial. Outcomes included the establishment of a Victoria University Scottish Interest Group and the holding of a Scottish-New Zealand videoconference on science education (involving the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the Royal Society of New Zealand).[xxi]

"Tartanry"

Too keen an attachment seems to make many Scots (in Scotland) uncomfortable. But not all of it daft 'tartanry', and sweeping accusations of expatriate cultural tomfoolery are difficult to justify. A part of the problem may be held to lie within Scotland, and some of the cause can probably be traced to experiences of cultural suppression. But there have also been some complicated historical mechanisms of complicity within Scotland to sharpen the edge of that suppression. And, if Scotland is being misrepresented internationally, Scots must take a measure of the blame. Why is the most impressive quality magazine currently available about

Scotland published in Australia, edited by a 5th generation Australian?[xxii] Existing Scottish publications with international circulations tend to be either humble niche-market and special interest publications, or woefully nostalgic magazines such as D.C. Thomson and Co's *The Scots Magazine* and the anachronistic *Scottish Memories*. *The People's Friend* also has some expatriate circulation. *Scottish Field* calls itself "Scotland's Quality Lifestyle Magazine" and in 1999 was addressing in its editorials such issues as:

> As the point-to-pointing season gets into full swing it is prudent to wonder what the effect of a ban on hunting would be to pointing. One of the stipulations of running a point-to-pointer is that it must have qualified on the hunting field … [xxiii]

In the case of the nostalgia publications, it is likely that they compound anachronistic views of Scotland in expatriate and descendant communities where individuals' most recent first-hand memories of Scotland may go back 20-40 years or more, where stories from previous generations remain in circulation and where, because personal identities are defined in terms of connections in the past, there is an inclination to look backwards in time anyway. Most clan societies, for example, place a high value on genealogical research. Letters by members of these communities to the editor of, for example, the American-based *Scottish Banner* monthly newspaper (which applies a lighter editorial hand to its correspondence column than, say, *The Scots Magazine*) are often from people seeking what is essentially genealogy-related "cultural" information:

> During a recent visit to an uncle's, we discovered some of our heritage. We found that my husband's great grandparents spoke Gaelic, and so we are starting Gaelic lessons, and we would like to discover more…[xxiv]

> I'm interested in locating any and all places that are Scottish oriented in Houston, Texas, USA.

> I am trying to discover my proud Scottish culture.[xxv]
>
> I am looking for relatives or anyone else willing to correspond with me from the Irvine, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire areas. My grandfather … relocated to the United States in 1907.[xxvi]
>
> I am trying to solve the problem of my father's clan name. His name was Kinninmont, and I have yet to be able to define which clan is his.[xxvii]

In the absence (until recently in some cases and into the present in others) of authoritative migrant histories, a range of informal stories and recollections has helped to shape views and attitudes that are likely to be strongly held by at least some of the influential people in these communities. In some cases, expatriate mythologies have been very deliberately created and actively promoted, as, for example, Ted Cowan has shown to be in the case of Canada.[xxviii] Often, however, the process seems less formalised.

Scots All?

Many countries increasingly embrace a variety of cultures, the result of often highly controlled immigration policies. And, as the stories of countless individual migrants, expatriates and descendants are woven into post-migration lore and traditions[xxix] in their new social environments, parent cultures come to be understood and interpreted in new ways.[xxx] In the global context, in numerical terms, Scotland's diaspora is a relatively minor demographic incident of declining significance. The under-researched ways in which migrant Scots have made their adjustments to new cultural contexts, however, have resulted in some relatively visible expressions of identity – and it is not as though Scotland has done much to actively encourage, engage or inform this range of self-identifications and interests.[xxxi] However, Scotland is uniquely endowed with a highly-developed genealogically-based structure, constituted in law, that helps to provide a

coherent (if frequently misunderstood) underpinning for some of the important symbols of descendant identification overseas: the Lyon Court. The Lyon Court is an institution with origins that long antedate the establishment in 1672 of the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland. Robert the Bruce appointed a Lord Lyon King of Arms with knightly rank at Arbroath Abbey in 1318. But the 1672 Act, as well as repairing the damage wrought by Oliver Cromwell's destruction of Scottish records, gave formalisation and order to the use of heraldic arms in Scotland and made it unlawful to bear unregistered arms. It also required all subsequent grants of arms to be properly recorded. The Lyon Court, of little significance to the daily lives of most Scots within Scotland, is still to be taken seriously, say its supporters. Its role is often in relation to determining the rightful chiefship of a clan at a time of a contested succession – something that, apart from the litigants themselves, is likely to be of most interest to active clan members overseas.

George Way of Plean, secretary of the 147-member Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, wrote in 1994:

> … not only [is it the case that] the Lyon Court is a fully integrated part of the Scottish judicial system, but also that clan rights have survived to this day, not just as a historical curiosity or romantic ideal, but as a part of Scotland's heritage, worthy of the attention of the highest courts of the land.[xxxii]

Plean defines a clan as "a community which is both distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign". Contrary to widespread popular belief at home and abroad, a "clansman" need not be able to prove a genealogical relationship his chief, he said: "A clansman can be said to be one who professes allegiance to a chief and the other members of his noble community, whether by descent with a common name, territorial origin or adoption, and who respects the Law of Arms in Scotland."[xxxiii] Clan chiefship, he holds

> … is a title of honour and dignity within the

> nobility of Scotland. Any claimant to such a title must establish, to the satisfaction of the Lord Lyon representing the sovereign, that he or she is entitled to the undifferenced arms of the community over which they seek to preside.[xxxiv]

Join the Clan

The options of adoption and territorial origin separately and together open membership of almost any clan to almost any person who is willing to respect the recognised chief and "the Law of Arms in Scotland". The practical implications of these attitudes are not dissimilar from the view expressed by Professor Peter Gomes that, "in a democracy like the United States you can choose your ancestors".[xxxv] You can certainly choose your own clan: a body "distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign". It is not facetious to observe that Scottish clanship could well be an institution that, far from belonging to the past, potentially has a yet-to-be realised appeal. In the Old World context of Scotland, the Scottish chiefs' present day attitude to clan membership has origins in the situation of the 17th century when, according to David Stevenson:

> Feudalism was often as central to a chief's power as kinship. Chiefs used feudalism willingly when it worked to their own advantage, and only made the discovery that it was something alien and unnatural if it happened to work against their interests. When feudal ties did not exist, chiefs often found it convenient to invent quasi-feudal ones to bolster their authority. … As well as such quasi-feudal ties, quasi-kinship ones were created; not just through the general myth of kinship wider than that which actually existed, but also through the artificial kinship of fosterage. …Fosterage could be used to strengthen real kinship ties … or it could be used to create an entirely artificial kinship.[xxxvi]

In the urbane, modern version of clanship in Scotland – as opposed to the community-based extended family that is still to be found in the Highlands – membership carries with it not only the attractions of a personal and group identity, but also access to a history, a language, a traditional form of dress, a body of lore and tradition, concepts of a "homeland" and a body of associated performing and visual art. In any postmodern quest for an identity, clan membership is a rich and comprehensive package with the potential to lead a person who is willing to work at it to a deep understanding of Scottish history and culture. It is, moreover, a status that is recognised, at least by implication, by Britain's Head of State.

A declared respect for the Law of Arms in Scotland is supported by the Lord Lyon's statutory powers to protect the rights of those whose arms are properly recorded by imposing fines, confiscating offending articles and even, in theory, by imposing imprisonment. In this policing role, the Lord Lyon is assisted by the Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records and by a prosecutor, the Procurator Fiscal, who brings complaints about the misuse of arms to the Court.[xxxvii] Enforcement of the laws that protect the art of aristocratic identification in Scotland may never have taxed the resources of Her Majesty's Prisons, but the existence of those laws has given Scotland's heraldry a kudos that might otherwise have faded. The value of that distinctiveness is now being keenly raised in the New World by descendants of Scots who may well have been more familiar with the pit dungeons and exactions their chiefs than with their great halls, bards and heroes. But, for those who want but have not inherited arms of their own, there is another recourse. Not only are arms heritable property and strictly protected in Scotland but also, as Gordon Casley told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention, new personal coats of arms are relatively freely available in Scotland:

> Qualifications for gaining a coat-of-arm vary considerably throughout Europe, and may depend on nobility or caste. Through the impact of the Celtic social system upon Scotland, the system is

> egalitarian, from the fundamental theory underlying clanship (and Lowland 'houses') that every member springs from the founder of the clan. Thus any person judged by Lyon to be virtuous and well deserving may be granted arms. The petitioner can be female or male, for Scotland has always maintained sexual equality in heraldry.[xxxviii]

A Niche Market

When Inverness-based Hugh Grant retired after 30 years in the hotel business, it was with an awareness that many of those who visited Scotland came looking for genealogical and clan roots. He and his wife Joan decided to service this particular interest. The result, a company called Heraldic Art and Design, set up in 1991, has been a successful small business founded on the methods and technology of another era. Heraldic Art and Design relates each customer's name to a heraldic device – provided it is one of the many thousands of names that fall within the heraldic system of Europe, or a variant of one – and prepares individually hand-painted blazons of arms in full colour on parchment vellum. The firm also hand-embroiders coats of arms for its customers in gold, silver and French silk thread, in a choice of sizes. It has developed its own research department and established an International Library of Arms.

Hugh Grant described his clients' interest in their names or origins as one which Scots in Scotland "find strange because they live with it all the time." He estimated that about 10 per cent of his customers had conducted some family research and already knew what their name's arms were, and where their names originated. In most cases, Heraldic Art and Design provides the information. It does no specific genealogical research – "genealogy is a quite a different and much more expensive and time-consuming study," said High Grant – but rather points people to the oldest registered coat of arms for their surname. Hugh Grant said it would be difficult to know how closely his customers are related to the families that rightfully possess those arms:

> Just because they have a clan name, there's no real way of checking any true link at all. It's just the fact they have a name and we will show them the first coat of arms of that name. …There is a lot of wishful thinking. Without genealogical evidence to prove a line of descent, the likelihood of a genuine, biological relationship really is a long shot – and names have changed. …What they are looking for is an image that somehow appears to connect them to what they understand their biological origins to be. And they are looking for something with the status of an heirloom.[xxxix]

Those with titles and full legal rights to a properly registered coat of arms rarely buy Heraldic Design's handsomely embroidered or painted crests. But the protection afforded Scottish heraldry by the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland* and the office of the Lord Lyon, is a significant asset to Hugh and Joan Grant's business.[xl] It is probably impossible to put a potential total value on the Scottish-interest niche market served by the likes of Heraldic Art and Design. It is a market that merges at its boundaries with a yet broader "Celtic" niche market, especially in the New World. There are numerous clan organisations and societies, many of them with formalised structures and hereditary chiefs. Others, especially in the New World are less formal groups pursuing family history research or social programmes. Serving this market and the interests of countless other Scots descendants and wishful thinkers are tartan weavers and kilt makers, clan badge and crest makers, the engravers of dram glasses, video and recording production companies, book publishers, tee-shirt printers and garment embroiderers. There are clan-crested beer mats, kilt pins and whisky miniatures, clan crested clothing, jewelry, crockery and kitchenware, clocks, stationery, stained glass work, cross stitch kits…. And competing with Scottish producers are a good number of clan product manufacturers overseas, especially in the United States and Canada, but

also in other countries where Scots have settled or provided cultural influences. The product range replicates the outputs of Scottish producers and more – even "Scottish fortune cookies"[xli] have been advertised.

The array of products seems as remote from the deliberations of the Lyon Court and the proceedings of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs (formed in 1952) as they themselves seem from the daily lives of most Scots. But, though the overseas producers are beyond its reach, the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs has a direct involvement with products manufactured in Scotland that carry clan insignia. (In 1998 some 30 Scottish manufacturers of clan badges and the like and a number of individual craftspeople were registered with the Standing Council.) George Way said it was the policy of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs only to seek to persuade Scottish manufacturers to conform with the intent of the legislation. Said George Way:

> We have a badge … a circlet with three chief's eagle feathers with 'Standing Council of Chiefs' on it and underneath it says 'approved manufacturer' … that is meant to be used by anyone who has our licence so that the public know that they are licensed … the Council's primary interest in the souvenir market is to ensure that, if it says it's Mackay, for example, it's Mackay and not MacGillivray. The Council is, as the Americans would say, a non profit organisation and its principal aim is to ensure that what's produced is decent and of a quality which at least isn't tawdry. …
>
> We have never, ever, exercised our legal rights against anyone. We work entirely by persuasion and drawing to their attention the advantages … I've no doubt there are people out there even now making things that I've not seen, but it's very much the velvet glove inside the velvet glove. [xlii]

Gordon Casley told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention that heraldry was very much a living art in Scotland:

> … the growth of heraldry during this century (the 20th) has been nothing short of explosive. Heraldry extends into all spheres of life. spiritual and secular. It harks back to the past while providing a bond for the future. Yet heraldists remain far too modest in promoting themselves. Their ancient craft is proving one of Scotland's modern growth industries with downstream opportunity is design, print and manufacture. The underlying trend suggests that this growth will become even more pronounced in the 21st century.[xliii]

Wha's like us? (Conclusions

"Wha's like us? Damn few an' they're a' deid," the saying goes. In fact, Scots are surprisingly numerous, form communities all around the world and are frequently highly animated – and, therefore, publicly visible. Scotland's expatriate and descendant communities have a value to Scotland, far beyond their worth as a niche goods and tourism market. This value might well be tapped, were Scotland to take a more positive interest in them. Any value that is being lost to Scotland is very largely Scotland's responsibility.

Timeliness is an issue here. As Scottish descendant communities and the societies in which they live change, their capacities and inclination to enhance Scottish interests are eroded. As of now, a number of these communities are well placed to provide positive definitional experiences of Scottishness, and this they clearly do in a number of Scotland's important target markets. They also extend and facilitate networks of personal communication to Scotland's favour. Scotland has economic reasons, as well as cultural and historical obligations, to end its failure to involve, include and help to resource its diasporas communities. For as long as these groups continue to be provided from Scotland with

inadequate, even misleading, sources of information and limited Scottish-generated contact, the contexts in which these groups function will lead to further cultural divergence from contemporary Scotland, even to alienation, and the potential they represent for Scotland will gradually diminish[xliv] – as has largely been the case with Cape Breton Gaelic culture which has a robust identity of its own, with little recourse to "Scottishness" for replenishment.

"Scottishness" is essentially a voluntary cultural affiliation. It's proprietors are those who learn, maintain and express the culture. Such an inclusive definition is not one that all would accept – but a person who is a "Scot" by virtue of other defining qualifications – birth or residence in Scotland, for example – need not also be culturally "Scottish". Culture does not confine itself to territorial boundaries and there is nothing intrinsic to overseas clanship or the choice of a Scottish identity that should especially worry Scots in Scotland. On the contrary, there are many actual and potential benefits. There are needs, however, for vastly more effective communication. Scotland is not contesting an empty field in these matters. New Age and "Celtic" movements abroad are actively propagating imagery and "histories" that not only exploit but seriously misrepresent nations like Scotland and Ireland. And other countries more overtly court informed cultural attention.

Cultural boundaries, though frequently ill-defined, are ultimately decided by the culture itself through constant, ongoing discourse: living cultures are dynamic, adaptable and changeable, and embody their own diversities and controversies. What is important is the set of values that lie at a culture's heart: the creative stimulus they generate and the insights they produce. In the case of Scottish culture, Scotland herself has been rather less energetic in that discourse than she should.

The National Piping Centre, Glasgow

End Notes

[i] Purser, John. *Scotland's Music* (Mainstream, 1992). p. 15-16.

[ii] Hofstede defines culture in the following terms:

Culture (1) The training or refining of the mind; civilisation. In this book, this meaning is called 'culture one'. (2) The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. This meaning corresponds to the use of the term 'culture' in anthropology… .

– Hofstede, Geert. *Cultures and organisations – software of the mind* (McGraw-Hill, 1991). p. 260.

Mato, Daniel. "On the making of transnational identities in the age of globalization: the U.S. Latina/o-'Latin' American case." (*Cultural Studies 12*, 4, 1998). p. 598-620.

[iii] In response to an article by Bob Brown comparing other nations' interest in their diasporic communities with Scotland's ("Putting the sporran into diaspora" (*Sunday Herald Seven Days* section, 23 January, 2000. p. 8), a Dr M. M. Gilchrist of St Andrews wrote to the editor of the *Sunday Herald*:

I think we ought to be glad that the Scottish diaspora is less influential than that of some other countries. Playing the diaspora card is unhealthy. It inhibits the development of a modern multi-ethnic society, implies a notion of nationality based on 'blood' rather than residence and commitment, and exploits notions of racial purity. Diaspora also frequently exhibit ignorant and bizarre misconceptions about their ancestors' home countries: the ludicrous American Kirkin' of the Tartan ceremonies which pander to a Brigadoon image of Scottishness are just one example.

– Gilchrist, M. M. ('Readers' views', *Sunday Herald Seven Days* section, 30 January, 2000). p. 6.

[iv] Lal, Vinay. *Reflections on the South Asian Diaspora.* (History University of California Los Angeles). http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/Diaspora/reflect. (20 February, 2000).

[v] See, for example, the Florida-based *Scottish Banner* which circulates in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Or, on a local scale, *Celtic Connections*, a regular Access Radio programme produced by Ken Weir in Wellington and Palmerston North, New Zealand.

[vi] The term "ingleside" for a less formal Scottish evening is often used as a Scots alternative to the Gaelic term "ceilidh" in New Zealand, for example, but appears to be unknown in Scotland.

[vii] This is an informal observation based on some years of involvement with Scottish-interest organisations in New Zealand and Canada.

[viii] McAra, Arthur. Interview. 30 October 1999.

[ix] Cromarty, Susan. "Editorial" (*SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine). http://www.scotsheritage.com.au/EDITORIAL.htm (23 December, 1999).

[x] Keillor, Garrison. "A Scot from Lake Wobegon" (*The Scotsman* – features section, 21 February, 2000). p. 13.

[xi] Craton, Lodge & Knight. *Project Galore* (short version) Scotland the Brand. http://www.scotbrand.org.uk (26 January, 2001). p. 4.

[xii] See, for example: Smith, Colin, *Perceptions of Scottishness – Executive Summary Report* (Scottish Development Agency, Jan.-Feb. 1990); The Piper Trust. *Perceptions of Scottishness in England.* (Scottish Development Agency, 1989); Craton, Lodge and Knight. *Project Galore* (Scotland the Brand, 2000).

[xiii] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *CPH-L-149 Selected Characteristics for Persons of Scottish Ancestry: 1990* (Internet release date: February 18, 1998) at:
http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/ancestry/Scottish.txt.

[xiv] Kerevan, George. "More Americans want to make mark as Scots" (*The Scotsman*, 8 September, 2001). p. 1.

[xv] See, for example: Cornwell, Tim. "Roots, mon" (*Weekend* section, *The Scotsman*, 11 March, 2000). p. 1-2.

[xvi] Clement, Russell W., and Krueger, Joachim. "Liking persons versus liking groups: a dual–process hypothesis" (*European Journal of Social Psychology 28*, 1998). p. 457–469.

[xvii] Young, Noel. "Could Marconi and Edison really be the forgotten sons of Scotland?" (News section, *Scotland on Sunday*, 19 November, 2000). p. 9.

[xviii] McAra, Arthur. Interview, 30 October 1999.

[xix] Scottish Heritage USA. http://www.sandhills.org/shusa/, (6 January, 2000).

[xx] The author was a principle organiser of this event.

[xxi] The reference is to *SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine.

[xxii] Mackenzie, Archie. "Editor's Aspect" (*Scottish Field*, March 1999). p. 3.

[xxiii] Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, December 1997). p. 2

[xxiv] Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, November 1997). p. 2.

[xxv] Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, June 1998). p. 2.

[xxvi] Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, February 1999). p. 2.

[xxvii] See: Cowan, E. J. "The Myth of Scotch Canada" in: Harper, Marjory, and Vance, Michael E. (eds.) *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory* (John Donald/Fernwood, 2000).

[xxviii] Examples are provided by the director of the Finnish Institute of Migration, Olavi Koivukangas, in a website article on Finnish migration:

a. In relation to North America:

… Major contributions made by the early Finnish settlers in America were burn-beating, a new way to build log-cabins, and the art of living at peace with Indians. A descendant of these early Finns was John Morton who signed the USA Declaration of Independence in 1776.

b. In relation to Australia and New Zealand:

"In 1769–70 Captain James Cook sailing the Endeavour claimed New Zealand and the eastern parts of Australia to the British Crown. He was accompanied by H. D. Spöring [a Finn], a draughtsman and naturalist belonging to Joseph Banks' retinue. …Finns have been the pioneers of New Zealand pulp and paper industry. … The major settlement of Finns is in Auckland with an active Finnish society.

c. In relation to Sweden:

As long ago as in the 14th century some people from present Finland went to Sweden in search of better livelihood. …The first Finnish society started in 1830 and after the postwar mass migration the Federation of Finnish Associations in Sweden was established in 1957. In 1987 the federation had 168 local societies with 46,000 members.

– Koivukangas, Olavi. *Finnish migration.* http:www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/art/susag (20 February, 2000).

[xxix] After a 1999 visit to the Cape Verdean Society formed in Wales in 1990, William A Gomes, a retired civil servant living in Randolph, Massachusetts, wrote:

Each member should be commended for acknowledging their Cape Verdean-Welsh heritage. For it was their forefathers that settled in Cardiff, Wales, some hundred years ago. They instilled in their offspring the seed of *sensacao* for the Republic of the Cape Verde. …It is a profound fact that the Cape Verdean culture has enhanced every segment of society wherever Cape Verdeans are dispersed throughout the world.

– Gomes, William (10 March, 1999) published at Cape Verdean Society website.
http://www.umassd.edu/SpecialPrograms/caboverde/cardiff (2 July, 2000).

[xxx] In this context, the attitude of, for example, Egypt's Minister of Manpower and Emigration, Ahmed El Amawy, is interesting: "From Egypt to all of you Egyptians abroad who carry with you the pulse of its great history, and the responsibilities towards its new renaissance … the Emigration Sector of the Ministry announces its wish to establish close links with you individually or through your groupings."

– El Amawy, Ahmed. Egypt, Ministry of Manpower and Emigration's Emigration Sector.
http://www.emigration.gov.eg/Home(e).htm (14 March, 2000).

Irish Abroad's extensive website carries regular features, discussions, chat, free e-mail postcards, and a wealth of Irish information: daily Irish news, horoscopes, recipes, information about flight specials, Gaelic and Irish slang, and Irish employment and property, Irish technological developments, daily exchange rates, advice on emigration and living abroad, a searchable calendar of Irish events and listings of Irish businesses and pubs. Genealogical, statistical, cultural and tourist information, songs, games and jokes are all there.

– Irish Abroad. http://www.irishabroad.com (13 March 2000).

[xxxi] Way, George. "The Law of the Clan" in: Way of Plean, George, and Squire, Romily (ed.),*Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 21-30.

[xxxii] Way of Plean, George (secretary, The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs). Interview, Tuesday, 3 November, 1998.

[xxxiii] Way, George. "The Law of the Clan" in: Way of Plean, George, and Squire, Romily (ed.),*Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 21-30.

[xxxiv] Gomes, Peter (narrator) with Gill, Jonathan (writer & producer) and Rees, Laurence (ed.).*The Pilgrim Fathers* (*Timewatch*, 1998). Screened in Britain on BBC 2, Tuesday 13, October 1998.

[xxxv] Stevenson, David. *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars* (John Donald, 1980).

[xxxvi] Way of Plean, George, and Barden, Patrick. "Heraldry" in: Way of Plean, George, and Squire, Romily (ed.), *Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 43-61.

[xxxvii] Casley, Gordon. "Heraldry and identity, from knights to corporate branding" in: Fladmark, J. M. (editor) *In search of Heritage, as pilgrim or tourist?* (Donhead, 1998). p.179-191.

[xxxviii] Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

[xxxix] Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

[xl] e.g. *The Scottish Banner*, Vol. 22, No. 3, August 1998; *Celtic Heritage*, October-November 1997.

[xli] Way of Plean, George. Interview, 3 November, 1998.

[xlii] Casley, Gordon. "Heraldry and identity, from knights to corporate branding" in: Fladmark, J. M. (editor) *In search of Heritage, as pilgrim or tourist?* (Donhead, 1998). p.179-191.

[xliii] Euan Baird, Scottish expatriate chief executive of Schlumberger (a multi-billion-dollar technology company) and chairperson of Scottish Knowledge, told *The Scotsman* in 2000: "It's heartening and touching how well received Scottish people are in the U.S. But Scotland itself doesn't benefit from it … all the different societies never talk to each other, don't exchange information, and as a result aren't nearly as effective as they should be … it can't be handled by expats. there has to be a force from Scotland." – Cornwell, Tim. "Roots, mon" (Weekend section, *The Scotsman*, 11 March, 2000). p. 1-2.