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# **WARRIOR DREAMS**

Playing Scotsmen in mainland Europe, 1945 – 2010

Ph.D. Thesis

David Hesse

*Wo ich ging und stand, geleiteten mich die herrlichen Gestalten; wie Flammen, verloren  
sich in meinem Sinne die Taten aller Zeiten in einander (Friedrich Hölderlin)*

*Comme tous les rêveurs je confonds la désillusion avec la vérité (Jean-Paul Sartre)*

*It's never too late to have a happy childhood (Tom Robbins)*

Submitted to The University of Edinburgh's School of History, Classics, and Archaeology  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that no part of it has previously been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

An earlier version of Chapter 6 appeared as 'Scots for a Day: The Highland Games of mainland Europe' in *History Scotland* (Vol. 11, No. 3, May/June 2011). Material compiled for this thesis was employed in 'Schottenspieler: Schottland als Sehnsuchts- und Erinnerungsort', in *Biohistorische Anthropologie: Knochen, Körper und DNA in Erinnerungskulturen*, edited by M. Sommer & G. Krüger (Berlin: Kadmos, 2011).

David Hesse, Edinburgh, 12 September 2011



## **Abstract**

At the beginning of the twenty first century, thousands of adult Europeans are playing Scotsmen. They dress up in kilts and tartan, parade in military-style bagpipe bands, toss tree trunks at Highland Games, commemorate Scottish soldiers of the past, and re-enact their vision of Scottish history at 'Celtic' and medieval fairs. Their largest festivals attract more than 25 000 people each year, and their more elaborate clubs are recognised by Scottish Clan chiefs.

The 'Scots' of Europe do not usually claim to be Scottish – neither by birth, descent, or residence. Their performances are Scottish *masquerades*, and openly declared so. Unlike their cousins in North America and Australasia, the European impersonators only very rarely insist that their Scottish performances express their 'ethnic' identity.

And yet, the European masquerade is a quest for roots and ancestors, too. This study demonstrates that by playing Scotsmen, the 'Scots' of Europe attempt to reconnect with their Celtic, Nordic, or otherwise pre-modern heritage. They feel that their own customs, songs, games, and tribes were lost to the forces of modernisation – but that some of it survived in the Scottish periphery. They employ Scotland as a site of memory, as *ersatz* history.

This thesis is a study of European nostalgia. It examines the many men and women who attempt to rediscover their traditions and histories. It is concerned with what Jay Winter calls the 'memory boom'; the growing public preoccupation with history and its remembrance. It argues that Scotland – or rather, dreams of Scotland – have a special resonance in the European memory boom.

This study touches upon the fields of public history, memory, and festive culture. In order to understand how the past is remembered and re-imagined in Europe today, the author left the archive and questioned the commemorators. This study relies on original fieldwork conducted in Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scotland during 2009 and 2010. The thesis' focus is a qualitative one.



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## **Abbreviations**

- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
- NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
- NMS National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
- ZB Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Switzerland
- BFI British Film Institute, London

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION: THE SCOTS OF EUROPE

#### 1.1 The festive calendar

The Scottish year begins on 25 January. The birthday of Robert Burns (1759-1796) is Scotland's unofficial national holiday and a set date for the Scots of Europe. Ritual dinners honour the Scottish poet all over the continent; the *Caledonian Society of Norway* (established 1946) holds its Burns Supper at an Oslo Military Club, the *Barcelona Burns Club* (est. 2007) assembles some 100 people (half of them Catalan) in the mountain town of Viladrau, and the self-professed *Gordon Highlanders* (est. 1994) address the haggis in full military regalia in a private cellar bar in Donnerskirchen, a town in Austria's Burgenland vineyards. Spectacular Burns Nights are also held by international business associations who use the Scottish theme for a night of costumed networking, lubricated by malt whisky. In the capitals of Latvia and Lithuania, Burns Nights were set up by the British Chamber of Commerce, and in the Ukraine, the Kyiv Lions Club invites more than 600 guests to a night of tartanry and charitable fundraising since 1995.<sup>1</sup>

February sees the first Scottish stirrings in Flanders. The indoor *Schotse Beurs* (or Scottish Fair) is held in the city of Ghent since 1978 and attracts more than 10 000 people each year with its Highland dancing, whisky tastings, and a fashion show called *Dressed to Kill(t)*. Behind the fair stands the *Vlaams Caledonische Society*, a club of 650 'Scots-minded' Flemings.<sup>2</sup> February also is the time for one of Europe's premium bagpipe events. In Denmark, dozens of pipers and drummers muster at *Copenhagen Winter Competition* (est. 1973).<sup>3</sup> Kilted musicians also take the streets of Paris in February during the *Ecosse à Montmartre* festival (est. 2001).<sup>4</sup>

In March, the observer may spot wild Highlanders wearing demonic masks in the Swiss city of Basel. *Schotteclique* is a carnival crew with a Scottish theme that some consider a highlight of Basler Fasnacht, Switzerland's most lively weekend of carnival. The revellers adopted kilts and self-made bagpipes in 1947, apparently inspired by a Scottish regimental pipe band stationed in South-Western Germany after World War II.<sup>5</sup> In April, *France Celtic Tartan Day* is held since 2002; the 2009 edition took place at Tréport, a coastal town in Haute-Normandie. The festival attracted several thousand spectators and featured a beauty pageant for male kilt wearers ('championnats de France de porteurs de kilts'). The French Tartan Day – inspired by the American Tartan Day, a newly invented celebration of Scottish

<sup>1</sup> Questionnaire David Frew, Caledonian Society of Norway, *The Scots of Europe Survey* (2009/2010). Personal communication Mike Thom, Barcelona Burns Club, Spain (9 December 2009). Personal communication Christoph Gänsbacher, Gordon Highlanders, Austria (2 June 2009). Personal communication Sandra Kundrote, British Chamber of Commerce, Lithuania (10 Dec 2009). Personal communication Stuart McKenzie, Kyiv Lions Club, Ukraine (31 July 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Interview Reggie Picavet, Vlaams Caledonische Society, Belgium (12 September 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Mats d' Hermansson, *From Icon to Identity. Scottish Piping and Drumming in Scandinavia* (PhD dissertation, Göteborg University. Göteborg: Göteborg UP, 2003), 293-6.

<sup>4</sup> Personal communication Michel Cadin, Ecosse à Montmartre (10 July 2009).

<sup>5</sup> [<http://www.schotteclique.ch/>] (20 March 2011)



culture and heritage (est. 1998) – is promoted by Breton nationalists who wear registered Breton tartans and seek to imbue their ‘Celtic’ nationalism with Scottish energy.<sup>6</sup>

In May, the Highland Games season begins. One of the largest events is *Highland Gathering Peine* (est. 1995), a Scottish spectacle held in the flat lands of Lower Saxony, Germany. It regularly draws crowds of 20 000 people.<sup>7</sup> Peine is one of more than 130 Highland Games which take place across Northern and Western Europe every year. The games are mostly found in rural areas, and organisers include leather-clad motor bikers from Austria’s Styrian mountains (*Kammerner Highland Games*, est. 2008), fellows of a Dutch provincial Rotary Club (*Velsen Highland Games*, est. 1998), cattle farmers in Eastern Germany (*Schottisches Weidefest Prießnitz*, est. 1999), and an eccentric Norwegian blacksmith who holds the world’s northernmost Highland Games in the town of Snefjord (est. 2006), in Finnmark county, far above the Arctic circle.<sup>8</sup>

The summer months see a flurry of Scottish activity. One important event is *Scotfest* in Tilburg, Netherlands (est. 2005), a festival that commemorates the Scottish soldiers who helped to liberate the Netherlands from Nazi occupation in 1944. The non-ticketed event had more than 30 000 guests in 2008. It featured Highland Games, pipe bands, medieval re-enactment shows – ‘everything one can associate with Scotland’, as the organisers explain.<sup>9</sup> But the will to remember historical links to Scotland also reaches into the depths of the more distant past. The *Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises* (est. 1990) in Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, have musicians, re-enactors and city officials parade in kilts to proudly commemorate their town’s special position in the Auld Alliance, the medieval military pact between France and Scotland.<sup>10</sup> In the Hessian town of Schotten, Germany, a *Schottisches Mittsommerfest* (est. 2003) recalls the Irish-Scottish missionary presence in Europe which presumably gave the town its name.<sup>11</sup> And at *Schotse Dagen* in Ooidonk, Belgium (est. 2000), Flemish Clan societies remember their ancestors who, they insist, were among the Norman invaders who colonised Scotland in the eleventh century.<sup>12</sup> To them, the modern Scots are their descendants, and they express this conviction by wearing kilts and tossing cabers.

The Scottish year calms down in October. The fine mercenaries of *Mackay’s Regiment of Foote* (est. 2002, Germany) may be seen re-fighting the Thirty Years’ War in belted plaids. The *Malta Military Tattoo* (est. 2004) is held at the Malta Fairs and Conventions Centre at Ta` Qali, featuring Malta’s own *Wallace Pipes and Drums* (est. 1999).<sup>13</sup> In November, the *Warsaw Caledonian Society* (est. 1996) hosts a Caledonian Ball in the Polish capital which draws expatriates of all kinds. In December, an Italian pipe band marches through Firenze’s old town, calling people to the *Mercato Scozzese* on Piazza Santa Maria Novella. In Austria, the *First Carinthian Highlanders* (est. 1984) go skiing in their kilts.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Questionnaire Christian Le Menn, Kilt Society of France. Questionnaire Pierre Kerloch, Breizhlanders, France.

<sup>7</sup> Questionnaire Helmut Horneffer, Highland Gathering Peine, Germany.

<sup>8</sup> Questionnaire Kathrin Kuhne, Schottisches Weidefest Prießnitz, Germany. [<http://reitingbikers.at/>] (20 March 2011). Questionnaire Trond Nilsen, Snefjord Highland Games, Norway.

<sup>9</sup> Interview Karel van Broekhoven, Scotfest, Netherlands (8 March 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Interview Yves Fromion, Mayor of Aubigny-sur-Nère, France (13 July 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Personal communication, Tina Ulm, Schotten Tourismus, Germany (29 March 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Interview Tom Hye, Belgium (25 July 2009). Questionnaire Daniel Crombez, St Ghislain Festival, Belgium.

<sup>13</sup> Interview Nico Baumgärtel, Mackay’s Rgt of Foote, Germany (19 October 2010). Personal communication Alfred Busietta, Malta Military Tattoo (13 March 2010).

<sup>14</sup> [<http://digilander.libero.it/florescots/>], [<http://www.dieschotten.com/>] (20 March 2011)

## 1.2 The Scots of Europe

At the beginning of the twenty first century, thousands of adult Europeans regularly impersonate the Scots. They dress up in Scottish costume, play Scottish music, engage in Scottish athletics – they adopt Scottish folklore. In 2010, more than 130 Highland Games were held throughout Northern and Western Europe, and at least 230 kilted pipe and drum bands marched proudly at village festivals and in military parades. The ‘Scots’ of Europe also re-enact selected moments of Scottish history in armour and chainmail, and they campaign for the commemoration of the historical links between Scotland and their own countries. Some join Scottish Clan societies or invent their own Clans, designing new tartans and heraldry. Some approach Clan chiefs in Scotland and North America with requests for recognition. The Scots of Europe<sup>15</sup> are quite visibly crazy about Scotland.

The Scottish playacting phenomenon began after World War II and intensified since the late 1980s. It is *not* indicative of a new Scottish presence in mainland Europe. Only a tiny fraction of the European enthusiasts consider themselves Scottish by birth, residence, or ancestry. Their performances are Scottish masquerades, and openly declared so. Most Europeans are happy to concede that there are ‘real’ Scots out there, somewhere across the North Sea, and some would even be interested in meeting them.

In general, however, the Scots of Europe care remarkably little for modern Scotland, the place on the map. Only very few playactors re-enact modern Scotland; the Royal Bank of Scotland’s downfall in the recent economic crisis, British devolution politics, the North Sea oil rush of the 1980s, or everyday life in Glasgow council houses.<sup>16</sup> The Scotland that is on their minds is a Scotland of the past. It is a Highland land of Celts, kilts, Clans, and bagpipes. It is the Scottish dreamscape, a well-established romantic fantasy of Scottish history.<sup>17</sup> Even if some playactors are interested in the twentieth-century Scottish regiments who fought in Europe in both World Wars, it is usually their pseudo-historical Highland uniforms and pipe bands which inspire them.

The Scots of Europe are looking for history. They are agents in what the historian Jay Winter calls the ‘memory boom’ – a growing public interest in the past and its commemoration.<sup>18</sup> To be sure, nostalgia has been a key feature of Western thought for the past 250 years. The conviction that something important was left behind with progress and modernisation is at the heart of modernity itself.<sup>19</sup> And yet, there is evidence that nostalgia, the formerly rather exclusive privilege of the rich and idle, has grown into a mass sentiment in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> As is explored in more detail in Chapter 2, the past decades have seen a spread of public interest in history, its remembrance, and conservation. Many

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<sup>15</sup> For readability, *Scots of Europe* will be used without quotation marks throughout this study.

<sup>16</sup> For more differentiated analyses of modern Scotland, see David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland. The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992). TM Devine & Paddy Logue, eds., *Being Scottish* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2002). TM Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006). Ewen Cameron, *Impaled Upon the Thistle. Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> On the Scottish dreamscape and its origins, see Chapter 3.

<sup>18</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 2 and Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present. Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Wolf Lepenies, ‘Das Ende der Utopie und die Wiederkehr der Melancholie’, in his *Melancholie und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt / Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), vii-xxviii, here: xx.

thousands in the West and beyond turn towards the past to re-inform themselves about who they are and were. They seek to stabilise and root their identities – identities which they perceive have suffered in the recent turbulent times. The agents of the memory boom cast mooring lines into the past. They summon the past as a back-up archive.

Such identity rooting comes in both escapist and aggressive forms. Many history enthusiasts dream up worlds of warmth and safety. They recreate the assumed communal snugness of 'traditional societies', tribes and clans. They reactivate a lost spirituality. But others invoke history in more militant ways. They recall the past to defend it. They fight what they feel is an obliteration of cultural diversity by the forces of globalisation. They oppose a society or nation state which they feel does not acknowledge their historical difference. The soaring right-wing parties of Northern and Western Europe rely in important ways on invocations of history and historical uniqueness. In twenty-first century Europe, the memory boom often becomes a rearguard action against the perceived loss of identity.

The memory boom is also about money and pleasure. Only the high degree of post-war affluence allows thousands of men and women to pursue their historical interests, be it as consumers of history films and magazines, as tourists, collectors, and re-enactors, or as amateur genealogists and historians. History has become a commodity (often labelled 'heritage') in the leisure market.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, anti-modern yearning and advanced technology often fuse; historical counter-worlds are created with sophisticated special effects, local culture is marketed in thoroughly global ways. Nostalgia is a mass demand, and the past is commodified to meet it.

For many or most Europeans, the search for roots and history proves surprisingly difficult. The past may turn out to be lost, forgotten, no longer taught at school. It may also look different than expected, less reassuring than is wished for. And it may come with historical baggage, if its heroes and myths have been misused by monstrous politics in the past.<sup>22</sup> Many Europeans feel the urge of the memory boom but have nowhere to turn to. They require a substitute, *ersatz* history.

In Northern and Western Europe, a stunning number of Europeans claim to recognise their own lost history in the costumes and customs of the Scots. In mythologies of kinship, they turn the Scots into relatives, guardians of a shared European past. The Scots of Europe feel that their ancestors' songs and rituals may have been lost to the forces of modernisation, urbanisation, and secularisation – but they insist that some of their heritage survived in the Scottish periphery. Scotland becomes a reservoir of history, a place where Celtic, Nordic or otherwise pre-modern traditions stood their ground. By playing Scotsmen, the Europeans hope to recover and reactivate something of their own identity. The Scotland of their imagination serves as a site of memory.<sup>23</sup>

This study examines why so many Europeans choose to re-root their identities in the Scottish dreamscape, of all possible historical counter-worlds. Three hypotheses lead the way:

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<sup>21</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> Such 'difficult heritage' can have its own place in the memory boom, see Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992). (7vols)

1) The Scottish dreamscape is familiar. It does not need to be re-invented or dug out of dusty archives. It may be sapped from a variety, some would say: an exuberance of novels, films, plays, poems, paintings, photographs etc.<sup>24</sup> Invented or not, the Scotsman with his kilt, bagpipe, and tartan is an internationally familiar figure (on *Scotswomen*, see below).<sup>25</sup> The Scottish dreamscape was spread by two of the most powerful forces of the past two centuries; the British Empire and American popular culture. From the poems of *Ossian* (1760-63) and Sir Walter Scott's historical novels (c. 1814-1824) to the celluloid magic of *Brigadoon* (1953) and *Braveheart* (1995), Scotland has been internationally re-imagined for more than 200 years – while *real* Scotsmen, embodiments of the myth, fought for Britain with kilts and pipes at Waterloo (1815), the Crimean War (1853-56), Passchendaele (1912), and the beaches of Normandy (1944). The Scottish dreamscape is a thoroughly globalised fantasy of a local identity.

2) The Scottish dreamscape is fun. To impersonate a Scot means to adopt his noise and colours, to stun and awe audiences, to be a marching, martial spectacle. Scottish costume – with its bright tartans, regimental splendour, and the vaguely erotic kilt – causes excitement with its extravagant mixture of militarism and comedy. There is something highly theatrical about the Scots – a fact that was and still is appreciated by many Scots themselves. Scots have dressed up 'as themselves' in the past when styling their Highland regiments for the military market in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and they continue to do so when taking the stage as 'Scotch' entertainers or attending football matches with the costumed Tartan Army. The Scottish costume also conveys license. To wear it means to reconnect with one's 'inner Scot' – a loud, wild, and happy chap, unconstrained by trousers and the civilising process. The Scottish dreamscape is a place to go wild.

3) The Scottish dreamscape is heroic. The philosopher Charles Taylor identifies the loss of a heroic dimension to life as one key malaise of modernity.<sup>26</sup> Scottish masquerade is an antidote to this malaise, a re-enactment of lost heroism. More importantly, Scottish heroism is *underdog* heroism, 'charged' with myths of victimhood, innocence, and just defence. Most European playactors see Scotland as a culture that had to heroically protect her historical distinctiveness against foreign dominance and colonialism since at least the Middle Ages. Quite often, they can relate to this experience. They, too, feel marginalised by their governments, their fellow citizens, even by non-European immigrants, globalisation, American popular culture, and the dissolving of 'traditional' gender roles. The Scottish warrior-ancestors they summon and impersonate are spirits of defence. At the beginning of the twenty first century, old Europe – rich, overweight, aging, and scared by immigration from the South and East – is receptive for mythologies of victimhood and defence.

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<sup>24</sup> 'There is no shortage of Scottish iconography; if anything, it is overwhelming.' David McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995), 49.

<sup>25</sup> On the problem of invention and tradition, see Chapter 3 and Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition. The Highland Tradition of Scotland', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 15-41. For a Scottish response, see William Ferguson, 'Samuel Johnson's Views on Scottish Gaelic Culture', *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998): 183-98.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1991), 4.

### 1.3 Scope and aims

This is not a study about Scotland, but one about *dreams* of Scotland. If there exists a 'more real' Scotland than the neverland of kilts, Celts, and Clans (and some authoritative Scottish scholars doubt it), it will not be dealt with in these pages.

This thesis has a qualitative focus. Who are the Scots of Europe? When did they begin to perform as Scotsmen? What is the nature of their games and festivals? What is it that they gain by playing Scotsmen? Why did they choose Scotland?

This study documents the history of Scottish playacting in continental Europe. The self-professed Scots first appeared after World War II. They were largely inspired by the kilted regiments who fought in Western Europe or were stationed there after 1945. The first continental Scots were pipers and drummers who imitated British (and Canadian) military bands. We find the first European pipe bands in Switzerland (1947), the Netherlands (1953), Flanders (1950s), Western Germany (1960s), and Scandinavia (1960s/1970s). Scottish piping intensified with the folk music revival of the 1970s and fused with newly established historical re-enactment clubs, Clan societies, commemorative efforts, and Highland Games in the 1990s. Popular enthusiasm for Scotland was boosted by successful Hollywood films such as *Highlander* (1986) and *Braveheart* (1995) and by Romance novels like Diane Gabaldon's *Outlander* series (1991) (see Chapter 4). Also, the internet bound hitherto marginal interests into substantial subcultures.

The Scots of Europe are no pan-continental movement but at home in the North and West; almost no Scottish masquerade can be found south of the Alps and east of the Polish-German border.<sup>27</sup> Scottish playacting thus is a largely German-, Dutch-, and French-speaking phenomenon. Why does the North-West take a special interest in Scottish warrior dreams? Germany and the German-speaking world have a special need for *ersatz* history. The Nazi misuse of Germanic folklore has tarnished German heroic heritage and made its celebration problematic for most Germans. As this thesis demonstrates, the Scots provide a substitute. Furthermore, the North-West is Europe's most affluent, secular, and technologically advanced area. It is furthest removed from the pre-modern wildness popularly associated with Scotland. If there is a 'disenchanted' Europe in the sense of Max Weber, it is here.<sup>28</sup> The Scottish dreamscape – with its promise of ritual, tradition, and Clan sociability – strikes a special chord in the North-West, while in the South, familial networks and the Church perhaps still provide a rest of communal warmth and ritual. This is a crude generalisation, and the author is well aware that a tower block in Athens or Madrid can be far less cosy than a Bavarian village. Still, there seems to be less demand for new tribes in the South.

Who are the Scots of Europe? To be sure, they are a motley crowd. In the course of research, the author has come across grey-haired military veterans and teenage girls, dangerous-looking biker-types and evangelical missionaries, militaria collectors and hippies in pseudo-medieval robes, chain-smoking private bankers from Paris and pitchfork-wielding farmers from Tyrol, local politicians and local anarchists, as well as butchers, policemen,

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<sup>27</sup> Scandinavia is a special case. While there are many kilted pipe bands and some commemorative festivals, there is hardly any interest in Highland Games and historical re-enactment. See Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>28</sup> Max Weber, 'Wissenschaft als Beruf', in his *Schriften 1894-1922*, ed. D. Kaesler (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2002, orig. 1919), 474-511, here: 488.

publicans, and artists. The two characteristics they all shared were that they dressed up as Scottish Highlanders and that they had enough time and money to do so. They also were an overwhelmingly white community; the crowds at their festivals did not reflect the multi-ethnic populations of North-Western Europe.

This study examines the European memory boom. It explores practices of remembrance, re-enactment, and celebration – how history (and dreams of history) are approached in the public domain. What other national histories then are celebrated and appropriated in Europe? Is there anything *like* the Scots of Europe?

Curiously, it appears that there is not. There is no Irish, Swiss, Latvian, or Catalan equivalent to Scottish playacting. No other living European people are imitated the way the Scots are. True, Irish pubs are copied in thousands of towns and cities, and German Christmas markets and Oktoberfests are set up on an increasingly global level.<sup>29</sup> However, these themed restaurants and fairs lack the participative thrill of Scottish playacting, its year-round inspirational force and symbolic complexity. Yes, there are St Patrick's Day parades and Irish music festivals in Europe, but their usually plain-dressed audiences are nothing which would equate 20 000 Flemings wearing kilts, tossing cabers, and singing 'Scotland the Brave'. The Scottish dreamscape has a unique resonance in Europe.

The situation changes if we turn to outer-European peoples. The Scots of Europe recall the many Western impersonations of allegedly 'primitive' peoples. The practice of 'ethnomasquerade' – the imitation of non-European peoples by whites for reasons of entertainment and/or colonial control – has a long pedigree both in Europe and North America. Africans, Native Americans, and Middle Eastern people have been copied by Western stage comedians, hobbyists, soldiers, and children since at least the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> There is a complex interplay of adoration and destruction in such mimesis, as Homi K. Bhabha and Edward Said have noted.<sup>31</sup> The exotic nature of the primitive is a reason for both excitement, praise of the noble savage's naturalness and purity, but also for subjugation and forced civilisation.

Do the Scots of Europe constitute a case of ethnomasquerade? They do so partly. Yes, they consist of white, affluent amateurs who impersonate an exotic warrior culture for pleasure and with the hope of reconnecting to their own lost heroic roots. Yes, they strongly remind of the Indian hobbyists described by Christian F. Feest and others (see Chapter 2.3).<sup>32</sup> And yet, *Highlandism* differs from *Orientalism* and Indian playacting in at least one important point: The Scots are indigenous primitives, European savages, white Indians. There is a strong tendency of introspection among the Scots of Europe. The European playactors are convinced that their memories of savage freedom need be found not out there (from where the immigrants come) but at home, in Europe. Consequently, we find the Scots of Europe

<sup>29</sup> Stunningly, the global history of the Irish pub still needs to be written. Such a work would have to note that a German company appears to be the world's largest producer of Irish pub fittings, and that the Russian mafia laundered money through Irish pubs in Moscow and Saint Petersburg in the 1990s.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 2.3 and Katrin Sieg, *Ethnic Drag. Performing Race, Nation, and Sexuality in West Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). Elaine Frantz Parsons, 'Midnight Rangers. Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan', *Journal of American History* 92:3 (2005).

<sup>31</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979). Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85-101. Katrin Sieg, 'Beyond Orientalism: Masquerade, Minstrelsy, Surrogation', *Seminar* 41:2 (2005): 191-208.

<sup>32</sup> Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe. An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: Herodot, 1987).

much more often among medieval, Viking, Celtic, and Roman re-enactors than at the surviving Native American clubs and Wild West fun parks.<sup>33</sup>

The Scots of Europe's closest relatives live in North America and Australasia. There, large groups of enthusiasts regularly dress up in Scottish costume, participate at Highland Games, play in kilted pipe bands, join Clan societies.<sup>34</sup> These are *roots re-enactors*. Like their European cousins, they are not too interested in modern Scotland. They cherish dreams of Scottish history. The main difference is that the Americans and Australians *consider themselves Scottish*. While Europeans consciously engage in a masquerade, their overseas counterparts claim to express their 'ethnic' identities by wearing kilts and tossing cabers. They are agents in what Matthew Frye Jacobson calls the 'white ethnic revival', a thriving interest in ethnic roots and identities among white Americans (and Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans etc) that has intensified since the 1970s.<sup>35</sup>

And yet, this distinction may be less dividing than it appears. Some of the most splendid Highlanders at U.S. Highland Games and bagpipe festivals have no ancestral links to Scotland. Documented Scottish ancestry is no requirement for joining the Scottish-American community, as the work of Rowland Berthoff and Celeste Ray shows.<sup>36</sup> Even those who *do* have documented roots in Scotland must choose to celebrate these roots (and to ignore their other 'ethnic options').<sup>37</sup> Scottish performance and play does not evolve 'naturally' out of an ethnic background. It requires effort. As will become apparent again and again in this study, a successful Scottish performance is always an issue of commitment, not blood – and this on both sides of the Atlantic. The world of North American roots re-enactors will serve as a comparative canvas in the subsequent chapters.

The Scots of Europe are playing *Scotsmen*. The Scottish dreamscape is gendered, the Scottish dreamscape is male. There are no costumes for female Scots. The kilt is a male garment, the bagpipe a military instrument, Highland Games a world of manly athletics, Clans a sociality of patrilinear authority. At all European Scottish festivals, the kilted male is at the centre of attention. And yet, this does not mean that women are absent. They are there, impersonating Scottish men in pipe bands and wearing military uniforms in re-enactment clubs. They also invent their own female costumes and identities, expanding the Scottish dreamscape. And they dress up their men, encouraging them to perform as manly Highlanders for their pleasure. The Scottish dreamscape is a site of male heroism, but women participate in its re-enactment.

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<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 2.3 and Erwin Hoffmann, *Mittelalterfeste in der Gegenwart. Die Vermarktung des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld zwischen Authentizität und Inszenierung* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2005). Marion Bowman, 'Contemporary Celtic Spirituality', in *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, eds. A. Hale & P. Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 69-91.

<sup>34</sup> On Scottish playacting in North America, see Euan Hague, 'The Scottish Diaspora. Tartan Day and the Appropriation of Scottish Identities in the United States', in *Celtic Geographies. Old Cultures, New Times*, eds. David C. Harvey et al. (London: Routledge, 2002), 139-156. Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots, too. White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil-Rights America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> Rowland Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt. Variations on the Scottish-American Ground', *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1982): 5-34, here: 11, 14, 16, 18. Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 125.

<sup>37</sup> Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

## 1.4 Methods

In order to examine both ongoing phenomena and the past to which they connect, this study employs a mixed methodology, a combination of ethnographic fieldwork (observation, participant-observation, interviews) and text-based research.

Fieldwork was essential to capture the present-day Scottish playacting reality. To find out how history (and myths of history) are remembered, imagined, and re-enacted in the public domain at the beginning of the twenty first century, the researcher left the archives and approached the commemorators. This study insists that the qualitative research methods of ethnography may be fruitfully employed by historians.<sup>38</sup>

In the twenty-first-century memory boom, history is increasingly performed and practiced. History enthusiasts exhibit the past in museums, campaign for monuments, march in commemorative parades, even re-enact the past theatrically. As is demonstrated in Chapter 2, there is a strong performative dimension to the surging public interest in the past. So far, these cultural practices are only very rarely studied by historians. While oral narratives of past events have become a valued source for the historical discipline<sup>39</sup>, present-day practices of remembrance are still largely ignored and left to sociologists and social anthropologists. This is a pity. In a time when many thousands of amateurs celebrate, re-enact, and commemorate the past in public, historians could contribute to the analysis of this phenomenon by stepping into the 'theatres of memory'.<sup>40</sup> Ethnography offers a toolkit to record and interpret the cultural practices of the memory boom.

The Scots of Europe are a prime example of *public* history.<sup>41</sup> This is not a study of the many people who hold Scotland dear in private. The Scots of Europe celebrate the Scottish dreamscape loudly and visibly. Festivals are their main activity and purpose. To play Scotsmen means to partake in Highland Games, bagpipe contests, commemorative events, street parades, and battle re-enactments. It means to exhibit looks and skills in front of an audience. True, many playactors practice in private for their shows, and the author did attend, in no systematic way, a number of non-public band rehearsals, dance workshops, and costume-making sessions. Still, it is at festivals where the Scots of Europe truly come alive. In order to understand what playing Scotsmen is about, the author attended eight multi-day Scottish festivals, six in Europe and two in Scotland. More than 80 interviews were conducted at these events.

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<sup>38</sup> On ethnography, the author relied on Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1975). Michael Agar, *The Professional Stranger. An Informal Introduction to Ethnography* (London: Academic Press, 1996). Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Einführung in die Europäische Ethnologie* (München: CH Beck, 2003, orig. 1999).

<sup>39</sup> On Oral History, see Lutz Niethammer, 'Wozu taugt Oral History?', *Prokla* 6 (1985): 105-124. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning In Oral History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991). Alexander von Plato, 'Oral History als Erfahrungswissenschaft. Zum Stand der "mündlichen" Geschichte in Deutschland', in *Geschichtswissenschaft vor 2000. Perspektiven der Historiographieggeschichte, Geschichtstheorie, Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für Georg Iggers*, eds. K. Jarausch et al. (Hagen: FUH, 1991). Alexander von Plato, 'Zeitzeugen und die historische Zunft. Erinnerung, kommunikative Tradierung und kollektives Gedächtnis', *BIOS. Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung und Oral History* 13 (2000): 5-29. Penny Summerfield, 'Dis/composing the Subject. Intersubjectivities in Oral History', in *Feminism and Autobiography. Texts, Theories, Methods*, eds. T. Cosslett et al. (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>40</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 289.

<sup>41</sup> On 'public history', see Paul Ashton & Hilda Kean, eds., *People and their Pasts. Public History Today* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).



Fieldwork took place in the Netherlands (Keltfest, Dordrecht), Germany (Machern Highland Games, near Leipzig, Saxony), France (Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises, Aubigny-sur-Nère, Cher), Belgium (Schotse Weekend Alden Biesen, Bilzen, Flanders), Switzerland (Basel Tattoo and Pipefest, City of Basel), and Northern Italy (South Tyrolean Highland Games, Pflzen) during the summer of 2009. The attended events are indicative of the festival circuit; the sample includes long-established (Belgium, Germany) and newly created events (Italy, Switzerland), urban (Switzerland, Netherlands) and rural celebrations (France, Belgium, Germany), large-scale (Belgium, Germany, Switzerland), medium-sized (Netherlands, France), and intimate festivals (Italy), and the three main language-groups which engage with Scottish playacting (German, Dutch, French). The events are located both in traditionally protestant (Flanders, Netherlands, Switzerland) and in catholic areas (France, Italy), and they include the four major forms of Scottish playacting; music (Belgium, Switzerland), athletics (Italy, Germany), historical commemoration (France), and re-enactment (Netherlands). The two festivals attended in Scotland were *The Gathering* in Edinburgh during the *Homecoming Scotland* campaign in July 2009 and the much more intimate Mackenzie Clan Gathering in Strathpeffer, Easter Ross, in August 2010. Both events attracted European participants.

The author decided against producing a neatly focused study of only German Scots, Flemish Scots, or Swiss Scots. The intention was not to produce the definitive work on Highland Games in Upper Austria, 1995-2010, because such a study, while perhaps more complete in its understanding of the community in question, would miss one of the Scottish playacting scene's essential characteristics; its transnational spread. Not to approach the Scottish festival circuit as a European phenomenon would mean to ignore its very nature.

The author employed the methods of a 'multi-sited' ethnography. He conducted research in a field that was neither a geographically bound single site nor a place where a community engaged in everyday life.<sup>42</sup> Like his informants, he travelled to selected sites of celebration, observed, interviewed, and interacted for a limited amount of time, and then returned home. The encounter was brief, but intense. He studied festive outbursts, not daily routine. His fieldwork took place in a 'liminoid' zone (Victor Turner), a place beyond the boundaries of normality.<sup>43</sup> There was no 'living' with the Scots of Europe.

In the multi-sited field, the author approached his informants from several angles, namely with participant-observation, silent observation, and qualitative interviews.<sup>44</sup> He chose this strategy to obtain both *experiential* knowledge (how do they celebrate Scotland, how does it feel?) as well as *intellectual* knowledge (why do they do it, when did they begin?). Participation in the field was limited, observation extensive; the fact that most celebrants wore costumes and constantly posed for photographs greatly facilitated a more or less uninvolved observation.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> George E. Marcus, 'Ethnography in/of the World System. The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95-117.

<sup>43</sup> Victor Turner, 'Variations on a Theme of Liminality', in *Secular Rites*, eds. SF Moore & B. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 36-52.

<sup>44</sup> On triangulation, see Frank Bechhofer & Lindsay Paterson, *Principles of Research Design in the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2000), 57. Norman K. Denzin, *The Research Act* (London: Butterworths, 1970).

<sup>45</sup> 'observation can, like participation, be carried out covertly. For a social scientist to observe crowds in this way, say at football matches, seems unobjectable'. Bechhofer & Paterson, *Research Design*, 93. For examples, see

In order to obtain background information, oral histories, and self-explanations, the author conducted some 80 semi-structured qualitative interviews which were held before, during, and after the festivals. Informants included musicians, athletes, commemorators, re-enactors as well as Clan chiefs, Highland dancers, society presidents, souvenir vendors, and bagpipe competition referees. The author usually contacted the festival organisers in advance but then approached other informants spontaneously, reacting to their performances. The interviews lasted between 20 and 80 minutes and were held in English, German, French, and Russian. Questions concerned the origins of the informants' enthusiasm (why Scotland, how did it begin?), the form of their commitment (what is it that you do? how often do you become a Scot?), and the meaning of their doing (what is the pleasure of being a Scot? how would you describe a Scot in three words?).

The interviews were recorded digitally, and written permission to use them in this thesis and in related academic publications was granted. Sound files and transcripts are in the possession of the author and may be accessed upon request. In due time, the materials will be deposited at the University of Edinburgh's Institute of Governance archive.<sup>46</sup>

Most interviews were conducted one on one, although several group interviews took place with pipe bands and re-enactment units. The interviews were on the unstructured side; while the author had prepared questions, the discussions often veered away from them. The interviewer aimed at being non-directive; he encouraged the informants to talk freely and intervened rarely.<sup>47</sup> Apart from the 80 'official' interviews, the author also held an uncounted number of non-recorded fieldwork conversations which helped him to better understand the events he attended. Only interviews actually cited in this study are listed in the bibliography.

To ensure that the fieldwork sample would not miss essential patterns, the author obtained a control sample via an online questionnaire. The link to the 40-question-survey was sent via e-mail to some 300 festival organisers whose events the author was unable to visit in person. In total, 120 questionnaires were filled out. A sample questionnaire is reproduced in the appendix. In addition to the questionnaires, the author had some 100 e-mail conversations with Scottish activists who preferred to write freely rather than to fill out a structured form. The total of some 220 written statements assured the author that his fieldwork sample was indicative of the transnational playacting phenomenon. Finally, the author also analysed a wealth of printed flyers, programmes, leaflets, brochures, souvenirs, and self-published books which he picked up at the festivals or which organisers and activists sent to Edinburgh via electronic and physical mail.

The author's own relationship to Scotland was of great interest to almost all his informants. Many were disappointed when I confessed that I am in no way Scottish or of Scottish descent. I grew up in the city of Zurich, my mother is Swiss, my father of German extraction. Not even a twig in my family tree points towards Scotland. However, being heavy-set and wearing a reddish beard, I was often presumed to be a Scot when attending Scottish festivals. In South Tyrol, Italy, I was made an ad-hoc member of the jury at a 'Mister Highlander beauty pageant' and announced, before I could help it, as 'a true Scotsman from

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Kate Fox, *The Racing Tribe. Watching the Horsewatchers* (London: Metro, 1999). Desmond Morris, *People-watching* (London: Vintage, 2002, orig. 1977).

<sup>46</sup> The archive is open for researchers upon request: [<http://www.institute-of-governance.org/>] (10 Sept 2011)

<sup>47</sup> Bechhofer & Paterson, *Research Design*, 66.

Edinburgh'. Whenever I had the chance to explain my non-Scottishness, I was asked (with a degree of suspicion) why I cared to study the Scots and the people who play Scots. I replied that I was fascinated by ideas so strong that they create communities, even large-scale celebration, and that I did not care about blood, but about commitment. Sometimes I admitted that I was not without fondness for dreams of a world more colourful, a life less ordinary.

However, it should be made very clear that this is not a study of my friends. I have never been a member in a Scottish Clan, never active in a re-enactment group, never been an athlete at a Highland Games competition, and never been spotted wearing a kilt. (Nor, for that matter, have I ever in my adult life dressed up as a Native American, a medieval knight, or as William Tell.) I faced the Scots of Europe as an outsider. Also, I did not attempt to become one of them, as perhaps a social anthropologist might have done. Instead of becoming a Scot, I consciously (and not without pleasure) played the nerdy researcher; the man who could not toss the caber, the guy in plain clothes, the student who did not know a thing about the passion of being Scottish. In this position, I was able to ask questions I would not have been able to ask had I been a Scot, a real or an imagined one. This state has been called 'the stranger's licence to ask questions'.<sup>48</sup>

This study treats the Scots of Europe as musicians, re-enactors, commemorators, and athletes. However, they are German, Austrian, French, even Flemish, Bavarian, and Parisian, too. Almost everywhere the author went he ended up discussing local politics and history. Being Swiss, I understood my informants from the Alpine world rather quicker than the ones from central France or Flanders. Also, I was able to address the Germans, Swiss, French, Austrians, Russians and some of the Belgians in their mother tongues, while with most of the Dutch, Flemish, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Norwegians, and Swedish I had to resort to English. These limitations in mind, I would still like to argue that the Scots of Europe have a number of transnational features and local peculiarities which this study was able to identify.

All this said, fieldwork was not enough. The contemporary enthusiasm for the Scottish dreamscape has a *deeper history* which could not be uncovered with fieldwork or in interviews. While the continental pipe bands and Clan societies described in this study do not predate the year 1945, the ideas which inspire them are much older. Twenty-first-century Scottish playacting draws depth and energy from a European and Western tradition of dreaming Scottish dreams, and this tradition dates back to at least the late eighteenth century, to the beginnings of European Romanticism. This study explores how contemporary celebrations of Scotland build upon historical Scottish fantasies. It relies on the rich and interdisciplinary body of scholarly literature that deals with the international representation of Scotland, today and in the past. Chapters 3 and 4 evaluate this literature.

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<sup>48</sup> Bechhofer & Paterson, *Research Design*, 95.

## 1.5 Structure

Chapters 2 to 4 rely on text-based research. Chapter 2 establishes the cultural context in which the Scottish playacting phenomenon evolved – the memory boom. It makes use of some of the seminal texts on memory, nostalgia, celebration, and ethnomasquerade, particularly the imitation of Native Americans in Europe and America. It is important to understand that Scotland – the Scottish dreamscape – is one of several heroic counter-worlds. This study employs much scholarly literature on self-proclaimed Native Americans and medieval knights, Orientalism and 'Celticism'. It also bears in mind that nostalgia for roots is not limited to Europe and that forms of Scottish playacting may be found in many parts of North America and Australasia. This study maintains a comparative dimension throughout.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the 'Scotland' which is on the European playactors' minds. It is hardly ever modern Scotland, the place on the map, but much more often a fantasy of the Scottish past – the Scottish dreamscape. Chapter 3 examines the Scottish dreamscape's history. It approaches the eighteenth and nineteenth-century process best known as *Highlandism*; the association of Scotland with the aesthetics and supposed characteristics of her Highland periphery. It is crucial to see that poets and politicians declared Scotland a land of history and tradition at a time of rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, and social change. From the beginning, the Scottish dreamscape was designed as a site of memory, a remedy against progress and civilisation.

Chapter 4 explores how the dreamscape was spread via the channels of the British Empire and American popular culture. It employs some of the seminal works on Scotland's representations and includes fresh readings of original sources. The chapter identifies four key carriers which helped to disseminate the Scottish aesthetic across the world, namely literature, the Highland regiments, music hall entertainment, and Hollywood film. A fifth section addresses the issue of female agency in the creation and spread of the Scottish Highland aesthetic.

Chapters 5 to 9 document the Scots of Europe. The chapters rely on original fieldwork conducted in 2009 and 2010. They shed some light on the different forms of Scottish playacting, on musicians, athletes, commemorators, and historical re-enactors. Chapter 5 approaches the world of piping and drumming. It presents the many kilted pipe bands which are active on the European continent at the beginning of the twenty first century. It first examines how the bagpipe came to be internationally associated with Scotland. It assembles some key figures and dates for the continental pipe bands. And it finally turns to two of the main motivations behind Scottish piping in Europe, the imitation of soldiers and the search for European traditional music.

Chapter 6 explores the continental Highland Games circuit. It first provides some historical background on the Highland Games tradition, how it evolved and spread over the past centuries. It then presents key data for the European Games and asks about the main differences and similarities between Scottish and continental Games. It then demonstrates that many of the European Highland Games athletes seek to rediscover their own Celtic or tribal tradition by performing as Highlanders.

The pipers and athletes examined in Chapters 5 and 6 do not imitate the past. They perform in what they hope are old but living Scottish traditions. Commemorators and historical re-enactors have a different aim. They seek to recreate the past in the present. Chapter 7 investigates commemorations of Scottish history. It provides two case studies from France and Flanders as well as an overview of the many European commemorative events which usually attempt to remember historical links between Scotland and North-Western Europe. It specifically asks about the moments of Scottish-European history which are most commonly commemorated and considered meaningful.

Chapter 8 turns to the practice of historical re-enactment. It first traces the historical re-enactment hobby back to the late 1960s. It then turns to the Scottish genre, the dozens of continental groups which specialise in Scottish history. It finally addresses the thorny issue of authenticity, the re-enactors' efforts to separate myth from fact. Most re-enactors strive to reconstruct the past 'as it really happened' – a creed which leads them into trouble when falling in love with the Scottish dreamscape.

In Chapter 9, the Scots of Europe come to Scotland. The chapter first examines the official Scottish approach towards international fans of Scotland, in particular the Scottish Government's recent efforts to connect with the Scottish 'diaspora'. It explores the 2009 *Homecoming Scotland* campaign and the concept of 'Affinity Scots'. The chapter then turns to Clanship as a zone of contact and interaction. It emerges that there are zones of 'real' Highlandism in Scotland, places where playactors may authenticate their pseudo-historical Scottish fantasies. Chapter 9 then focuses on *The Gathering*, the *Homecoming* campaign's centrepiece festival which took place in Edinburgh in 2009.

Chapter 10 identifies some of the main reasons for the Scottish dreamscape's special resonance in Northern and Western Europe. Why do the continental history enthusiasts direct their playful energy towards the Scottish dreamscape, and not towards any other pseudo-historical fantasy? Why Scotland? This chapter argues that the Scotland of popular imagination is 'charged' with four key themes which have a particular currency in Northern and Western Europe at the beginning of the twenty first century. These are the themes of tradition, resistance, victimhood, and masculinity.

## Chapter 2

### CONTEXT: PLAYING THE PAST

The post-war European fascination with Scotland emerged in a specific context. This chapter examines the broad cultural currents which inspire and shape Scottish playacting. The Scots of Europe are 1) agents in the memory boom, a time of heightened public interest in the past and its commemoration. They 2) strive for physical and affective experience; they have a sensuous approach to history. And they 3) choose to appropriate someone else's past; their performances are a masquerade.

#### 2.1 Memory Boom: Rooting the Present

The Scots of Europe are Scots from the past. They uphold musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions which they believe are rooted in distant Scottish history. They honour the memory of a historical Scottish presence in Europe, and they re-enact selected moments of the Scottish past, from Iron Age Celts to twentieth-century British soldiers. Their interest in contemporary Scotland is limited. The Scots of Europe are agents in what the historian Jay Winter calls the memory boom; a public preoccupation with the past, its preservation and interpretation that has intensified and spread at the end of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

The memory boom is manifest in a variety of forms. It shows in the Unesco listings of world heritage sites, the growing numbers of museums and historical exhibitions, their importance in cultural tourism.<sup>2</sup> It works through the pseudo-historical fantasylands enjoyed by millions of readers and moviegoers in the age of Harry Potter.<sup>3</sup> It is evident in the countless commemorative plaques and memorials, watches and marches, minutes of silence – rituals of remembrance which may concern the recent and distant past. It is manifest in the roots phenomenon, the still spreading fascination with ancestors and ethnic identities in North America and Australasia. And it shows in the many European quests for local and national histories, the flood of TV documentaries and cover stories which search for the origins of 'the Germans' or 'the British', or which try to recreate the lives of earlier generations.<sup>4</sup>

The memory boom is not about private recollections. It is a quest for 'collective memory', a shared past which both unites a community and sets it apart from others.<sup>5</sup> Those active in

<sup>1</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> JM Fladmark, ed., *Cultural Tourism* (London: Donhead, 1994). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture. Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film* (London: Routledge, 2007). Martha Driver & Sid Ray, eds., *The Medieval Hero on Screen. Representations from Beowulf to Buffy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004). Kevin J. Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages. American, Western and Eastern European, Middle-Eastern and Asian Films about Medieval Europe* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> 'Die Erfindung der Deutschen. Wie wir wurden was wir sind', *Spiegel Special Geschichte* 1 (2007). 'Die Germanen', *GeoEpoche* 34 (Dec 2008). Guido Knopp's ZDF series 'Die Deutschen' (2008-2010). Simon Schama's BBC series 'A History of Britain' (2000-2002). See also Vanessa Agnew, 'History's Affective Turn. Historical Reenactment and its Work in the Present', *Rethinking History* 11:3 (Sept 2007): 299-312.

<sup>5</sup> The term 'collective memory' was introduced by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in his *Les cadres sociaux de la memoire* (Paris: Alcan, 1925). Halbwachs claimed that our ways of remembering the past are 'socially framed', that memory is produced in communication with others. Collective memory is at the core of social

the memory boom usually focus on what the historian Pierre Nora calls 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*); physical and metaphorical points of *collective* significance.<sup>6</sup> Such sites are locations where a nation or a people can agree that their 'memory crystallizes and secretes itself'.<sup>7</sup> Nora produced an influential listing of French memory sites in the 1980s which inspired many other catalogues of regional, national, and transnational memory places in the past twenty years.<sup>8</sup> These listings – sometimes jingoist inventories of national glory and sometimes careful analyses of the key historical moments, places, and ideas which occupy a national discourse – are both a symptom and a description of the European memory boom. Nora saw the West enter a new 'era of commemoration'.<sup>9</sup>

The memory boom targets a past which formed communal identity in decisive ways. It searches for a history that has left an imprint, a legacy. 'Heritage' is thus at the core of the memory boom. Heritage denotes an 'inheritance' from those who lived before us; the legends, practices, and places which have made and still make a community unique.<sup>10</sup> According to David Lowenthal, almost everything may be declared a part of heritage: 'family history, buildings and landscapes, prehistory and antiques, music and paintings, plants and animals, language and folklore – ranging from remote to recent times'.<sup>11</sup> It is important that these things *define* the community, be it tribe, region, or nation. Of course, such defining heritage is largely constructed in the present, retrospectively, to fulfil its cohesive mission; it exaggerates, denies, and twists in order to 'assert a primacy, an ancestry, a continuity'.<sup>12</sup>

Heritage and collective memory are key concepts for historians, social anthropologists, and sociologists at the beginning of twenty first century.<sup>13</sup> While there remain some interesting semantic differences, both concepts seek to describe the same phenomenon; a meaningful past that is pursued and imagined by groups of people, usually non-historians, eager to stabilise and root their present-day identities.<sup>14</sup>

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cohesion. See Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. T. Butler (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 97-113.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992). (7vols)

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24, here: 7.

<sup>8</sup> Pim den Boer & Willem Frijhoff, eds., *Lieux de mémoire et identités nationales. La France et les Pays Bas* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 1993). Mario Isnenghi, *I Luoghi della Memoria. Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita* (Roma: Laterza, 1998). Moritz Csáky et al., eds., *Transnationale Gedächtnisorte in Zentraleuropa* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2002). Etienne François & Hagen Schulze, eds., *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (München: CH Beck, 2009, orig. 2001). Sonja Kmec et al., eds., *Lieux de Mémoire au Luxembourg* (Luxembourg: Saint Paul, 2007). Martin Sabrow, ed., *Erinnerungsorte der DDR* (München: CH Beck, 2009). Kerstin von Lingen, ed., *Kriegserfahrung und nationale Identität in Europa nach 1945. Erinnerung, Säuberungsprozesse und nationales Gedächtnis* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2009). Bernd Henningsen et al., eds., *Transnationale Erinnerungsorte. Nord- und südeuropäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: BWV, 2009). Georg Kreis, *Schweizer Erinnerungsorte. Aus dem Speicher der Swissness* (Zürich: NZZ, 2010). Jörg Hackmann et al., eds., *Contested and Shared Places of Memory. History and Politics in North Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Nora, 'L'ère de la commémoration', in *Les lieux de mémoire vol. 3*, ed. P. Nora, 977-1012.

<sup>10</sup> It is in this sense that 'heritage' is used here, as the sum of inherited traditions, an ideal, however imagined. It is NOT used for the products of the 'heritage industry', the artefacts and souvenirs which seek to cash in on the demand for heritage. See Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry. Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).

<sup>11</sup> David Lowenthal, 'Identity, Heritage, and History', in *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, ed. JR Gillis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1994), 41-57, here: 42.

<sup>12</sup> Lowenthal, 'Identity, Heritage, and History', 53.

<sup>13</sup> 'Pervading life and thought as never before, heritage suffuses attitudes toward everything'. Lowenthal, 'Identity, Heritage, and History', 42. There is an 'efflorescence of interest in the subject of memory' – both inside the academy and beyond it. Winter, *Remembering War*, 1

<sup>14</sup> 'Heritage', for instance, may be advertised as a tourist attraction ('Come and experience Ireland's heritage'), while it would (as yet) be unusual to sell 'Ireland's memory' to paying guests.

The memory boom is not an entirely new phenomenon. People have felt the need to reconnect with their past long before the late-twentieth-century. Certainly from the eighteenth century onwards, when the French and Industrial revolutions created a profound sense of change and acceleration in Western Europe, many of the writing intellectuals who left us testimony worried about the disappearance of tradition in an age of fast advance and progress.<sup>15</sup> Karl Marx wrote that

in periods of revolutionary crisis [men] anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language.<sup>16</sup>

When Max Weber diagnosed in 1919 that the price for modernity was the world's 'disenchantment' (*Entzauberung*)<sup>17</sup>, there already existed a solid Romantic tradition of longing for lost times of magic, an enduring 'Romance with the past'.<sup>18</sup>

For the past 200 years, Europeans have attempted to discover the last traces of the past in the peripheries and less developed areas of the world. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, folklorists set out into dark woods and lonely valleys to record the fading European languages, songs, and customs at the height of industrialisation.<sup>19</sup> When the modern nation states were forged in the nineteenth century, these collected fragments of folklore were turned into national memory. New traditions were written for the accelerating world, bits and pieces of surviving custom woven into national mythologies of shared history, continuity, and difference.<sup>20</sup> Jay Winter argues that the nineteenth-century age of nationalism must be understood as a first memory boom.

Where does the *second* memory boom (ours) come from? Winter thinks that it is a reaction to the crumbling of our nineteenth-century national identities: 'In recent years many people have come to see in memory a way out of the confusion bred by the fragmentation of the very identities forged by and during the first "memory boom" [in the nineteenth-century]'.<sup>21</sup> The second memory boom is a nostalgic reaction to a spreading sense of instability, to a second wave of change and acceleration. Technological advance, the empowerment of women, decolonisation, the dissolution of 'traditional' family structures, the decline of religion, massive urbanisation, the ongoing shift from agricultural production to the service industry – post-war Europe and the world changed profoundly and with unprecedented speed.<sup>22</sup> The new and widespread interest in tradition and heritage is a counter-movement.

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<sup>15</sup> Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present. Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', in *Marx and Engels. Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, ed. LS Feuer (London: Fontana, 1969, orig. 1852), 360.

<sup>17</sup> Max Weber, 'Wissenschaft als Beruf', in his *Schriften 1894-1922*, ed. D. Kaesler (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2002, orig. 1919), 474-511, here: 488.

<sup>18</sup> Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001), 11.

<sup>19</sup> Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity. The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations & Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1983). Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 263-308.

<sup>21</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> Hobsbawm argued that the 30 years of growth after 1945 'probably changed human society more profoundly than any other period of comparable brevity'. Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1989* (London: M. Joseph, 1994), 6.



Most scholars agree that some of the most fundamental post-war changes occurred in the realm of family and communal life. In a re-issue of his 1965 work on pre-industrial England (*The World We Have Lost*), Peter Laslett noted bitterly that we had kept losing the world since his book was first published: 'the family group of legal spouses and children is no longer the exclusive site of reproduction now that some four English babies out of ten are born outside marriage ... [and] gender equality is the unchallenged norm'.<sup>23</sup> Eric Hobsbawm saw the most disturbing transformation of the post-war period in 'the disintegration of the old patterns of human social relationships, and with it, incidentally, the snapping of the links between generations, that is to say, between past and present'.<sup>24</sup> The impoverishment of communal life has been explored in a variety of works (most memorably in Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*).<sup>25</sup> It may account for the memory boom's frequent invocation of communal ritual, its collective and festive dimension (see Chapter 2.2). The past is imagined as a warm place, a place before anonymity.

In this reading, the hunger for the past is a compensation for our loss of it. Past and present drift apart, and dreams of a meaningful past are created to ease the loss. Pierre Nora notes that it is the loss of real memory which makes us cling so strongly to the idea of memory: 'We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.'<sup>26</sup>

There is a second factor which fuels the memory boom, and this is affluence. Never before have so many men and women had the time and money to 'speak about memory', to pursue their interest in the past. Only the spread of wealth made it possible for so many thousands in the post-war West to spend time with and in the past.<sup>27</sup> Without affluence, the 35-hour-week, and early retirement schemes, there would be no memory boom. The market for cultural tourism, museums, history magazines, books, films, and even re-enactment costumes and folk instruments has grown immensely. While nostalgia was the privilege of idle elites in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it became a mass phenomenon in the second half of the twentieth century.

It is not without irony that a high degree of wealth inspires tens of thousands to elaborate on their uneasiness with modern consumer capitalism and contemporary society. At the end of the twentieth century, considerable funds are invested into nostalgia for a time *before* affluence. As Eric Hobsbawm remarks gleefully about the period from c. 1950 to 1990:

Paradoxically, an era whose only claim to have benefited humanity rested on the enormous triumphs of material progress based on science and technology ended in a rejection of these by substantial bodies of public opinion and people claiming to be thinkers in the West.<sup>28</sup>

It is a fascinating paradox that the memory boom is both an expression and a critique of modern consumer capitalism. Nostalgia for pre-modernity is expressed and experienced in thoroughly modern ways. Pseudo-medieval fantasylands are produced for the digital 3D-

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<sup>23</sup> Peter Laslett, 'Preface to the reissue', in his *The World we have lost – further explored* (London: Routledge, 2000, orig. 1965), ix.

<sup>24</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 15.

<sup>25</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 8, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, orig. 1976). Winter, *Remembering War*, 36-40.

<sup>28</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 11.

cinema screen, downloaded via broadband internet, and consumed on handheld gadgets. The 'ethnic' costume which should express local uniqueness and tradition in the face of globalisation may be tailored in a Chinese factory, ordered via a mouse-click, paid with a credit card, and delivered via ultra-fast global courier. The memory boom underlies the forces of global capitalism, even if it claims to oppose them.

Change and affluence aside, there is a third post-war development which inspires the memory boom; the rhetoric of recognition. The end of open colonialism saw the empowerment of formerly marginalised groups. These groups began to formulate their own histories and identities. This *prise de la parole* is what Stuart Hall calls the 'emergence of new subjects, new genders, new ethnicities, new communities, hitherto excluded from the major forms of cultural representation'.<sup>29</sup> The 'new ethnicities' campaigned for the recognition of their cultural difference and often demanded restitution for past sufferings.

Claims for recognition also came increasingly from the victims of the Holocaust. After 1945, their voices had not been heard, as public remembrance of the War had focused on 'heroic narratives of resistance to the Nazis'.<sup>30</sup> This changed with the civil rights movement in the United States and the student revolts of 1968 which (in Europe) sought to expose former Nazis and collaborators who had remained in elite positions. In the 1970s and 1980s, witnesses came forward with their accounts of the Holocaust and the concentration camps. Primo Levi, who had published his first memoirs in 1947 (*Se questo è un uomo*) without much reaction, became a figure of cardinal importance 30 years later.<sup>31</sup> As Winter notes: 'The "memory boom" of the late twentieth century took on momentum and major cultural significance when the victims of the Holocaust came out of the shadows, and when a wide public was finally, belatedly prepared to see them, honor them, and hear what they had to say.'<sup>32</sup> This process arguably intensified with the end of the Cold War in 1989 which ended what Dan Diner calls 'an epoch of more than 40 years of neutralisation'.<sup>33</sup>

The memory boom was shaped in important ways by claims for recognition by 'ethnic' communities and survivors of the Holocaust. Perhaps surprisingly, these claims have inspired many non-marginalised people to demand recognition as well. The *prise de la parole* is no longer the exclusive strategy of the disenfranchised but one increasingly adopted by the formerly privileged. In the late 1960s, claims for 'ethnic' recognition were appropriated by large parts of North America's white population, as Matthew Frye Jacobson shows in his study *Roots, too*.<sup>34</sup> Most white Americans today are no longer content with being 'just white'<sup>35</sup> but insist on ethnic hyphens, both in a response to the civil rights movement and its 'new and contagious idiom of group identity and group rights' – and to distance themselves

<sup>29</sup> Stuart Hall, 'The Local and the Global. Globalization and Ethnicity', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System. Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. AD King (Houndmills: MacMillan, 1991), 19-39, here: 34.

<sup>30</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 26.

<sup>31</sup> Primo Levi, *Il sistema periodico* (Torino: Einaudi, 1975) and *I sommersi e i salvati* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986)

<sup>32</sup> Winter *Remembering War*, 27.

<sup>33</sup> 'Nach einer über 40 Jahre langen Epoche der Neutralisierung steht den verschiedenen europäischen Gedächtnissen die Möglichkeit frei in offenem Diskurs ihre jeweiligen Erinnerungen miteinander abzugleichen.' Dan Diner, 'Von Gesellschaft zu Gedächtnis. Überlegungen zu einem Paradigmenwechsel', paper given at the colloquium *Einheit in der Vielfalt? Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen Europas* (Leipzig, 22 January 2004), 12.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots, too. White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil-Rights America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2006). (Below: p. 19)

<sup>35</sup> Richard Alba, 'Whiteness just isn't enough', *Sociological Forum* 22 (June 2007): 232-41.

from a homogenously white past and its slaveholding and colonial guilt. Jacobson calls this a 'white ethnic revival'.

Memory is a tool in the quest for recognition. The white hyphen-communities in North America insist in their 'ethnic' status and demand the recognition of their ancestors' Irish ghettos, Huguenot Diaspora, Highland Holocaust. Their allegedly painful memories and identities compete on an 'ethnic' market. The U.S. historian Peter Novick argues that we live in a 'wound culture' in which to have suffered is a moral asset, where there is 'Holocaust envy'.<sup>36</sup> Made-up misery memoirs are only the most obvious manifestation of this trend.<sup>37</sup> Even in Europe, where self-ethnicisation is less openly encountered, narratives of victimhood and marginality play an important part in the memory boom. Since 1989, right-wing parties from Britain to Finland have built up large followings with slogans that suggest their voters might be pushed to the margins and become 'strangers in their own countries', 'second class citizens' because of non-European immigration or Brussels bureaucracy. These parties claim to protect national identity and its historical difference out of a position of defence. This is what Benedict Anderson calls the ethnicisation of political life.<sup>38</sup> The memory boom has a militant dimension.

The post-war memory boom was shaped by a sense of profound social change, the spread of affluence, and the rhetoric of recognition. It is a rearguard action, an effort to retain stability and privilege. As the next section shows, it is also a quest for pleasure.

## 2.2 Sensuous History: Play, Performance, Celebration

This is not a study of the many men and women who privately hold Scotland dear, silently, at their homes, without telling the world about it. The Scots of Europe are loud and visible, they dress up in colourful costume and march down a high street, play the drums and pipes, make bystanders stop and marvel. The Scots of Europe are, without exception, performers. For a weekend or a tune, they *become* Scots, embodiments of the Scottish dreamscape. They are not satisfied with a mere cognitive meditation on Scotland, they want to feel its magic in the flesh. The Scots of Europe are celebrants.

Celebration has its firm place in the post-war memory boom. Folk festivals, battle re-enactments, commemorative events, the inauguration of memorials and museums – celebrations and festivals are key manifestations of a new public interest in the past. In North America and Australasia, the roots phenomenon is above all a surge of 'ethnic' festivals.<sup>39</sup> In Europe, the memory boom shows in the 'revitalisation' of rituals.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Mariner: 2000, orig. 1999), 192. See also Norman Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry. Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (London: Verso, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Ross Chambers, 'Orphaned Memories, Foster-Writing, Phantom Pain: The Fragments Affair', in *Extremities. Trauma, Testimony, and Community*, eds. NK Miller et al. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 92-111.

<sup>38</sup> Benedict Anderson, 'Exodus', *Critical Inquiry* 20:2 (Winter 1994), 325f.

<sup>39</sup> Stephanie Rains, 'Irish Roots. Genealogy and the Performance of Irishness', in *The Irish in US. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*, ed. D. Negra (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2006). Marie-Claire Considère-Charon et al., eds., *The Irish Celebrating* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008). Gayle McPherson et al., 'Parading

The memory boom requires performance. Jay Winter notes: '[G]roups of people come together in public *to do* the work of remembrance. ... We all recollect the past, but remembrance is generated *by action*.'<sup>41</sup> Many agents in the memory boom pursue the past for reasons of sensuous experience. Remembrance has become a leisure activity, a form of pastime celebration that provides stimulus.

### The nature of celebration

For decades, historians have interpreted celebration and festivals primarily as a display of political power. Medievalists and Renaissance scholars examined the carefully arranged entry of a King into a city, a coronation ceremony, church festivals etc.<sup>42</sup> This research tradition is alive and continues to examine the theatricality of power. The totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century have attracted particular attention.<sup>43</sup> However, under the influence of the Annales School and the publication of Mikhail Bakhtin's long-delayed work on Renaissance carnival in the 1960s, historians began to re-approach festivals in the 1970s.<sup>44</sup> Celebration was now interpreted as a prime site of popular culture. The emerging field of cultural history (*Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany) was keen to abandon the study of elites and to look at history 'from below'. It embraced carnivals and festivals as moments in 'ordinary' people's lives. Again, historians of the medieval and early modern period proved to be pioneers.<sup>45</sup>

Today, celebrations are increasingly explored as sites of identity-making. Since the nation state and its myths of continuity came into the historians' focus in the 1980s, festivals have been analysed as the main moments in which communities 'remember themselves'. An impressive body of scholarly analysis now explores how national communities form and endure thanks to parades, festivals, national days etc.<sup>46</sup> Festivals help to imagine a

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Conspicuous Identity: St Patrick's Day, New York', in *National Days. Constructing and Mobilizing National Identity*, eds. D. McCrone & G. McPherson (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2009), 197-211. Augusto Ferraiuolo, *Religious Festive Practices in Boston's North End: Ephemeral Identities in an Italian American Community* (New York: SUNY, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> Jeremy Boissevain, ed., *Revitalizing European Rituals* (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 276-7. (my italics)

<sup>42</sup> For two classic studies, see Richard Alewyn, *Das Grosse Welttheater. Zur Epoche der Höfischen Feste* (München: CH Beck, 1989, orig. 1959). Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).

<sup>43</sup> For a bibliography, see Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly & Anne Simon, *Festivals and Ceremonies. Bibliography of Works relating to Court, Civic, and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500-1800* (London: Mansell, 2000). See also Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches. Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (München: Hanser, 1991). James Von Geldern, *Bolshevik Festivals, 1917-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Claudio Fogu, 'Fascism and Historic Representation. The 1932 Garibaldian Celebrations', *Journal of Contemporary History* 31 (1996): 317-45. Rolf Malte et al., eds., *Dictatorship and Festivals* (Special Issue 4:1, Journal of Modern European History, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> See Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The Annales School, 1929-89* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

<sup>45</sup> Seminal texts include Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule. Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth Century France', *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 41-75. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York UP, 1978). Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval de Romans de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres, 1579-1580* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979). Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception*, transl. JM Bak & PA Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988, russ. 1981).

<sup>46</sup> Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976). Peter Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1981). David Waldstreicher, 'Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent. Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism', *Journal of American History* 81 (1995): 37-61. SP Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street. Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). Manfred Hettling & Paul Nolte, *Bürgerliche Feste. Symbolische Formen politischen Handelns im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). Sudhir

community, to spread and validate the myths that bind it together.<sup>47</sup> The sociologist Paul Connerton argues that all societies require commemorative ritual and celebration.<sup>48</sup> Festivals make communities real. As Celeste Ray notes on Scottish celebrations in the U.S. South: 'For the Scottish community [in the U.S. South], Highland Games and Gatherings have become temporary physical expressions of an "imagined" unity.'<sup>49</sup>

What constitutes celebration? The anthropologist Frank Manning explains that celebration is *performance*, a dramatic presentation of cultural symbols. It is held for *enjoyment*, for pleasure, not out of necessity. Thirdly, celebrations are *public* events. There may be an admission fee, but no social exclusion. Finally, celebration is *participant*. To Manning, a strict divide between performers and audiences will make 'real' celebration impossible: 'Increasing professionalism notwithstanding, celebration actively involves its constituency; it is not simply a show put on for disengaged spectators.'<sup>50</sup>

There is yet another dimension to celebration; it must be *temporary*. Celebrations have a beginning and an end, and when the music is over, the revellers go home. Celebrations usually last a day or two and end before routine catches up. They remain *play-like*, an interruption of normal life. As the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) observed, play creates zones of extraordinary behaviour and pauses daily life.<sup>51</sup> Celebrations often take place in designated play zones, fenced-off from normality. In its best moments, such play and celebration may open a door to the extraordinary state of creative detachedness that the anthropologist Victor Turner (1920-1983) called *liminality*.<sup>52</sup> According to Turner, ritual celebration may take us beyond the frontier (lat. *limen*) of social structure. It is out there, in a state of *communitas*, where life-changing innovation and insight is produced. In its more mundane moments, celebration has people dance a little, drink a lot, and then go back to work on Monday morning.

## Festive Times?

The second half of the twentieth century is rich in celebration. Yeoman et al. insist: 'On a global basis, there is unprecedented interest in festivals and events – at international and national level, in cities and towns, villages and hamlets, and in rural and coastal areas. Everyone wants to celebrate their particular form of culture, tradition, difference, or

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Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon. Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986). Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991, orig. 1983).

<sup>48</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 61. See also Jan Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis* (München: CH Beck, 2005, orig. 1992), 57.

<sup>49</sup> Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 99.

<sup>50</sup> Frank E. Manning, 'Cosmos and Chaos. Celebrating the Modern World', in *The Celebration of Society. Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performances*, ed. FE Manning (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green UP, 1983), 4.

<sup>51</sup> 'Spiel ist nicht das "gewöhnliche" oder das "eigentliche" Leben.' Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens, Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel*, transl. H. Nachod (Reinbek: Rowolth, 1987, orig. 1930), 16. Huizinga himself notes the proximity of play and festival, p. 30-1.

<sup>52</sup> Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1974), 231-2. Turner borrowed the term 'liminal' from Dutch anthropologist Arnold van Gennep.

similarity.<sup>53</sup> The rise of popular music and its many open-air festivals and dance events are only one symptom of this will to celebrate. Certain scholars understand the Western interest in festive culture as nothing less than a counter-Reformation, a revenge for the painful losses that communal life suffered at the hands of the protestant work ethic. Barbara Ehrenreich sees the folk revival and rock'n'roll counterculture as a mass protest against the impoverishment of ritual and physical culture – an impoverishment that may traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when dance, rough sports, fairs, dress, and music were forbidden or regulated by Church authorities.<sup>54</sup> This impoverishment has continued in the post-war West. Jeremy Boissevain writes:

[E]verywhere in Europe there is a growing awareness that the forty post-war years of industrialization, rationalization, centralized control, mobility, and hard work have exacted high social costs. One of the responses to this awareness has been the revival of public rituals...<sup>55</sup>

Festive culture is read as an oppositional force here. Implicitly, Boissevain follows the Soviet scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), who (in *Rabelais and His World*) focused on early modern carnival and understood it as a counter-movement, a *monde renversé* in which the existing order is ridiculed; slave becomes master, man becomes woman, rich becomes poor, man becomes beast. Inversion, Bakhtin argued, is the protest of the powerless, and carnival must be understood as an expression of popular discontent. (The Soviet authorities took him seriously, delayed the publication of his book, and sabotaged his career.<sup>56</sup>) To Bakhtin, carnivalists form a festive collective, a 'chorus of laughing people' to oppose authority:

For thousands of years, the people have used these festive comic images to express their criticism, their deep distrust of official truth, and their highest hopes and aspirations. Freedom was not so much an exterior right as it was the inner content of these images. It was the thousand-year old language of fearlessness, a language with no reservations and omissions, about the world and about power.<sup>57</sup>

How tempting then to understand the post-war celebrants (and with them the Scots of Europe) as costumed rebels; neo-carnivalists who oppose the loss of memory in the clothes of their (presumed) ancestors, who wage Jihad against McWorld, who abandon their lifeless office blocks and join the *communitas* of ritual celebration.<sup>58</sup> But are they rebels?

Victor Turner developed his vocabulary of *liminality* and *communitas* to describe religious trance in traditional societies. He was critical about the use of his concepts in mundane situations and only conceded that there might be 'liminoid genres' in modern industrial societies; artificial analogues to pre-modern liminality.<sup>59</sup> Turner would not have discovered *communitas* at a Country & Western festival (or a Highland Games event). It may feel good to perform tribal dances (or the Highland fling) in a gymnastic club after work, but does it

<sup>53</sup> Ian Yeoman et al., eds., *Festival and Events Management. An International Arts and Culture Perspective* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Butterworth Heinemann, 2004), xix.

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Ehrenreich, *Dancing in the Streets. A History of Collective Joy* (London: Granta, 2007), 247-61.

<sup>55</sup> Boissevain, 'Introduction', 15.

<sup>56</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin submitted *Rabelais and His World* as a doctoral thesis in Moscow, in 1941. The book was not published before 1965 (Russian) and 1968 (English). On Bakhtin's influence on historiography see Peter Burke, 'Bakhtin for Historians', *Social History* 13:1 (1988): 85-90.

<sup>57</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, transl. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1968), 269.

<sup>58</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalisation and Culture. Global Mélange* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). Benjam Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld* (New York: Ballantine, 1996).

<sup>59</sup> Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 242-3, 14.

provide an entrance into a state of communal union? To the sociologist Paul Connerton, the answer is no. To him, the alleged 'recovery' of lost tradition is little more than a clumsy imitation without any depth or meaning. Our desperate re-enactments of past life-worlds are only 'palliative measures, façades erected to screen off the full implications of this vast worldwide clearing operation [that is modernisation]'.<sup>60</sup> The world of *communitas* and ritual has died, and our recreations will bring back only dreams and shadows of what once was.

Dreams and shadows sell. Entertainment entrepreneurs worldwide have recognised the strong demand for ritual celebration. Festivals are set up as business ventures and tourist attractions throughout the world. Modernity has space and use for celebration. Marketing experts like Yeoman et al. argue that the spread of festivals must be 'viewed as a new form of tourism in which to anchor economic prosperity and development'.<sup>61</sup> The Western celebrant may see himself as a costumed rebel or an advocate of ritual communion; to the entertainment entrepreneur, he is a solvent leisurer longing for cold drinks and a sandwich at the end of the day. There is a snack bar waiting beyond the *limen*.

Again, the spread of festivals in the post-war West would not be possible without affluence. Only leisure time and wealth allow tens of thousands to invest in festive pleasure, to express their longing for ritual community. The strong demand for celebration has led to a rich and permanent marketplace of festivals, and some commentators see the twenty-first-century West become an 'event culture'.<sup>62</sup> They rarely consider this development a meaningful re-connection with pre-modern tradition. Walter Leimgruber, Professor of European Ethnology in Basel, argues that festivals have lost their thousand-year-old function of interrupting normal time and turned into a permanent stream of shallow entertainment:

For human beings in traditional societies, celebration constituted the arguably greatest contrast to everyday life – an inversion or supersession of the habitual order. ... But the event culture is so powerful and without intermission that it no longer marks an extraordinary state but has become part of daily life.<sup>63</sup>

A permanent festival is nothing less than the end of celebration, as festivity must lose all extraordinary meaning when it becomes routine.

Finally, some scholars doubt that the festivals we long for today have ever existed. Instead of rejecting the modern-day recreations as bloodless copies, they argue that celebration never had the depth which Bakhtin and Turner dreamt into them. Critics of Bakhtin claim that carnival was (and is) a safety valve, a place for letting off steam – a necessary interruption of daily life that will guarantee its continuation. Authorities may *allow* their subjects to rebel for a limited amount of time in order to maintain the existing order. Carnival then is 'a licensed and ultimately contained explosion of popular energies'.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 64.

<sup>61</sup> Yeoman et al., *Festival and Events Management*, xix.

<sup>62</sup> Markus Dewald, *Trend zum Event. Die neue Festkultur einer atemlos gelangweilten Gesellschaft* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008).

<sup>63</sup> 'Für die Menschen in traditionellen Gesellschaften stellte das Fest den denkbar grössten Kontrast zum Alltag dar – eine Umkehrung oder Aufhebung der gewohnten Ordnung. ... Doch die Eventkultur ist so mächtig und pausenlos, dass sie nicht mehr einen Ausnahmezustand markiert, sondern Bestandteil des täglichen Lebens geworden ist.' Walter Leimgruber, 'Fest, Festspiel, Festival', *Schweizer Monatshefte* 970 (July 2009): 37.

<sup>64</sup> Chris Humphrey, *The Politics of Carnival. Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001), ix.

Umberto Eco argues that dictators have always given the masses clowns and carnival. He insists that carnival *reinforces* the rules it breaks. Where the norms are not forbidding, their transgression will not be meaningful. To Eco, comic and carnival 'represent paramount examples of law enforcement. They remind us of the existence of the rule.'<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, contemporary social scientists concerned with public health and alcohol abuse have (without citing Bakhtin and Eco) come to see the urban party zones of the West as areas of 'bound hedonism', as designated zones of weekend misrule.<sup>66</sup>

Celebration has its set place in the post-war memory boom; practices of public remembrance have a strong performative dimension. The pursuit of the past thus becomes a sensuous activity, a form of experience, related to athletic and otherwise physical leisure. As will become clear in the subsequent chapters, the Scottish dreamscape – with its rough sports, loud music, bright colours, and military marching tradition – satisfies the demand for physical stimulus particularly well.

### 2.3 Masquerade: Playing Ancestors, Knights, Indians

The Scots of Europe are no Scots. Only a tiny minority of the men and women portrayed in this study consider themselves Scottish by birth, residence, or ancestry. The self-professed Highlanders engage in a Scottish masquerade. Many are concerned or curious about what the 'real' Scots from Scotland might think of their imitation. The approval of their performance by a 'real' Scot is usually received with pride.

As examined above, agents in the memory boom strive for their roots. They demand recognition of their apparently unique historical identities, and they turn to the past to rediscover stabilising local traditions in a globalised culture. How may masquerade, the conscious appropriation of someone else's customs, provide satisfaction in this context?

#### Difficult memories, chosen roots

Europeans may find that the search for memory is difficult. They may discover that their national and regional histories are lost, unknown, not taught at school, and not exhibited at local museums. Dedicated enthusiasts might embark on a research trip, spend time at libraries, even interview older relatives to learn about the past from first-hand accounts. Most, however, will not find the time or energy to do so and end up with little to remember and reactivate. This discovery of loss often confirms them in the urgency of their nostalgia.

Others face a different problem; they may learn that their culture lacks the songs, costumes, and heroes which would make remembrance exciting. They were eager to find their own Vercingetorix, William Tell, or William Wallace, but all they found was Dutch wooden shoes

<sup>65</sup> Umberto Eco, 'The Frames of Comic Freedom', in *Carnival!*, ed. TA Sebeok (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 6.

<sup>66</sup> Paul Chatterton & Robert Hollands, 'Theorising Urban Playscapes. Producing, Regulating and Consuming Youthful Nightlife City Spaces', *Urban Studies* 39:1 (2002): 95-116.



and songs about the weather. Not every national or regional history has the profile which would make it successful in the contemporary memory boom. Still others face the problem that their national and regional histories are occupied, claimed by the wrong people. Their past may have been misused for horrific deeds in the past. As is well established, Germanic mythology was claimed and tarnished by Nazi Germany in a way that makes its celebration highly difficult still today.<sup>67</sup>

Thankfully, even in Europe, the old continent, most people are the product of migrating ancestors and busy intermixing. They usually have more than one cultural affiliation to choose from. They, too, face what the U.S. sociologist Mary Waters calls 'ethnic options'; different routes into the past, different roots to follow.<sup>68</sup> The overwhelming majority of North Americans, Australians and New Zealanders have to go 'ethnic shopping' when they feel an urge for roots and hyphens. Quite similarly, many Europeans add ethnic flavour to their identities by elaborating on a particularly attractive ancestral line. The current mayor of London for instance, Mr Boris Johnson, likes to stress that he is the descendant of a Circassian slave.<sup>69</sup>

Choice is not limited to documented ancestral lines. If Europeans do not find what suits them in the more distant branches of their family trees, they can join their wife's tribe, their neighbour's clan, their hometown's festival, their best friend's history. Again, this is a common strategy for overseas roots enthusiasts as well; most 'ethnic' communities in North America and Australasia have substantial bodies of members who lack documented ancestry. As emerges from the work of Rowland Berthoff and Celeste Ray, some of the most dedicated U.S. Highlanders who celebrate Scotland passionately in Clan societies and pipe bands have no Scottish roots whatsoever.<sup>70</sup> Like their European cousins, they have joined out of an affinity for Scotland.

It is worth stressing that the voluntariness of 'ethnic' identity, while well established in academia, is rejected by many roots enthusiasts in North America, Australasia, and Europe. Disturbingly, the rhetoric of blood has made a big comeback in popular debates about identity and culture since the 1970s. Excitement about the decoding of the human DNA and advances in genetic engineering has not helped; the assumption that everyone has a stable cultural identity inscribed into his or her DNA is now spread widely. A bestselling German work of non-fiction argued in 2010 that certain immigrant groups fit less easily into German society because of their genes.<sup>71</sup> As David A. Hollinger points out, ethnic identities are seen as something non-negotiable again. In North America, it has become politically incorrect and rude to argue with someone who is convinced that his or her mentality is shaped by an ethnic identity. Ethnic identities are styled into 'deep concepts', and to be without ethnic affiliation is unacceptable as it means to evade responsibility.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> On Nazi appropriations of Germanic mythology, see e.g. Herfried Münkler, *Siegfried: Politik mit einem deutschen Mythos* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1988).

<sup>68</sup> Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>69</sup> Gaby Hinsliff, 'The Riddle of Boris' Slave Roots', *The Observer* (9 March 2008).

<sup>70</sup> Rowland Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt. Variations on the Scottish-American Ground', *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1982): 5-34, here: 11, 14, 16, 18. Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 125.

<sup>71</sup> Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab. Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen* (München: DVA, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> David A. Hollinger, 'Culture, Colour and Solidarity. Postscript 2000', in his *Postethnic America. Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic, 2005, orig. 1995), 173-218, here: 189.

But there is nothing coercive about blood. Ancestors (especially dead ones) force no one to wear a kilt, to yodel, to have a flag tattooed. At the ethnic festivals of North America, Australasia, and Europe, it is the right set of clothes and the right sort of tune which makes the Scot, the Greek, the Zulu warrior, the Native American. The Scots of both Europe and North America make a decision, however conscious, to favour and express the Scottish ancestral line, to join the celebration of Scotland.

Most European memory searchers join the Scots because they consider their more obvious roots lost, dull, or complicated. As is examined in the following chapters, they justify their Scottish masquerade by turning the Scots into relatives – Celtic or Nordic cousins who have guarded what they themselves have lost. European playactors use elaborate mythologies of kinship which suggest that by playing Scotsmen, they can reconnect with their own lost heritage. The Scots serve as a site of memory.

### Playing knights

There are other forms of playacting which provide a service similar to the Scottish one. While there is no other modern European nation which is imitated in the way of the Scots, there is a long-standing European tradition of playing and appropriating the exotic aesthetics of both outer-European peoples and the Middle Ages.

Knightly play has been popular since the Renaissance as a dimension of 'medievalism', the recurring recreation or re-imagination of the Middle Ages in the modern period.<sup>73</sup> Since the 1960s, however, the imitation and re-invention of knights and princesses has evolved from elite leisure and stage performance to a mass hobby, an activity for tens of thousands of amateurs on both side of the Atlantic (see Chapter 7).<sup>74</sup> Historical re-enactors, fantasy role players, and even extreme sport jousting athletes put on heavy armour and flowing robes to imitate historical battles, fight each other at tournaments, or to parade fantastical pseudo-medieval costume and weaponry.

Knights and Scots share several characteristics. Like the Scots, knights and princesses often hold views of their period which are not fully congruent with historical scholarship. Their ideas are shaped by novels, films, and several centuries of popular imagination and recycling. (Strikingly, some of the Romantic images they cherish may be traced back to the novels of Sir Walter Scott, a man who catered in both Scottish and medieval heroes and is responsible for a certain blurring of the boundaries between Rob Roy and Ivanhoe.) Like the Scots, knights have a strong interest in physical experience, in the authenticity of sensuous history. As is examined in Chapter 7, Scottish and medieval playacting often intersect, as

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<sup>73</sup> Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip & Son, 1987). Christian Amalvi, *Le Goût du Moyen Age* (Paris: Plon, 1996). John Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism. Three Essays on Literature, Architecture, and Cultural Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Michael Alexander, *Medievalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2007), 107-9. Valentin Groebner, *Mediävismen. Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen* (München: CH Beck, 2008).

<sup>74</sup> Henk Driessen, 'Mock Battles between Moors and Christians. Playing the Confrontation of Crescent with Cross in Spain's South', *Ethnologia Europaea* 15 (1985): 105-15. Richard Utz, ed., *Postmodern Medievalisms* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004). Denise Tonella, *Das erlebbare Mittelalter als heilendes Märchen*, (Unpublished lic.phil. thesis, Universität Basel, 2004). Erwin Hoffmann, *Mittelalterfeste in der Gegenwart. Die Vermarktung des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld zwischen Authentizität und Inszenierung* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2005).

Scottish clans will attend medieval fairs. However, the Scots of Europe are a much more varied crowd, and knights would look out of place at the majority of Scottish events.

There are other differences which set the knights apart from the Scots, from gender roles (are there Scottish equivalents to medieval dames and witches?) to politics (do the Scots re-fight battles like some knights repeat Grunewald/Tannenberg?). Most important, however, may be the fact that there is an actual country by the name of Scotland, that there are people who consider kilts and bagpipes their national symbols; in other words, that the Scots are still around. Medieval playactors only rarely have to discuss their imitation with the original knights and dames, but they also cannot usually enjoy the pleasure of being accepted by the 'real' people. It is the apparent reality of the Scots which makes Scottish performances so intense and satisfying in contemporary Western Europe.

### White Indians?

The Scottish dreamscape also shares several characteristics with the popular mythology of Native Americans; from tribal organisation to images of primal masculinity and political resilience. There are also similar problems of congruency between these Romantic images and the modern-day realities in Scotland and North America. The proximity of the two dreamscapes is striking, as Scots and Indians have fought on different sides during much of the past 300 years – the 'tribal brotherhood' of Highlanders and Indians which is sometimes conjured by Scottish and American historians clearly ignores that the Scots were hardy British colonists rather than victims of genocidal extermination. Much more than a similarity of historical experience, the proximity of the Scottish and Indian mythologies indicates the Romantic preoccupation with archaic warrior societies and their colourful costumes and symbols.<sup>75</sup>

The practice of 'playing Indians' has been a constant feature of European Romanticism for the past 200 years. Rayna Green calls it 'one of the oldest forms of affinity with American culture'.<sup>76</sup> In the nineteenth century, at a time of widespread fears that European identities (and masculinities) might be impoverished by the effects of civilisation and urbanisation, Native Americans were mystified as noble warriors and natural tribesmen – a development which only became possible with their total defeat in combat. (Similarly, the Scottish Highlander could only be enchanted *after* his political neutralisation at Culloden, see Chapter 3.) Political destruction and Romantic idealisation occurred simultaneously; the cowboy entrepreneur William F. Cody aka 'Buffalo Bill' (1846-1917) enlisted 23 Lakota Sioux Ghost Dancers into his Wild West show – less than four months after they had been fought and arrested at Wounded Knee in December 1890.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> For an in-depth studies of Scottish-Indian links, see Colin G. Calloway, *White Peoples, Indians, and Highlanders. Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (New York: Oxford UP, 2008).

<sup>76</sup> Rayna Green, 'The Tribe called Wannabe. Playing Indian in America and Europe', *Folklore* 27 (1988): 30-55, here: 30.

<sup>77</sup> Sam A. Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

The Wild West shows and the novels of Karl May (1842-1912) caused enormous enthusiasm for Native Americans in Europe, most notably in England and Germany.<sup>78</sup> Indian playacting began in the late nineteenth century and evolved into a well-organised mainstream hobby.<sup>79</sup> As Green argues, German (and other) playactors 're-enacted the scripts' given to them by Buffalo Bill and Karl May.<sup>80</sup> Such playacting continued throughout much of the twentieth century, after the War even in the German Democratic Republic.<sup>81</sup> Organisations such as Westernbund e.V. have held Indian Councils in Germany since 1951. In 2010, the Westernbund still listed 131 active Native American clubs, from the Oglala Sioux e.V. Berlin to Tipi Gesellschaft e.V. München.<sup>82</sup> Native Americans also became icons of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture, sages to the New Age movement of the 1980s, and an extremely fashionable 'ethnic option' for amateur genealogists in North America in the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>83</sup> The Native American dreamscape – like that of the Scots – continues to be reworked, rewritten, and globally appropriated. Whites who 'go native' have featured prominently in the U.S. blockbuster films of the past decades, from *Dances with Wolves* (1990) and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) to *The Patriot* (2000).

Still, with the end of colonial politics, the playing of Indians has lost some of its attraction. The practice of 'ethnomasquerade' – the 'performance of an ethnic identity through the mimicking of clothes, gestures, appearances, language, cultural codes, or other components of identity formation'<sup>84</sup> – has been criticised as derogatory behaviour and an expression of colonial power.<sup>85</sup> Also, the postcolonial *prise de la parole* meant that Native American communities increasingly articulated their views on the 'tribe called wannabe', and many have made it very clear that they do not consider the performances flattering.

It would be wrong to speculate that postcolonial European playactors change their feathered headdresses for kilts – even if we will come across at least some Scots who used to be Indians before they became Scots. It is, however, safe to claim that the Romantic interest in tribal warriors and their impersonation has not diminished with decolonisation, and that the Scots offer a safe and politically innocent option. What has changed are the warrior's looks; the Scots are white Indians, 'native' Indians, European primitives. It is important to most European playactors that the Scot is one of their own, a Celt, a relative, a European.

<sup>78</sup> Christian F. Feest, 'Germany's Indians in a European Perspective', in *Germans and Indians. Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. CG Calloway et al. (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 25-45.

<sup>79</sup> Rudolf Conrad, 'Mutual Fascination. Indians in Dresden and Leipzig', in *Indians and Europe. An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. CF Feest (Aachen: Herodot, 1987), 475-90. Katrin Sieg, 'Indian Impersonation as Historical Surrogation', in *Germans and Indians*, eds. CG Calloway et al., 217-42.

<sup>80</sup> Green, 'Tribe called Wannabe', 42.

<sup>81</sup> Friedrich von Borries & Jens-Uwe Fischer, *Sozialistische Cowboys. Der Wilde Westen Ostdeutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008).

<sup>82</sup> [<http://www.westernbund.de/>] (10 Dec 2010)

<sup>83</sup> Colin Taylor, 'The Indian Hobbyist in America', in *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. WE Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988). Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1998), 160-1. Jack Hitt, 'The Newest Indians', *New York Times Magazine* (21 August 2005).

<sup>84</sup> Kader Konuk, 'Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters. Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Criticism* 46:3 (Summer 2004): 393-414.

<sup>85</sup> The practice is described in Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979) and related to Bhabha's 'colonial mimicry', see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85-101. See also Katrin Sieg, 'Beyond Orientalism: Masquerade, Minstrelsy, Surrogation', *Seminar* 41:2 (2005): 191-208.

## **Conclusion Chapter 2**

Scottish playacting evolved in a time-specific context. The Scots of Europe are agents in what the historian Jay Winter calls the memory boom. Growing numbers of Europeans strive to rediscover the past and to re-root their identities. The memory boom has no simple cause and no linear development. It is simultaneously escapist and aggressive, a nostalgic flight into historical counter-worlds and a defence of a (mostly imagined) historical uniqueness in the face of globalisation. It is critical of modernity but reliant on modern consumer capitalism. Importantly, memory is summoned to demand recognition.

Celebration has its set place in the post-war memory boom. The past is commemorated and recreated in performance. This makes historical remembrance a highly sensuous activity, related to athletic and otherwise physical leisure activities. A variety of entertainment entrepreneurs cater to the wishes of the Western celebrants, assist them in the imitation of past societies' rituals. Again, these imitations express discontent with modernity but do not necessarily endanger the project of modernity. The demand for sensuous history is both a protest against the perceived impoverishment of ritual culture in a sedentary modernity as well as an effect of the modern leisure industry and its constant praise of emotional and physical experience. In designated play-zones, celebrants outlive their ritual and communal fantasies and then return to work the other day.

The Scots of Europe have chosen someone else's history for their commemorative effort. In mythologies of kinship, they turn the mythical Scottish clansmen and warriors into relatives, guardians of their own past. They do so because they consider their own national or regional folklores and traditions lost, blunt, or politically difficult. There is historical precedent for the impersonation of pre-modern warrior societies. Medieval knights and non-European peoples have been played by many Europeans (and Americans) who felt that these peoples had guarded what they themselves had lost. Decolonisation has rendered such ethnomasquerade politically dubious in the past decades. The Scots offer an innocent alternative.

The memory boom has shaped Scottish playacting – but it has not created it. The Scottish dreamscape has served as a historical counter-world for more than two centuries. The next two chapters investigate its formation and international spread.

## Chapter 3

### THE SCOTTISH DREAMSCAPE: FORMATION

The people portrayed in this study are chasing dreams of Scotland. They do not usually celebrate modern Scotland, the place on the map, but a Romantic fantasy of Scottish history, a neverland of kilts, Celts, clans, and bagpipes. The Scots of Europe – much like their cousins, the roots enthusiasts of North America and Australasia – cherish the Scottish dreamscape.

The Scottish dreamscape was not invented by Hollywood – even if films like *Annie Laurie* (1927), *Brigadoon* (1954), *Highlander* (1986), and *Braveheart* (1995) have helped immensely to carry the image of the kilted Highlander into the far corners of the world (see Chapter 4). The dreamscape is older. It has been employed by artists, politicians, military men, and tourism entrepreneurs for more than 250 years. Its origins lay in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Scottish thinkers and writers re-imagined Scottish national identity at a time of drastic social and economic change. The image was perfected in Victorian Britain, during the high time of European Romanticism, and spread via the worldwide channels of the British Empire and its armed forces. By the twentieth century, the Scottish dreamscape had become a thoroughly global fantasy of a local culture.

The Scottish dreamscape has never been a totally stable set of images but was rewritten and re-imagined with each adaptation. And yet, some central themes recur ever since the Highland schoolteacher James Macpherson (1736-1796) crafted his faux-Gaelic bard *Ossian* in 1760 (see Chapter 4). These themes have to do with vanishing worlds, the clash of tradition and modernisation, heroic warfare, nature, and distinctiveness. They are still at the heart of what the Scots of Europe perform and celebrate today. While Chapter 4 takes a close look at the Scottish dreamscape's international spread, this chapter recapitulates its historical formation.

#### 3.1 Scotland the place, Scotland the dream

There is more than one mythology of Scotland. In early modern Poland-Lithuania and Prussia, for example, the many thousands of travelling Scottish pedlars and merchants left behind an impression of Scottish thrift and meanness.<sup>1</sup> Among nineteenth-century homesick emigrants in North America and beyond, sentimental tales of Scottish village life were popular – a vision known as 'Kailyardism', after the Scots word for cabbage patch. And in the second half of the twentieth century, many Scottish filmmakers and novelists were preoccupied not with Highland warriors but with urban grit and industrial heroism – with 'Clydesideism', named after Glasgow's river Clyde and its (now mostly unemployed) shipbuilders.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Uwe Zagratzki, 'Armut, Erfolg, Familiensinn. Zur Genese des Schottenwitzes und seiner Rezeption in der deutschen Alltagskultur', in *Deutsche Schottlandbilder*, eds. W. Siebers & U. Zagratzki (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1998), 159-85.

<sup>2</sup> David McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995), 49-72.

The most enduring and dominant vision of Scotland, however, is what Tom Nairn calls the 'tartan monster'.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Scotland of popular imagination is a land of kilts, tartan, bagpipes, clans, Celts, Highland Games, empty landscapes, mist, moors, brooding castles, and the Loch Ness monster. If children or marketing specialists around the world are asked to draw a Scot, they draw a kilted man who plays the bagpipes.<sup>4</sup> Even if tales of gritty Scottish cities are revived in popular novels like *Trainspotting* (1993) and the Inspector Rebus series, it is the world of kilts and clans which dominates the international perception of Scotland.<sup>5</sup> So powerful is this tartantry that Turnbull and Beveridge claim it 'eclipses' Scottish culture.<sup>6</sup>

The formulation suggests that the Scottish dreamscape obscures a 'real' Scotland. There is widespread consensus among Scottish writers and thinkers that real Scotland, whatever it may be, is not represented by the kilt and bagpipe cliché. And indeed, a visit to modern-day Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Inverness may come as a shock to the Scottish dreamscape's dedicated fans (see 'Issues of Congruency', Chapter 9). Many Scots reject the tartan monster as pseudo-historical kitsch which deflects attention from the nation's realities and, worse, turns Scottish culture into something comical. One of the most-hated figures among Scottish intellectuals is the Scottish music hall singer Sir Harry Lauder (1870-1950) who impersonated the stereotypical Highlander on theatre stages from London to Melbourne and did much to cement the tartan image (see Chapter 4.3).

'Real' Scotland is not the topic of this study, but it will come as no surprise that it is hard to find. As David McCrone et al. have pointed out, this is not because 'regressive Scotch myths' obscure reality, but 'because in modern, pluralistic societies it is increasingly the case that no single national culture is to be found'.<sup>7</sup> There is no ready Scottish essence underneath the tartan monster.

Has there ever been a Scottish past that looked like the Scottish dreamscape? It appears that there has not. As Scottish and international historians have demonstrated at some length in the past 35 years, the Scottish dreamscape is an inadequate description of both modern *and* historical Scotland. The academic world has learnt that Scotland's national symbols are 'invented traditions', that the modern kilt does not predate the nineteenth century, that tartan sets were linked to Clans long after the actual Clan system had disappeared, and that serious doubts exist about the 'Celtic' nature of the modern-day Scottish population.<sup>8</sup> In the recent wave of deconstructionist historiography, the bashing of Scottish myths has become something of an academic niche.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain* (London: NLB, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., *Scotland's International Image – Sense of Place*, report published by Scottish Executive Social Research Group (April 2006). Accessed via [www.scotland.gov.uk/socialresearch] (10 Dec 2010)

<sup>5</sup> Irvine Welsh, *Trainspotting* (London: Secker & Warburg 1993). Ian Rankin, *Black and Blue* (London: Orion, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Craig Beveridge & Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand*, 195.

<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1978). Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition. The Highland Tradition of Scotland', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 15-41.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance. Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989). Murray G. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland. The Stuart Myth and Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991). Ian Donnachie & Christopher Whatley, eds., *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992). John Gold & Margaret Gold, *Imagining Scotland. Tradition, Representation and*

And yet, the Scottish dreamscape has survived this demystifying assault. The tartan vision of Scotland continues to fascinate novelists, filmmakers, tourists, politicians, and amateur genealogists around the world – even the Scots themselves. The impact of the film *Braveheart* (1995), the revitalisation of Scottish nationalism and the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, and a *zeitgeist*-owed interest in folk culture saw the re-appreciation of kilts and tartan among the younger Scottish population in the 1990s.<sup>10</sup> Internationally, the tartan monster continues to eclipse all other, more sober (or dull) visions of Scottishness. When the Scottish Government hosted a year-long 'Homecoming Scotland' campaign in 2009 to attract roots tourism, a Clan village and Highland Gathering festival were set up in Lowland Edinburgh to meet expectations (see Chapter 9).

The interesting thing about the tartan monster then, as McCrone et al. argue, 'is not why much of it is a forgery, but why it continues to have such cultural powers.'<sup>11</sup> The people portrayed in this study – the Scots of Europe – are testimony to the Scottish dreamscape's stunning longevity and international spread.

### 3.2 Tradition and invention

The Scottish dreamscape was formed in a process now often referred to as 'Highlandism', after Edward Said's *Orientalism*. In the century between the creation of Ossian in 1760 and the publication of Queen Victoria's first Highland Journal in 1868, Scotland became a Highland nation – a country which adopted the cultural symbols of its long-time marginal Highland periphery and turned them into national symbols. This process occurred in the context of both British integration and European Romantic nationalism. The British context will be considered first.

The Scottish embrace of Highland culture in the second half of the eighteenth century marked a drastic change in attitude towards the Highland region. For centuries, politicians, artists, and intellectuals in Scotland's urban centres had looked towards the Highlands with little enthusiasm. At least since the late Middle Ages, the region was perceived predominantly as an unruly periphery of backwardness and poverty that needed a firm hand and integration into the Scottish and latterly British kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

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*Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995). Davit Broun et al., eds., *The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998). Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Creating Caledonia. Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, *Scotland as we know it. Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Pat Kane, 'From Braveheart to Cosmo-Scotia. Young Scots are leaving traditional notions of Scottishness behind', *New Statesman* 12 (1999): 28.

<sup>11</sup> McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand*, 207

<sup>12</sup> Martin Macgregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the later Middle Ages', in *Miorun Mor nan Gall, The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander. Lowland Perceptions of the Scottish Highlands*, eds. D. Broun & M. Macgregor (E-Book, University of Glasgow, 2005). No evidence for the concept of the 'Highlands' is found before the second half of the fourteenth century. On the 'intellectual exercise of trying to divide Scotland into Highlands and Lowlands', see Ewen Cameron, 'Embracing the Past. The Highlands in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages*, eds. D. Broun & RJ Finlay, M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), 195-219, here: 196.



Such sentiment became more urgent after the Jacobite rebellions which sought to reinstall the Stuart monarchy after King James' II and VII dismissal in 1688.<sup>13</sup> The Jacobites relied heavily on levies from the Catholic and Episcopalian Highland clans, which gave the Highlands an increasingly violent reputation. The Jacobite rising of 1745 led to a veritable anti-Highlander hysteria in most of the Scottish Lowlands and in England. Highlanders were suspected of stealing babies and eating them at the time of their march towards the South.<sup>14</sup> Their rebellion was halted at Culloden, in April 1746, a battle which saw the total defeat of Jacobitism. It also changed the Highlands forever.

After Culloden, British military presence was fully established in the Highlands. All men not serving in the British army were banned from bearing arms and wearing traditional costume in the Disarming Act of 1746. One government agent famously reported, in 1750, that 'the disaffected and savage Highlanders need to be bridled and kept in awe by Garrisons and Standing Forces 'till the present generation wears out'.<sup>15</sup> True, the decline of traditional Highland society and Clanship had begun before Culloden, in the seventeenth century, when trade intensified and many Clan chiefs began to approach their land and people in profit-minded ways.<sup>16</sup> Still, Culloden marked a violent turning-point in the history of the Highlands. The region was modernised with force; evangelical missionary work, the reorganisation of agricultural production, large-scale emigration, the establishment of a standardised education system, the subduing of the land through roads and bridges, and the beginnings of tourism transformed Highland society and culture.<sup>17</sup>

The Highlanders' political defeat also made their Romantic transformation possible. Following the universal pattern of first breaking the dangerous and backward savages and then praising their last survivors as formidable examples of tradition and authenticity, the Scottish Highlanders were turned into noble warriors, witnesses of an old but now necessarily passing world. Highlanders came to be seen as a vanishing race, the last of their kind, and Highland culture became the subject of protection, antiquarian study, and Romantic adoration. A mere 20 years after Culloden, James Macpherson's epic *Ossian* (1760-63) was able to take the hearts of the reading public with a tale of a brave but now safely defeated Highland race. In 1778, the newly founded Highland Society of London advocated the preservation of Highland culture and called for the annulment of the Disarming Act. The Act was repealed in 1781.<sup>18</sup>

This remarkably rapid shift from demonisation to adoration exemplifies what Sander Gilman called the 'protean nature' of stereotypes: 'We can move from fearing to glorifying the Other. ... The most negative stereotype always has an overtly positive counterweight.'<sup>19</sup> The

<sup>13</sup> The first decade following the overthrow of King James II and VII [Jacobus] in 1688 saw hardship and even famine in the Highlands – a fact that helped to form broad discontent with the new King, William of Orange (r. 1689-1702). Moreover, after the English-Scottish Union of 1707, the Jacobites could pose as 'the champions of Scottish nationalism and the defenders of Scottish liberty' and thus gather support. TM Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), 35f.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero. The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995), 181.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 181.

<sup>16</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 172.

<sup>17</sup> Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 182. See also TM Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War. The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 233.

<sup>19</sup> SL Gilman, *Difference and Pathology. Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1985), 18. See also Manfred Schneider, *Der Barbar. Endzeitstimmung und Kulturrecycling* (München: Hanser, 1997), Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts. Construction of a Myth* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1992), 213f.

glorification of safely defeated enemies also is no Scottish peculiarity. Renato Rosaldo calls the phenomenon 'imperialist nostalgia' and detects it in the United States' imperial venture to the Philippines: 'people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed'.<sup>20</sup> In nineteenth-century imperial Russia, Tolstoy and Lermontov wrote elegies about their beloved enemies in the Caucasian wars while fighting them, and the Chechen rebel leader Imam Shamil (c. 1797-1871) became a much admired noble savage in the salons of Saint Petersburg after his capture.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, U.S. American interest in Native American culture intensified strongly after the decisive Wounded Knee massacre of 1890.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the urban, Anglophone elites of Edinburgh gradually adopted costume, music, and poetry of the Highlands and also created new symbols and rituals in what they considered to be a Highland tradition. One of the most famous 'official' rhapsodies on Highland culture was the colourful spectacle held in honour of King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in August 1822.<sup>22</sup> In many ways, Scottish playacting began not in Germany or the United States, but in Edinburgh, as Lowland elites 'played Highlander'.

To a degree, the Scottish embrace of the Highland aesthetic followed international demand. Scotland was increasingly expected to look like a nation of Highlanders. Highland regiments had been incorporated into the British Army after Culloden and figured prominently on American and European battlefields. Their 'ethnic' uniforms were depicted in newspapers and the arts and aroused considerable interest throughout Britain and Europe (see Chapter 4.2). Scottish writers like Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and later RL Stevenson (1850-1894) created highly successful Highlander novels which made Scotland a place of interest in European Romanticism.<sup>23</sup> Tourists travelled to Scotland in growing numbers, eager to see the wild Scots themselves. The most famous visitor of all was Queen Victoria (r. 1837-1901). Her Highland journals were published in 1868 and 1884 and further popularised the image of Scotland as a land of kilted warriors.<sup>24</sup>

By turning the Highland symbols into a Scottish national culture, Scottish artists, politicians, and entrepreneurs catered to an international stereotype. However, there was another dimension to Highlandism, one that has to do with a Scottish need for distinctiveness. The Highland aesthetic provided difference from England.

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<sup>20</sup> Renato Rosaldo, 'Imperialist Nostalgia', *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 107-22, here: 108.

<sup>21</sup> Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar. Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition', 29f. Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235f. Stephen Arata, 'Scott's Pageants: The Example of Kenilworth', *Studies in Romanticism* 40:1 (Spring 2001): 99-108.

<sup>23</sup> Fiona Stafford, 'Scottish Romanticism and Scotland in Romanticism', in *A Companion to European Romanticism*, ed. M. Ferber (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005). Jeanne Cannizzo, *O Caledonia! Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Catalogue/CD-Rom, 2000). Murray G. Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> Richard J. Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the Cult of Scottish Monarchy', in *Scottish History. The Power of the Past*, eds. EJ Cowan & RJ Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2002), 209-25. David Duff, ed., *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1980, orig. 1968).

### 3.3 Politics of difference, politics of longing

After the parliamentary Union with England in 1707, Scotland struggled with the concept of Britain and with English dominance in political and economic affairs. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, even Lowland Scots with a long standing distrust towards the Highlands clutched 'at anything even remotely Scottish with the realisation that their Anglophile approach to respectability had failed', writes Robert Clyde. With his array of distinctive symbols (kilt, tartan, bagpipes), the Highlander could become the mascot of a nation longing for visibility. The Highland aesthetic provided distinctiveness: 'Highlandised Scotland was almost as different as it was possible to be from England', notes Richard Finlay.<sup>25</sup> Contemporary Scottish politicians consciously understood the adoption of the Highland aesthetic as an effort to protect Scotland from 'Anglification'. In 1804, Sir John Sinclair argued that Scottish identity was in need of visible support as 'Scotland becomes completely confounded in England'.<sup>26</sup>

Strikingly, these Scottish politics of difference were grounded on the symbols of a vanishing world. The images and traditions celebrated and re-imagined in nineteenth-century Edinburgh were practically extinct in the Highlands themselves. The foundation of 'Clan societies' was only an echo of Clanship as a form of social organisation. Highlandism had a strong antiquarian dimension, as Andrew Ross notes. He claims that the adoption of the Highland aesthetic was escapist, that it marks the Scottish elites' inability to stand their ground in a progressive context and to make the British Union a Scottish project:

Since all causes deemed progressive were firmly hitched to the British star, the form of [Scottish] cultural nationalism took on a studied antiquarian air, as the cult of Highlandism descended on a Lowlands majority, hitherto scornful of things clannish and Celtic-sounding. Compulsory Celtification was adopted as the polar opposite of Anglican gentility, and as a fantasy foil to the starchy servility of native professional elites. This fake Gaelicism, entirely foreign to most Scots, brought on a plague of tartan kitsch for which there has existed no known antidote until recent times.<sup>27</sup>

But Scotland's 'compulsory Celtification' has been treated as too singular a phenomenon. There was something profoundly Romantic and European about the Scottish adoption and reinvention of the Highlander, too. Similar processes may be found elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe; romantic nationalism relied in important ways on interesting histories.

As the French and the industrial revolution enlarged the urban and literate societies of Europe, there arose a need for high culture narratives to provide cohesion and loyalty in a population no longer bound by traditional communal structures. To achieve this, pre-modern ancestors, folk songs, and indigenous languages were revived and invented throughout the continent and bound into new narratives of national union, distinctiveness, and continuity. Heroic epics were rediscovered or forged, national communities endowed with folk heroes. There is nothing unusual about the elevation of regional custom to the status of national

<sup>25</sup> Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 186, Finlay, 'Queen Victoria', 150.

<sup>26</sup> Cit. in Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 145f.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Ross, 'Wallace's Monument and the Resumption of Scotland', *Social Text* 18: 4 (2000): 83-107, here: 92.

folklore.<sup>28</sup> It is now well established that the making of these national narratives did require some creativity; that communities were imagined (Benedict Anderson), traditions were invented (Eric Hobsbawm).<sup>29</sup> This view is widely accepted, and it would be difficult to find primordialist academics who still argue that the national populations of Europe represent a natural order or have existed throughout the millennia. However, the insight that social construction did take place may be taken too far. National identities were not created out of the blue by political schemers and then forced onto whole populations. As Eric Hobsbawm himself explains in his famous essay, the 'invention of tradition' relies on bits and pieces of genuine custom which are then bound into new and meaningful forms. More explicitly, Anthony D. Smith stresses that nineteenth-century national myths had to be rooted in an 'ethnic fund' in order to be recognised and accepted by large populations.<sup>30</sup> Patrick J. Geary recently provided a strong analysis of the European nations' medieval roots.<sup>31</sup>

The new nations' older foundations have been neglected by many myth-destroying historians in the past decades. Clearly, Hugh Trevor-Roper was mistaken when he claimed: 'Indeed the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention.'<sup>32</sup> His entertaining polemics have been debunked by a range of Scottish scholars who insist in the wealth of medieval and early modern Gaelic culture.<sup>33</sup> It has also been established once and for all that Highlanders wore kilt-like garments and tartan long before 1800, and that the modern form of the Highland costume was much more defined by the nineteenth-century Highland regiments than by any English Quakers.<sup>34</sup> Also, the faux-Gaelic poetry of *Ossian* was indeed a new creation which feigned antiquity – but it also made use of some genuine Gaelic oral tradition (see Chapter 4.1); a fact which Trevor-Roper was unwilling to accept.<sup>35</sup> Like most other European national narratives, the Scottish dreamscape was made out of existing material. New and artificial was the assemblage, the combination, and its elevation to national status.

It is no coincidence that it was the peripheral Highlander who was made the mascot of the Scottish nation. He became the focus of a strong and international Romantic interest in untamed, wild, and allegedly 'primitive' people. Scottish (and British) attitudes towards Highland culture changed at a time when the European colonial powers grew preoccupied with the 'savage societies' they encountered and conquered throughout the world. As industrialisation and urbanisation altered life in many parts of Europe, Romantic minds

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<sup>28</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

<sup>29</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations & Nationalism* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1983). Eric Hobsbawm, 'Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 1-14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991, orig. 1983).

<sup>30</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'Images of the Nation. Cinema, Art, and National Identity', in *Cinema and Nation*, eds. M. Hjort & S. Mackenzie (London: Routledge, 2000), 45-59, here: 48. Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

<sup>31</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001).

<sup>32</sup> Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition', 15.

<sup>33</sup> Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War*. Allan Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996). Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil. Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000). Steve Boardman & Michael Brown, 'Survival and Revival. Late Medieval Scotland', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Scotland*, ed. J. Wormald (Oxford, 2005), 77-106. Michael Newton, *Warriors of the Word. The World of the Scottish Highlanders* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009).

<sup>34</sup> Hugh Cheape, *Tartan. The Highland Habit* (Edinburgh: NMS, 2006, orig. 1991).

<sup>35</sup> William Ferguson, 'Samuel Johnson's Views on Scottish Gaelic Culture', *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998): 183-98.

feared that the past might be lost with the speed of progress. They declared primitive societies to be survivors, guardians of history.<sup>36</sup> This is what happened to the Highlander: 'The kilt and tartan came to signify the mystery of primitive society', note McCrone et al.<sup>37</sup> The Highlander became a man of pre-modern innocence and tribal belongings, seemingly not yet touched by the ground-shaking forces of modernisation. Of course, this perception ignored the many ways in which Highlanders already participated in the project of British modernity, both at home and throughout the Empire.<sup>38</sup>

It has been pointed out that Scotland had a particularly urgent need for pre-modern innocence. By the mid-nineteenth century, Scotland had become an 'industrial pioneer', and large parts of the population had left their rural communities for employment in the manufactures of the Central Belt, in Glasgow or Edinburgh. Urbanisation, fast and disruptive social change, large-scale industrialisation, and increasing work migration made the Highland counter-world of nature and tradition highly attractive to many Scots. As TM Devine notes, nineteenth-century Scotland was an urban society that had 'adopted a rural face.'<sup>39</sup>

This rural face pleased the wider world. Highlandised Scotland became an object of desire in European Romanticism. Mythologies of kinship played an important role in this desire from the very beginning; when English, French, or Russian tourists travelled to Scotland in the nineteenth century, they often considered the Scottish Highlanders survivors of a shared European past, even 'historical artefacts'.<sup>40</sup> A female English visitor on the Hebridean isles noted in 1894: '... one may yet study, as perhaps in few other places in Europe, something of the childhood of the world.'<sup>41</sup>

### Conclusion Chapter 3

The Scottish dreamscape has its origins in the period from 1760 to 1868 and emerged in the context of both British integration and European Romantic nationalism. From the beginning, it was devised as a counter-image against modernisation and as a marker of distinctiveness.

Scottish officials adopted the stylised symbols of Scotland's Highland periphery in order to achieve an aesthetic difference from England and to provide the highly industrialised nation with a mythology of pre-modern identity. To this day, Scotland is internationally associated with the Highland aesthetic.

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<sup>36</sup> Arthur Lovejoy & Franz Boas. *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (New York: Octagon, 1965, orig. 1935). Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason. Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1995)

<sup>37</sup> McCrone et al., *Scotland the Brand*, 51 and 7.

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury. The Highland Gentry in eighteenth century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007). Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land. War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America, 1756-1783* (Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2010), 5, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 231.

<sup>40</sup> Grenier, *Creating Caledonia*, 175. See also Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita. The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c. 1600 to 1800* (Münster: Waxmann, 2007). Gleb Struve, 'A Russian Traveller in Scotland in 1828: Alexander Turgenev', *Blackwood's Magazine* 258 (November 1945): 342-9.

<sup>41</sup> Ada Goodrich-Freer, *Outer Isles* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1902), 275, cit. in Grenier, *Creating Caledonia*, 178.

The Scottish dreamscape's production involved a large degree of creativity, and any claims of unbroken continuity between, say, a Highland Games festival of the year 2010 and the culture of medieval or 'Celtic' Scotland must be rejected. However, the dreamscape was not a total invention. The mythification of the Highlands in the late eighteenth century made use of established symbols and customs – and of established themes of wildness and difference associated with the region. The radical novelty was the transformation of these themes and images from negative to positive, and from regional to national identity. In this, Scotland followed the rules of European Romantic nationalism.

Strikingly, the Scottish dreamscape became an object of international desire and appropriation in the nineteenth and twentieth century. After his disarming in 1746, the Highlander was adopted threefold; as an embodiment of non-Englishness and national distinctiveness by Scottish politicians and entrepreneurs, as a wild relative by British tourists and military entrepreneurs, and as a European ancestor and template of difference by Romantic poets and nationalist thinkers throughout Europe. As the following chapter demonstrates, the Scottish Highlander became one of Europe's own primitives, and Scotland was imagined to be one of the last pockets of pre-modern history in industrialised Europe. Chapter 4 investigates the Scottish Highland aesthetic's remarkable international spread and longevity.



## Chapter 4:

### THE SCOTTISH DREAMSCAPE: SPREAD

The Scottish dreamscape originates in the second half of the eighteenth century. How is it possible that it continues to inspire European playactors at the beginning of the twenty first century? Chapter 4 investigates the Scottish Highland mythology's endurance and spread.

The image of Scotland as a wild Highland periphery was disseminated by two of the most wide-reaching forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the British Empire and American popular culture. The poems of Ossian (1760-63), Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels (c. 1814-1824), Queen Victoria's Highland journals (1868 and 1884), and Sir Harry Lauder's music hall shows (1890s-1920s) were followed by Hollywood films like *Brigadoon* (1953), *Highlander* (1986), and *Braveheart* (1995) and by fantasy novels like Diane Gabaldon's bestselling *Outlander* series (from 1991). These artistic efforts disseminated the Scottish dreamscape – while *real* Highlanders, embodiments of the myth, fought and paraded as British soldiers in Waterloo (1815), Crimea (1853-56), India (1857), Flanders (1917), the Normandy Beaches (1944), and Hong Kong (1997, as the Union Jack was lowered). When *Braveheart* came to movie theatres worldwide in 1995, it was its familiarity, not its novelty, which made it so successful. Scottish rebel-heroes have fascinated readers and dreamers for more than 200 years.

Chapter 4 approaches the dreamscape's spread from five directions. Section 4.1 looks at the poems of Ossian and their uses in early nineteenth-century nationalism. It homes in on the Russian reception to exemplify how the Highlander assisted in the creation of other nations' histories. Section 4.2 explores the image of the Highland soldier. The kilted warrior's frequent depictions in the arts and in early photojournalism after Waterloo (1815) and the Crimean War (1853-1856) lent the Scottish dreamscape an enduring martial quality. Section 4.3 discusses touring Scottish entertainers and especially Sir Harry Lauder in early twentieth-century North America. It stresses that Scots have used their own mythology to speak to international audiences, to markets of longing. Section 4.4 focuses on pseudo-Scottish Hollywood films. These movies feed back into Europe and re-shape the Scottish dreamscape. Section 4.5 finally discusses Scottish Romance novels and the erotics of the kilted Scotsman. It approaches the issue of female agency in the dissemination of the Scottish dreamscape.

Importantly, dreams of Scotland have a record of inspiring other nations and other people in the making of their own history and tradition. The Highland mythology has long served as a model, an archive, a site of memory.

#### 4.1 Writers: Ossian in Russia (1792)

Exhibit number F671 at the Suvorov Museum in Konchanskoe, a hamlet in central Russia's Novgorod area, is a copy of Ossian. The museum displays the surviving effects of Field-Marshal Alexander Vasilevich Suvorov (1729-1800) who spent several years of his life in rural exile in Konchanskoe. Suvorov read *Fingal* in the first full translation by Ermil Ivanovich



Kostrov, published in 1792 and dedicated to Suvorov himself.<sup>1</sup> In the introductory poem, translator Kostrov expressed the hope that the famous Russian General (who himself enjoyed writing poetry in his idle hours) would recognise himself in the Scottish Highlander:

An enemy of flattery, of paperwork and lazy luxury,  
A truthful and upright judge of efforts,  
Heroic deeds for the love of fatherland,  
Read Ossian, you will recognise yourself in him.<sup>2</sup>

General Suvorov was stationed in Finland when Kostrov's *Ossian* was published in 1792, but it appears that he received the book in the mail or was aware of earlier French translations. In October 1792, Suvorov wrote in a letter: 'I wander through these barren, rocky lands, I sing of Ossian.' A diary entry later in the same year reads: 'Ossian, my companion, he inspires me: I see and hear Fingal in the fog, sitting on high crags.'<sup>3</sup>

*Ossian* remained at Suvorov's side. After a row with Tsar Paul I (r. 1796-1801) over what the General thought to be an unmanly redesign of the Russian army's uniforms, Suvorov was discharged and ordered to leave St. Petersburg. On his run-down estate in Konchanskoe, he reportedly sang psalms in a peasant choir and showed some skill in ringing the church bells. He also dreamt of Ossian. In November 1798, Suvorov wrote to his long-time friend, D.I. Khvostov: 'May I ask you to bring with you from St. Petersburg ... a small book, Kostrov's translation of *Ossian*.'<sup>4</sup> Suvorov was rehabilitated in the same year to serve in the Napoleonic Wars. Some of his admirers liked to think that the General carried *Ossian* with him when he crossed the Alps in 1799 to confront the French Revolutionary Army. During the spectacular alpine campaign that made Suvorov a 'Generalissimus', the poet G.R. Derzhavin (1743-1816) – the most famous Russian poet of his time and often dubbed Pushkin's predecessor<sup>5</sup> – imagined Suvorov to be marching through thin air and clouds, guided by Ossian himself:

What can it be? Is it not the shade of Ossian,  
The singer of the mists and seas,  
That shows me Moran in the moonlight  
On his way to the king of kings?<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, on the other side of the Alps, the enemy had help by Ossian as well. To begin with, Kostrov's Russian translation was made not from the original work, but from Letourneur's hugely popular French adaption (*Ossian, poésies galliques*, 1777). French

<sup>1</sup> For a commented edition of Kostrov's *Ossian*, see Yuri Davidovich Levin, *James Macpherson, Poemy Ossiana [Ossian's poems]* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> 'Враг лести, пышности и роскоши ленивой – Заслугам судия неложный и правдивый – Геройски подвиги за отчество любя – Прочти его [Ossian], и в нем увидишь ты себя.' Levin, *Poemy Ossiana*, 447f.

<sup>3</sup> 'Странствую в сих каменномшистых местах, пою из Оссиана...' V.S. Lopatinym, *A.V. Suvorov. Pis'ma. [Letters]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1986), 240. And: 'Оссиан, мой сопутник, меня воспламеняет; я вижу и слышу Фингала в тумане, на высокой скале сидящего...' Cited in Yuri Davidovich Levin, *Ossian v russkoi literature [Ossian in Russian Literature]* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1980), 33.

<sup>4</sup> '...поручено от меня между прочим привезть с собою из С.-Петербурга ... томик – перевод Оссиана Кострова.' Lopatinym, *Pis'ma*, 328. On Suvorov's exile see K. Osipov, *Alexander Suvorov. A Biography*, transl. E. Bone (London: Hutchinson, 1941?), 126f. Tsar Paul I was notoriously obsessed with uniforms and entertained 'paradomania', see Alexander M. Martin, 'The Russian Empire and the Napoleonic Wars', in *Napoleon and Europe*, ed. PG Dwyer (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 243-63, here: 250.

<sup>5</sup> Yuri Davidovich Levin, 'Russian Responses to the Poetry of Ossian', in *Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century. Contacts and Comparisons*, ed. AG Cross (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research, 1979), 49-64, here: 51.

<sup>6</sup> 'Но что? Не дух ли Оссиана – Певца туманов и морей – Мне кажется под луной Морана – Как шел он на царя царей?' G.R. Derzhavin, 'Na perekhod alpiskikh gor' [On Passing over the Alps], 1799, cited from Levin, *Poemy Ossiana*, 448.

painters envisaged Ossian as an ally; in 1802, Anne Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson created an Ossian who welcomed the fallen French Generals to a heaven of heroes, and in 1811, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres was commissioned to paint the 'Homer of the North' for Napoleon's bedroom at the Quirinal Palace in Rome, a painting now known as 'Dream of Ossian'.<sup>7</sup> Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was deeply fond of the Highlander and compared Ossian to 'the whisper of the wind and the waves of the sea'.<sup>8</sup> Both Napoleon and Suvorov went to war with Ossian on their minds.

And they were not alone. In the period from c. 1774 to 1830, the poems of Ossian captured the imagination of a great number of European readers, poets, and politicians. The mythical Scottish bard became one of the most celebrated figures of European Romanticism. Ossian served as a model ancestor at a time that saw the rise of modern nation states and the formulation of national histories. Long before twenty-first-century playwrights would direct their yearning for roots towards Scotland, Ossian inspired European intellectuals to imagine their past in a Scottish manner. As Kidd and Coleman note: 'Every nation, or aspirant nation, it seemed was on a quest to find its own domestic Ossian.'<sup>9</sup>

The poems of Ossian were first published in Edinburgh between 1760 and 1763 and presented as a scholarly notation of Gaelic oral tradition, recorded and translated by the young Highland schoolteacher James Macpherson (1736-1796) with the support of prominent Edinburgh literati.<sup>10</sup> The first poems appeared only 14 years after Culloden and the widespread anti-Highlander hysteria that had accompanied the Jacobite risings. In Britain, they marked the beginning of a new urban interest in Scottish Highland culture – exotic, pre-modern, and safely defeated (see Chapter 3).<sup>11</sup> Fittingly, Ossian was no fearsome irredentist rebel but a blind old bard recounting the tales of a dying warrior race.

Debate on Ossian's authenticity began in the year of its publication, when Samuel Johnson and others expressed their doubts on the verses' antiquity.<sup>12</sup> Macpherson's epics were soon unmasked as a largely fantastical imitation of ancient poetry. Bizarrely, the debate has never really ended since, as many scholars continue to disagree over what matters more about Ossian; Macpherson's wilful deception or the bits and pieces of *genuine* Gaelic poetry he employed to create his hoax.<sup>13</sup> In any case, the eighteenth-century dispute remained largely academic and did little to hamper Ossian's international success. Ossianic poetry ran like 'a flood of lava through Europe', wrote Matthew Arnold, and its exceptional impact in European

<sup>7</sup> Henry Okun, 'Ossian in Painting', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 327-356, here: 348.

<sup>8</sup> This according to his wife's lady-in-waiting, Claire Elisabeth de Rémusat. J. Christopher Herold, *The Mind of Napoleon. A Selection from his Written and Spoken Words* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955), 155. Apparently, Napoleon had discovered Ossian via Goethe's *Werther* (1774), a short novel that quotes lengthily from Ossian and helped to popularise the Scottish epic. Francis Lamport, 'Goethe, Ossian and Werther', in *From Gaelic to Romantic. Ossianic Translations*, eds. F. Stafford & H. Gaskill (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 97-106, here: 100.

<sup>9</sup> Colin Kidd & James Coleman, 'Mythical Scotland', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History, 1500 to 2010*, eds. TM Devine & J. Wormald (Oxford: Oxford UP, forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup> The poems of Ossian consist of two separate epics, *Fingal* (1761, dated 1762) and *Temora* (1763). They were preceded by *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland* (1760).

<sup>11</sup> The debates on Ossian inspired some of the earliest collections of 'authentic' Gaelic poetry, for instance, Randal McDonald's *Eigg Collection* (1776). See Hugh Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian, 1760-1900', *Scotlands* (1997): 1-24, here: 3.

<sup>12</sup> TM Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> For two very different approaches to Macpherson, see Derick Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1952). Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland. Myth and History*, ed. JJ Cater (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), 112f.

Romanticism has been studied exhaustively.<sup>14</sup> Ossian inspired German writers like Tieck, Schiller, and Goethe, and guided Klopstock and Herder's search for their nation's soul in myths, fairytales, and folk rhymes.<sup>15</sup> In Paris and Geneva, the Highlander was heralded a visitor from an innocent and natural pre-modernity.<sup>16</sup> Ossian inspired Schubert's *Lieder* and Italian *Canti*.<sup>17</sup> Ossian left a legacy in Portuguese and Galician literature, and even influenced Brazilian writers.<sup>18</sup> He entranced North America, where Thomas Jefferson thought Ossian 'this rude bard of the North', was 'the greatest poet that has ever existed'.<sup>19</sup>

Ossian hit a Romantic nerve. His melancholy for a vanishing people stirred all those European thinkers who saw themselves confronted with industrial revolution, change, and acceleration (see Chapter 2). Spreading concern for the primitive found a formidable embodiment in Ossian – a European ancestor, a survivor from the past.<sup>20</sup> 'All Europe believed that in the Highlands, if anywhere, poetry might be found', notes GR Barratt.<sup>21</sup> In the disguise of Ossian, the Scottish Highlander – and with him soon, in the time of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), Scotland as a whole – became a target for European nostalgia. Ossian disseminated first notions of Scotland as an old place, a reservoir of history, and when Scott published his Waverley novels, Europe was already familiar with the wild Scotland of Rob Roy and Redgauntlet.<sup>22</sup> With his unwillingness to adapt and modernise, the Highlander entered the pantheon of Romantic heroes and came to stand next to 'Napoleon, Satan, Shakespeare, the Wandering Jew and other trespassers of ordinary life'.<sup>23</sup>

The most common form of adoration is imitation, and Ossian was copied throughout Europe. Their paraphrases often led to new national poems and epics. Ossian served as a template. In Russia, to remain with our initial example, Ossian facilitated the formation of a Russian national literature and identity in the years between 1792 and 1830, as has been observed

<sup>14</sup> Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith, Elder, 1867), 152f. Dafydd Moore, ed., *Ossian and Ossianism* (London: Routledge, 2004). (4vols) Howard Gaskill, ed., *Receptions of Ossian in Europe* (London: Thoemmes, 2004). Fiona Stafford, *Sublime Savage. James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, 'Homer des Nordens' und 'Mutter der Romantik'. *Ossian und seine Rezeption in der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003). (4 vols.)

<sup>16</sup> Paul van Tieghem, *Ossian en France* (Paris: Rieder, 1917). (2 vols.)

<sup>17</sup> Francesca Broggi, *The Rise of the Italian Canto. Macpherson, Cesarotti, and Leopardi – from the Ossianic Poems to the Canto* (Ravenna: Longo, 2006). Robert Fiske, *Scotland in Music. An European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).

<sup>18</sup> In Galicia, Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) invented a Celtic-Galician mythology on the basis of Ossian in the 1880s. Pondal was no minor Galician poet but author of the Galician anthem *Os Pinos*. See Isidoro Montiel, *Ossian en España* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1974). Maria Gabriela Carvalho Buescu, *Macpherson e o Ossian em Portugal. Estudo Comparativo-Translatológico* (Lisboa: Colibri, 2001). Ofir Bergemann de Aguiar, *Ossian no Brasil* (Goiânia: Editora UFG, 1999).

<sup>19</sup> Valentina Bold, 'Rude Bard of the North. James Macpherson and the Folklore of Democracy', *Journal of American Folklore* 114:454 (2001): 464-77. Susan Manning, 'Why does it Matter that Ossian was Thomas Jefferson's Favourite Poet?' *Symbiosis* 1:2 (October 1997): 219-36. Frederic I. Carpenter 'The Vogue of Ossian in America: A Study in Time', *American Literature* 2 (1931): 405-17. Georg Fridén, *James Fenimore Cooper and Ossian* (Upsala: Lundequist, 1949).

<sup>20</sup> Fiona Stafford, 'Primitivism and the Primitive Poet. A Cultural Context for Macpherson's Ossian', in *Celticism*, ed. T. Brown (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 79-96.

<sup>21</sup> GR Barratt, 'The Melancholy and the Wild. A Note on Macpherson's Russian Success', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3 (1973): 125-35, here: 126.

<sup>22</sup> On Walter Scott's influence on European thought, see Murray G. Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006). Cairns Craig, 'Scott's Staging of the Nation', *Studies in Romanticism* 40:1 (Spring 2001): 13-29.

<sup>23</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1997, orig. 1962), 259.

by Yuri Levin in his seminal study on Ossian in Russia.<sup>24</sup> Many Russian writers 'recognised themselves' in the poems of Ossian, just as translator E.I. Kostrov had intended. Kostrov helped to increase Ossian's familiarity and turned the Gaelic epic into something approaching Russian folklore by rendering Ossian in a language laced with medieval Church Slavonic. This made the text more exotic and more Russian at the same time. Kostrov relied on rhythmic folk rhyme (*sklad*) to give the Scottish tale a Slavic swing. His work outlasted all later translation efforts and remains the authoritative Russian Ossian to this day.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, his Ossian was used for prize recitations in many Russian schools.<sup>26</sup> It is likely that Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) had his first encounters with the Highlander at school. His early poems *Kol'na* (1813) and *Osgar* (1814) are Ossianic rhapsodies. Pushkin's youthful imitations were a fairly typical approach to Ossian. Major and minor Russian writers – among them V.A. Zhukovski, P.A. Vyazemski, N.M. Karamzin – copied the Scottish epic, borrowed its characters, re-created its mood, and used it to test rhymes. Kostrov's translation of Ossian became 'the source for all kinds of poetic variations and free imitations by Russian poets', writes Levin, and Peter France suggests that many of Russia's best-known Romantic poets went through a 'brief and youthful "Ossian" period.'<sup>27</sup>

Kostrov's russified Ossian arrived at a time of heightened intellectual interest in Russian as a literary language. Before 1790, the small and cosmopolitan elites of St. Petersburg and Moscow had conversed almost exclusively in French, while up to 97 percent of the population lived in a 'self-contained, illiterate village-world'.<sup>28</sup> Russian national literature was either hidden in monasteries or virtually nonexistent. This changed as the French Revolution with its slogans of equality irritated Russia's elites. During the Napoleonic Wars, distaste for French language and culture became a patriotic duty, and it grew fashionable amongst noblemen to speak Russian, a thing which had been considered common for centuries. In St. Petersburg, so deeply immersed in French culture, the events of 1789 and the humiliating peace of Tilsit (1807) made the nobility exchange 'Cliquot and Lafite for kvas and vodka'.<sup>29</sup> Russian intellectuals shed their fixation on the Mediterranean classics and looked out for more 'Russian' tales. In 1795, N.M. Karamzin articulated the need for Northern difference in his epic poem *Ilya Muromets*: 'We are not Greeks, not Romans. We don't believe their legends ... We heard different tales from our mothers. And now I shall tell one of them in the old way.'<sup>30</sup>

Kostrov's Ossian helped Russian poets to recall their mothers' 'different tales'. They employed the Highland bard as a guide into Russian history. Ossian had arrived in Russia before the Finnish folk-epic *Kalevala* (1836) and before the first popular editions of the

<sup>24</sup> Levin, *Ossian v russkoe literature*. See also Peter France, 'Fingal in Russia', in *Receptions of Ossian in Europe*, ed. H. Gaskill (London: Thoemmes, 2004), 259-73. Barratt, 'The Melancholy and the Wild'.

<sup>25</sup> France, 'Fingal in Russia', 260.

<sup>26</sup> Ian McGowan, 'Caledonia and Rus': Some Literary Cross-References', in *The Caledonian Phalanx. Scots in Russia*, ed. P. Dukes (Edinburgh: NLS, 1987), 81-89, here: 81, sadly without revealing his source.

<sup>27</sup> Levin, 'Russian Responses', 51, France, 'Fingal in Russia', 260.

<sup>28</sup> Martin 'Russian Empire and the Napoleonic Wars', 245. Jefferey Brooks, *When Russia learned to read. Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1985). Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolutions*, 136. Andreas Kappeler, 'Some Remarks on Russian National Identities (Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', *Ethnic Studies* 10 (1993): 147-55, here: 152. In 1800, only one in twenty-five Russians lived in a town, compared to one in five in France and one in three in England and Wales. Martin 'Russian Empire and the Napoleonic Wars', 243.

<sup>29</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance. A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), 67.

<sup>30</sup> Cited from Hans Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1960), 155.

Icelander Sagas.<sup>31</sup> He became a singer for the North. Ossian helped to appreciate and perhaps discover one of the greatest epics of Russian literature – the *Song of Igor's Campaign*, a poem that allegedly dates from the Kievan Middle Ages. The tale, like Ossian, is a song of defeat. It recounts how four twelfth-century Kievan princes travel forth to slay invading nomads but then suffer disastrous defeat and captivity. The manuscript was discovered in the 1790s by Count Pushkin-Mysin in a stack of bound manuscripts. From the moment of its discovery, *Song of Igor* was mentioned in one breath with Ossian. In 1797, Karamzin announced the find in a letter to the Hamburg-based *Spectateur du Nord*: 'on a déterré, il y a deux ans, dans nos archives, le fragment d'un poème, intitulé *le Chant des guerriers d'Igor*, qui peut être mis à côté des plus beaux morceaux d'Ossian'.<sup>32</sup> As Levin states, the Russian epic never existed without a popular connection to Ossian.<sup>33</sup>

There are remarkable textual similarities between *Ossian* and *Igor*, and it has been suggested that these indicate that one was inspired by the other one. But there are differing opinions. The Russian novelist Vladimir Nabokov argued that the similarities only prove that both *Ossian* and *Igor* contain authentic bits of Northern medieval poetry. Nabokov sees both epics spring from the same ancient root and suspects that there are 'certain bridges or ruins of bridges [which] may be distinguished linking Scottish-Gaelic romances and Kievan ones'.<sup>34</sup> *Ossian* and *Igor* were and continue to be linked in mythologies of kinship.

As with *Ossian*, the Russian epic's antiquity is contested to this day.<sup>35</sup> Speculation about *Song of Igor's* authenticity is not likely to cease soon, mainly because the original copy was burned. Field-Marshal Suvorov's alpine campaign was unsuccessful (another defeat), and when Napoleon marched into Moscow in September 1812, the city was burnt to the ground. 'The beautiful and splendid city of Moscow exists no more', wrote Bonaparte to the Russian Tsar Alexander I on 20 September 1812.<sup>36</sup> The house of Count Pushkin-Mysin, discoverer of *Igor*, was not spared, and the original manuscript lost. Baptised in fire and refusing closer investigation, *Song of Igor* became a Russian national epic.

Napoleon's invasion of 1812 proved a decisive moment for Russian national unification. During the battle of Borodino, where the Russian troops failed to stop the French from advancing towards Moscow, two Generals still read *Ossian* to each other to keep spirits high.<sup>37</sup> But 25 years later, Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov (1814-1841) recalled the faithful battle in his own *Borodino* (1837), a poem which acquired 'national' status. The same fire that consumed the *Song of Igor* in Moscow did incinerate Karamzin's personal library, but it could not stop him from publishing Russia's first national history, in 1818.<sup>38</sup> In retrospect,

<sup>31</sup> Kalevala was compiled and published by Elias Lönnrot in 1835-6, translated into Russian in 1888.

<sup>32</sup> N.N. [N.M. Karamzin], 'Lettre au Spectateur sur la Littérature Russe', *Spectateur du Nord* (4 October 1797), 53-71, here: 55.

<sup>33</sup> Levin, 'Russian Responses', 57

<sup>34</sup> Nabokov, ed., *Song of Igor's Campaign*, 7-21, here: 15. For doubts about *Igor's* authenticity see e.g. Edward L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovsky and the Origins of the Igor Tale* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> *Slovo o polku Igoreve* – see Nabokov's English translation, Vladimir Nabokov, ed., *The Song of Igor's Campaign* (Woodstock: Ardis, 2003, orig. 1960).

<sup>36</sup> Friedrich Schulze, ed., *Napoleons Briefe* (Leipzig: Insel, 1912), 290. In his memoirs, Napoleon complains that the Russians burned the city to rid his army of shelter, see Somerset De Chair, ed., *Napoleon's Memoirs* (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), 490. In Russia, the fire of Moscow is conceived as the work of Napoleon.

<sup>37</sup> Levin, *Ossian v russkoe literature*, 93.

<sup>38</sup> Pushkin wrote of Karamzin's *History of the Russian State* in 8 volumes: 'It was a revelation. You could say that Karamzin discovered ancient Russia as Columbus discovered America.' Cited in Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 130.

Napoleon did 'launch the Russian nation', as Pushkin realised in 1821.<sup>39</sup> Like Pushkin, Lermontov had honed his skills with Ossianic imitations before he turned to Russian history. His 1830 poem *Ossian's Grave* is an Ossianic reverie:

Под занавесою тумана, Под небом бурь, среди степей, Стоит могила Оссиана В горах Шотландии моей.	Under a covering of fog, On a moor under a stormy heaven, Lies the grave of Ossian In Scottish hills I call my own.
Летит к ней дух мой усыпленный Родимым ветром подышать И от могилы сей забвенной Вторично жизнь свою занять!..	And there my slumbering spirit flies To breathe the air that he inhaled, And from this now forgotten grave To come alive again myself!.. <sup>40</sup>

Ossian's Scotland serves as a reservoir of memories to the Russian poet. While Lermontov's relationship to Scotland was peculiar in so far that he and his family claimed descent from an (unproven) seventeenth-century Scottish mercenary by the name of George Learmonth<sup>41</sup>, there is something generically Romantic in the poet's yearning for a Scottish home.

**Conclusion 4.1:** *James Macpherson's Ossian (1760-63) became a key text of European Romanticism. With its praise of old ways and untamed nature, Ossian could be employed as a European noble savage and model ancestor. Ossian inspired many formulations of national history and tradition. In Russia, Ossian's impact may have been particularly profound, as the lack of literacy, literature, and standardised literary language made E.I. Kostrov's translation (1792) a model text for the (re-)creation of Russian folk epics. But throughout Europe, Ossian was widely read and imitated. When Sir Walter Scott published his Waverley novels, he could build upon a familiar notion of Scotland.*

## 4.2 Soldiers: Highlanders at Waterloo (1815)

In May 1815, the 79<sup>th</sup> Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders travelled from Belfast to Brussels to fight Napoleon with Wellington's army.<sup>42</sup> After the victory at Waterloo, they became something of an attraction in Paris. In his diary, Sergeant Thomas Campbell of the Grenadier Company recalls being scrutinised – along with Private John Fraser and Piper Kenneth Mackay – by the Russian Tsar Alexander I in the Elysée Palace, on 17 August 1815:

The Emperor made a very minute inspection of us, and his curiosity led him to call upon me, as being the most robust of the party, to step to the front, when he ordered the rest to sit

<sup>39</sup> Simon Bainbridge, 'Napoleon and European Romanticism', in *A Companion to European Romanticism*, ed. M. Ferber (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 450-66, here: 464.

<sup>40</sup> Translation by Jim Kates, cited in Michael Ferber, ed., *European Romantic Poetry* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005), 440.

<sup>41</sup> On the Lermontov-Learmonth connection, see the (fan-authored) Tatyana Molchanova & Rex Learmonth, *Learmonth's – Lermontovs. Origin and History of the Surname and Families, 1057-2007* (Published by Lermontov's Hereditary Association, Moscow, 2008).

<sup>42</sup> Earlier in 1815, they had twice set sail for America but turned around due to bad weather. John S. Keltie, *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments* (Edinburgh: TC Jack, 1882), vol. 2.

down. As soon as I stepped to the front I was surrounded by astonished nobility, and the Emperor commenced his inspection and questions as follows ... he examined my hose, gaiters, legs, and pinched my skin, thinking I wore something under my kilt, and had the curiosity to lift my kilt up to my navel, so that he might not be deceived. The questions were: If I was present at the actions of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June? Whether I was in Egypt? If I wore the kilt in winter, or, if I did not feel the cold in that season? If I was married? If my parents were alive?

The Emperor then requested Lord Cathcart to order me to put John Fraser through the 'manual and platoon' exercise, at which performance he was highly pleased. He then requested the pipers to play up, and Lord Cathcart desired them to play the Highland tune 'Cogue na Shee' [sic, really: cògaidh nà sith, gael. war or peace], which he explained to the Emperor, who seemed highly delighted with the music.

After the Emperor had done with me, the veteran Count Platoff came up to me, and, taking me by the hand, told me in broken English that I was a good and brave soldier, and all my countrymen were. He then pressed my hand to his breast, and gave me his to press to mine. After all this was over I was ordered to take the party to Lord Cathcart's quarters, where we had refreshments, and received a piece of money each from his lordship, and also his approbation for our appearance.<sup>43</sup>

Sergeant Campbell's account gives an idea of the unusual sight kilted soldiers made on the European continent at the time of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). Indeed before 1815, even British citizens sometimes failed to recognise Highland regiments as their own troops. A soldier by the name of Allan Macpherson of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland Regiment of Foot noted on his return from North America, in 1762:

I arrived from America in the year of 1762 (at Bristol). I was dressed in the uniform of the 42<sup>nd</sup> or Royal Highlanders, to which I then belonged: a great crowd of people came round me and a respectable looking man asked me, 'Pray, Sir, forgive me for asking whether you be with us or against – for I never saw such a dress before'.<sup>44</sup>

Such confusion was washed away by the victory at Waterloo. In 1815, the kilted Highland regiments became celebrated heroes, defenders of Britain, and their colourful uniforms were depicted by numerous artists and newspapers. In the course of the nineteenth century, the Highland soldier became 'one of the principal icons of the [British] imperial enterprise'.<sup>45</sup> He also became an international symbol for Scotland. For the past 200 years, Scotland has been widely associated with tartan-clad, kilt-wearing, bagpipe-playing, fighting males. The Highland soldier is at the heart of the Scottish dreamscape. This chapter examines how martial images of Scotland were spread through the global channels of Empire. It pays particular attention to the fact that many of the men who made the kilted soldier famous were neither Highlanders nor Scots.

To be sure, Scottish soldiers served on the European continent long before Waterloo. Lowland and Highland mercenaries fought for the French monarch in the Hundred Years'

<sup>43</sup> Statement by Sergeant Thomas Campbell of the 79th Highlanders (3 July 1818), NAS, GD/45/26/85. See also *Historical Records of the Cameron Highlanders* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1909), vol. 1, 121f. Re-enactors of the Napoleonic Wars sometimes re-stage the scene.

<sup>44</sup> Cited from Diana M. Henderson, *Highland Soldier. A Social Study of the Highland Regiments, 1820-1920* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 14, n.41.

<sup>45</sup> John M. MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire', *International History Review* 15:4 (1993): 713-39.

War (c. 1337-1453), acted as his personal bodyguards (the *garde écossais*) from 1449 to the early 1600s, enlisted with the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus and various other parties in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), and served in the armies of Poland-Lithuania, Prussia, and the Russian Tsar.<sup>46</sup> In the Low Countries, the 'Scots Brigade' was disbanded only in 1783, more than seven decades after Scotland's union with England (1707).<sup>47</sup> The Scottish military tradition predates its most famous image, the Highland soldier. As is examined in Chapter 7, some of these medieval and early modern Scottish soldiers are being rediscovered and remembered by the Scots of Europe today.

This said, the Highland regiments which proved so decisive for the making of Scotland's modern image and identity were not raised before the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>48</sup> They are profoundly *British* regiments. The raising of Highland regiments for Britain began after Culloden (1746), for only the safe defeat of Jacobitism and the Highland clans which had supported it made Highland soldiers in British ranks politically acceptable. After Culloden, the formerly feared rebels were turned into tragic tribal soldiers, their loyalty to Clan leaders and luckless Bonnie Prince Charlie into a laudably old-fashioned martial ethos, and their alleged primitive nature into the stuff that made natural born warriors.<sup>49</sup> In 1766, British Prime Minister William Pitt justified his employment of Highland men in the Seven Years' War with a famous speech: 'I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called forth, and drew into your service, an hardy and intrepid race of men!'<sup>50</sup> Pitt made the Highlands a reservoir of pre-modern martial spirit that could be tapped into by the ingenious British politician.

The integration of Highland soldiers into the British army occurred in the context of a wider European interest in 'ethnic' warfare, 'primitive' peoples, and, in the nineteenth century, 'martial races'.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, eighteenth-century British politicians also valued Highland soldiers for their availability. General Wolfe, who had fought the clans at Culloden, employed Highlanders at the battle for Québec because he saw 'no great mischief if they fall'.<sup>52</sup> David Horsbroch thinks that Highlanders were enlisted and sent abroad to the colonies 'where they

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<sup>46</sup> Philippe Contamine, 'Scottish Soldiers in France in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century. Mercenaries, Immigrants, or Frenchmen in the Making?', in *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247-1967*, ed. GG Simpson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 16-30. Matthew Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 31-48. Steve Murdoch & Andrew Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity. Scottish Military Experience 1550-1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Robert I. Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Service of Poland-Lithuania, 1577-1661', in *Scotland and the Thirty Years War*, ed. S. Murdoch (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 191-213. David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572-1648', in *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994*, ed. GG Simpson (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), 104-121. Dmitry Fedosov, 'Under the Saltire. Scots in the Russian Navy, 1690s-1910s', in *Scotland and the Slavs*, eds. M. Cornwall & M. Frame (Newtonville, MA: St Petersburg, 2001), 21-53. TM Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2004, orig. 2003), 290-319.

<sup>47</sup> Stephen Conway, 'The Scots Brigade in the Eighteenth Century', *Northern Scotland* 1 (2010): 30-41.

<sup>48</sup> Only one Highland Regiment was raised before Culloden; the 42<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Foot (the Black Watch) was set up in 1739 and shipped to India right away. In 1743, the regiment mutinied. On short-lived Highland Companies which served the Crown before 1707, see Diane M. Henderson, *The Scottish Regiments* (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1993), 27, 40-5. Stephen Wood, *The Scottish Soldier* (Manchester: Archive, 1987), 29.

<sup>49</sup> Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero. The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Cited in Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, 12, n.23

<sup>51</sup> Thomas S. Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress. European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Oxford, Berg, 1999). Heather Streets, *Martial Races. The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004).

<sup>52</sup> WT Waugh, *James Wolfe: Man and Soldier* (Montreal: Louis Carrier, 1928), 101.



would not be a threat'.<sup>53</sup> Recruitment served as a tool for control, and not all Highlanders joined the British army voluntarily. Diane M. Henderson suggests that one aim of the large-scale Highland recruitments was to depopulate and weaken the region.<sup>54</sup>

In the Highlands, the economic situation after Culloden made a career in the British army attractive to many. Overpopulation and the re-organisation of agricultural production had led to a scarcity of work and income. TM Devine identifies the army as an 'escape route ... from the irresistible forces of agrarian modernisation'.<sup>55</sup> The rise of the Highland soldier occurred parallel to the impoverishment of large parts of Highland society. In the years from 1756 to 1815, recruitment became a veritable business in the Highlands. 48 300 men were raised from a population of less than 350 000 to serve in 23 British line regiments and 26 fencible units.<sup>56</sup> Ten Highland regiments were raised between 1756 and 1765 alone.<sup>57</sup>

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, many observers understood recruiting practices in the Highlands as a continuation of pre-modern Clan tradition – as a summoning of loyal Clansmen by their chiefs. This was not the case.<sup>58</sup> If anything, the landowning elites who raised Highland regiments *imitated* the old Clan traditions in order to endow their regiments with an aura of Highland spirit and brand image. Devine argues that the 'military entrepreneurs' who enlisted Highlanders acted behind a façade of clan loyalties.<sup>59</sup> Such strategies of self-ethnicisation were also evident in the Highland uniforms, which were designed in increasingly elaborate ways to achieve a maximum theatrical effect. Highland dress and bearskin caps summoned an image of ancient Clan warfare and were an essential asset in the military market. Often, the uniforms were of great personal concern to the commanders. In the Highland regiments, a degree of playacting was involved from the start.

Scottish soldiers played important roles in both the Seven Years' War and the American War. However, it was the Napoleonic Wars and Waterloo which made the Highland soldiers heroes in the eyes of the wider British and later European public. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Highlanders' pipers became symbols for the British advance. From Arroyo de Molinos in Spain (1811) comes report of the Gordon Highlanders:

The 71<sup>st</sup> and 92<sup>nd</sup> led in the storming of the village, and it is said, though I do not vouch for it, that the first intelligence the French commander had of our being near him, was hearing our pipers playing 'Hey, Johnnie Cope, are you waukin' yet?'<sup>60</sup>

Waterloo made the Highlanders even more visible – both in Britain and in Europe.<sup>61</sup> The 42<sup>nd</sup>, 73<sup>rd</sup>, 79<sup>th</sup> and 92<sup>nd</sup> Highland regiments won the coveted Battle Honour, *Waterloo*. The *Times* of London praised 'the brave Highlanders' of Waterloo, and the Black Watch enjoyed a

<sup>53</sup> Dauvit Horsbroch, "'Tae See Oursels As Ithers See Us.'" Scottish Military Identity from the Covenant to Victoria, 1637-1837', in *Fighting for Identity*, eds. S. Murdoch & A. Mackillop, 105-29, here: 128.

<sup>54</sup> Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, 5. On coercion and 'land for sons', see Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil. Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815*. (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 316.

<sup>56</sup> Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 150. Hew Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', *Scottish Historical Review* 85/2/220 (October 2006): 315-32, here: 321.

<sup>57</sup> Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land. War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America, 1756-1783* (Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2010).

<sup>58</sup> Mackillop, *More fruitful than the Soil*.

<sup>59</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 317.

<sup>60</sup> Cited from Horsbroch, 'Tae see oursels', 122.

<sup>61</sup> Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

triumphant return home to Edinburgh.<sup>62</sup> After Waterloo, it became desirable for British military men to be in command of a Highland Regiment, as a note in the diary of Thomas Creevy MP shows (26 March 1828): 'We have an event in our family. Fergy [Sir Ronald Ferguson] has got a regiment – a tiptop crack one – one of those beautiful Highland Regiments that were at Brussels, Quatre Bras and Waterloo.'<sup>63</sup> The Highland soldier became an icon of British military culture, and Highland dress 'a glamorous new national symbol whose freshness was yearly renewed on the battlefields of Europe'.<sup>64</sup>

To some extent, the Scots themselves were captivated by the image of the Highland soldier in the nineteenth century. Hew Strachan notes: 'They [the Scots] appropriated the paraphernalia of the Highland soldier as a universal symbol of Scotland.' The symbols which had represented 'a barbaric and even alien form of life' to the 'eighteenth century beacons of the Scottish Enlightenment' became an embodiment of Scottish national identity.<sup>65</sup> Sir Walter Scott's celebration of the Highland soldier played a decisive role in this process. But the Highlander pleased all exponents of British culture. Painters like Orlando Norie, Lady Butler, and Robert Gibb loved to paint Highland regiments, in particularly after the Crimean War (1853-56) and the Indian Mutiny (1857-59). Gibb's paintings *The Thin Red Line* (1881) and *Comrades* (1878) became British classics. Lady Butler found 'these splendid troops ... so essentially pictorial'.<sup>66</sup> The Crimean War was also one of the first military conflicts of which photojournalists brought home images, and the kilted soldiers were a popular subject.<sup>67</sup> The last survivors of the 'Thin Red Line' were interviewed in the British press until the 1890s.<sup>68</sup> Not everyone thinks this attention was fully justified. Strachan writes: 'Highlanders hogged the limelight in the great imperial sagas of the 1850s.'<sup>69</sup>

[4.1: Cpt Cunninghame, 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland Rgt, Crimean War, 1855, photo by R. Fenton]

[4.2: The 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders, Secunderabagh, Siege of Lucknow, painting by O. Norie]

The Crimean War and later the Indian Mutiny produced an array of Highlander memorabilia – shortbread tins, postcards, songs, poems, Music Hall parodies, sketches in the illustrated press, engravings, numerous porcelaines, figurines, and penny novels, even dramatic re-enactments.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, a wealth of diaries and journals was published which featured heroic Scottish soldiers in imperial adventure. Mrs G. Harries, the wife of a pastor who with her family was beleaguered at Lucknow during the Mutiny, recounts how she was saved by the brave and bearded men of the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders on 25 September 1857:

We had no idea that they were so near ... when suddenly, just at dark, we heard a very sharp fire of musketry quite close by, and then a tremendous cheering; an instant after, the sound of bagpipes, then soldiers running up the road, our compound and verandah filled with our

<sup>62</sup> Philip Howard, *The Black Watch* (London: Cooper, 1968), 55-6.

<sup>63</sup> *Historical Records of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders*, v.1, 134, cit. in Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, 8.

<sup>64</sup> William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1988), 92.

<sup>65</sup> Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 327.

<sup>66</sup> Cited in Edward M. Spiers, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire, 1854-1902* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2006), 14.

<sup>67</sup> Roger Fenton's photographs from Crimea: [<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ftncnw/>] (20 April 2011)

<sup>68</sup> Spiers, *Scottish Soldier*, 21, n.42, quoting the *Aberdeen Journal* and the *Belfast News-Letter*, both 1898.

<sup>69</sup> Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 326.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Harrington, *British Artists and the War. The Face of Battle in Paintings and Prints, 1700-1914* (London: Greenhill, 1993). John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction', in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950*, ed. JM MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992), 1-24. Peter Harrington & Michael Tomasek, *Queen Victoria's Army in Color. The British Military Paintings of Orlando Norie* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2003), 120-5, 134, 142.

deliverers, and all of us shaking hands frantically and exchanging fervent 'God bless you's!' with the gallant men and officers of the 78th Highlanders ... the state of joyful confusion and excitement is beyond all description. The big, rough, bearded soldiers were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears rolling down their cheeks and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore.<sup>71</sup>

As John M. MacKenzie notes, the Mutiny 'thoroughly established the iconic significance of the Scottish soldier'.<sup>72</sup> The warrior image of the Highland soldier acquired such strength that it became increasingly irrelevant as to who exactly performed in the kilt. By the end of the eighteenth century, British demand for Highland soldiers had become greater than the Highland supply.<sup>73</sup> In 1809, five Highland regiments abandoned the kilt because of a lack of Highland recruits.<sup>74</sup> One reason was emigration; many Scots – Highlanders and Lowlanders – left for America and Australia in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1855, during the Crimean War, an editorial in the *Times* complained that the Highlands were so depopulated that it was impossible to find soldiers there:

If we want men for our armies – and we do want men – we must go to Manchester or Birmingham, to the streets and lanes of the Metropolis, – anywhere but to the Highlands of Scotland. You may go a long day's journey and literally not see a house or a man. House and man have been there, but are there no more.<sup>75</sup>

The same editorial also noted that Highlanders 'have long been unable to keep up the small Highland brigade without the aid of other races'. Britain's Highland Regiments have been staffed with Lowland Scots and non-Scots since the late eighteenth century. The Highland soldier's ethnic dress could be worn by anyone. In the Napoleonic Wars, the majority of Scots in the British Army were Lowlanders – 'but their image was Highland'.<sup>76</sup> Highland recruits made no more than a fifth of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland Regiment in 1854, the 78<sup>th</sup> found 'barely 50 per cent of its recruits from Scotland' in 1854/55, and in 1870, five 'ostensibly Scottish regiments' had fewer than 15 percent Scottish recruits.<sup>77</sup> Many of the celebrated Highlanders of Crimea and Lucknow were neither Highlanders nor Scots. Also, Lowland units decorated themselves with tartan and bagpipes and often employed Highland Companies or 'Highland Volunteers'.<sup>78</sup>

In 1881, the Highland craze became official, as the War Office ordered all Lowland regiments to wear 'Tartan trews and Highland-style doublets' – the Lowlanders had to become more visibly 'Scottish'.<sup>79</sup> Pseudo-Scottish units were established throughout Britain – the London Scottish, Liverpool Scottish, and Tyneside Scottish – and several non-Scottish units adopted pipe bands (the 4<sup>th</sup> Royal Tank Regiment). In short, the Highland regiments' military

<sup>71</sup> G. Harris, *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow* (London: John Murray, 1858), 119-20.

<sup>72</sup> John M. MacKenzie, 'Heroic Myths of Empire', in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950*, ed. JM MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992), 109-38, here: 116.

<sup>73</sup> Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 324.

<sup>74</sup> Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, 7.

<sup>75</sup> "'The City of Bruges' – we are not quoting...'", *The Times* (21 Sept 1855): 6. The author is grateful to Dr Ewen Cameron for pointing him towards this source.

<sup>76</sup> Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 325. John Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 126-7.

<sup>77</sup> Spiers, *Scottish Soldier*, 10, citing Eric Linklater, *The Black Watch* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1977), 227. Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 326.

<sup>78</sup> Spiers, *Scottish Soldier*, 12.

<sup>79</sup> TM Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), 241. Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity', 327. Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 76-7.

mythology proved so powerful that the original formations were maintained and enlarged beyond all ethnic reality.

This is particularly true for many of Britain's former colonies who refused to let go of their kilted regiments and pipe bands after independence. Non-Scottish regiments throughout the world continue to wear kilts and have pipers. It would require a separate study to identify the Scottish military legacy in the postcolonial world, from Idi Amin's notorious love for tartan and bagpipes to the pipers of the Palestinian Liberation Army, and from the Sri Lankan bagpipe funeral for President Premadasa in Colombo (1993) to the military bands of India, Pakistan, the Middle East, and Hong Kong.<sup>80</sup> As Thomas S. Abler notes, 'the fighting abilities of the Scot and the music that inspired him have had a lasting impact on military traditions far beyond the highlands of Scotland.'<sup>81</sup>

One of the Highlander's most curious post-colonial afterlives may be found in South Africa.<sup>82</sup> There, enthusiasm for Highland soldiers inspired various sections of the colonial military 'to reinvent themselves as Scottish' during the Boer War'. In 1910, South Africa became a Dominion but kept two kilted regiments, the Cape Town Highlanders and the Transvaal Scottish. They were staffed with men of 'English, Welsh, Irish, East European Jewish and Scandinavian descent [who] became great exponents of kilt wearing, bagpipe playing and Scottish military mythology'. After 1948, the Apartheid regime began to see the Scottish regiments as 'useful vehicles for white unity and military mobilization', and in the 1970s, a Scottish Military Tattoo was held in Durban by the Apartheid Defence Force as part of a campaign to build 'pro-military sentiments amongst beleaguered whites'. In 1986, while the racist regime was internationally isolated and a State of Emergency had been declared, Commandant Marriner of the Cape Town Highlanders still dined with the Royal Family at Windsor Castle. South Africa's kilted regiments have survived Apartheid and continue to exist. In 2008, a new Scottish Military Tattoo was set up in Montecasino/ Johannesburg, this time firmly embedded in the international Scottish playacting scene (see Chapter 5).

#### [4.3: Cape Town Highlanders, South Africa, 2005]

**Conclusion 4.2:** *Highland Regiments were first raised for the British Army in the second half of the eighteenth century. Their commanders imitated myths of Clanship and insisted on fantastical uniforms to increase their regiments' historical aura. The Highlanders' military exploits and visibility at Waterloo, in the Crimean War, and during the Indian Mutiny made them famous in both Britain and Europe. The Highland Soldier became a British imperial icon whose image was reworked and reproduced in material culture, song, and literature. The channels of British Empire guaranteed a wide dissemination of the Highland image. Scotland came to be associated with kilted regiments and their martial qualities. Scotland's military mythology proved so powerful that it kilted regiments and pipe bands were retained by many of Britain's former colonies.*

<sup>80</sup> Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 97-9. MacKenzie, 'Scotland and Empire', 727.

<sup>81</sup> Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 98.

<sup>82</sup> After Jonathan Hyslop, 'Cape Town Highlanders, Transvaal Scottish: Military "Scottishness" and Social Power in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 47 (November 2002): 96-114.

### 4.3 Stage: Harry Lauder in America (1907)

The image of the kilted Scotsman was not only carried out into the world by armed soldiers, but also by clowns and comedians. When the Music Hall singer Harry Lauder (1870-1950) performed in the United States, his fans dressed up as Scots to go and see him. In his autobiography, published in 1928, Lauder recalled:

The exiled Scots in the [United] States had more to do with my success than many people imagined... they turned up at my shows in all manner of Scottish costumes – in kilts, with Balmoral bonnets, wearing tartan ties, and many of them brought their bagpipes with them. They imparted an enthusiastic atmosphere to my appearances everywhere; their weird shouts and ‘hoochs’ and skirls provided good copy for journalists and next-day talking points for the natives. In the first twenty weeks I spent in the States I must have met personally ten thousand people who claimed acquaintance with me in ‘the auld days in Hamilton, Harry!’ – or Glasgow, or Arbroath, or Portobello as the case might be.<sup>83</sup>

Lauder, from Portobello near Edinburgh, recognised that his tartan-clad fans were highly picturesque and that they helped to give him media coverage in the United States. He acknowledged that by dressing up ‘in all manner of Scottish costume’, his audiences made him famous and visible. He himself knew best what attention Scottish costume – kilt, tartan, bonnet, bagpipe – could draw. Lauder was a professional Scotsman throughout his career, embodying popular tartan clichés from London to New York and from Melbourne to Johannesburg. He and his many Scottish Music Hall colleagues relentlessly travelled the English-speaking world in the period between c. 1870 and 1914 and did much to carry the Scottish dreamscape into the twentieth century.

Music Hall was the dominant form of song in Britain from c. 1840 to 1920.<sup>84</sup> It developed in the back rooms of public houses as a working class entertainment but was quickly adopted and commercialised by the more ‘swell’ variety theatres on High Street.<sup>85</sup> The ‘Scotch Comic’ was a standard figure in an array of ‘ethnic’ Music Hall characters; he stood next to the Hebrew Comic, the Blackface Minstrel, and the Cockney Coster.<sup>86</sup> The Scotch Comic predated Harry Lauder by several decades; in 1867, P.G. ‘Packy’ Fairley was advertised as ‘The Celebrated Scotch Comedian, who will give, in character, Song and Dance, “The Newhaven Fishwife”, “The Scotch Washerwoman”, [and] “Have ye seen my Jamie”’.<sup>87</sup> The Music Hall Scot wore kilts and garish tartan, cracked jokes about cunning but lazy Highland folk, spoke in lilting Scottish accents, sang sentimental tunes about a distant Highland home, and was often pathologically mean. The character was partly inspired by the many Highlanders who had left their homes in the second half of the nineteenth century and tried to make a living as workers, buskers, and beggars in Glasgow and Edinburgh. But he was also a parody of the British army’s Highland regiments. The figure was familiar, in Glasgow as in London:

<sup>83</sup> Harry Lauder, *Roamin in the Gloamin’* (London: Hutchinson, 1928), 158-9.

<sup>84</sup> JS Bratton, ‘Introduction’, in *Music Hall. Performance and Style*, ed. JS Bratton (Milton Keynes: Open UP, 1986), viii-xv, here: x.

<sup>85</sup> On the origins of Music Hall and on ‘rough’ and ‘swell’ halls, see Dagmar Kift, *The Victorian Music Hall. Culture, Class and Conflict*, transl. R. Kift (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996). On Scotland and the Music Hall, see Frank Bruce, *Scottish Showbusiness. Music Hall, Variety and Pantomime* (Edinburgh: NMS, 2000). Paul Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall, 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003).

<sup>86</sup> Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 2.

<sup>87</sup> *The Scotsman* (9 Dec 1867), cit. in Paul Maloney, ‘Wha’s Like Us? Ethnic Representation in Music Hall and Popular Theatre and the Remaking of Urban Scottish Society’, in *From Tartan to Tartanry*, ed. I. Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010), 129-150, here: 132.

'Much of [Music Hall's] Caledoniana was well recycled in the cultural marketplace across the United Kingdom', writes Frank Bruce. By the time Harry Lauder left the coal mines and did his first stage shows in the late 1880s, 'the role of "Scotch" comic was well established and enjoying something of a boom'.<sup>88</sup>

Towards the end of nineteenth century, British Music Hall artists were in high demand in North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and much of the English-speaking world. Scottish comedians in particular embarked on prolonged tours through the expatriate communities. David Kennedy (1825-1886), a tenor from Perth, left Glasgow by boat in March 1872 and arrived three months later in Melbourne, Australia, together with his extensive family. The Kennedys performed their 'Twa hours at hame' programme for six nights every week during three months in Melbourne, then embarked on a world tour that lasted from 1872 to 1876 and took them to Tasmania, New Zealand, the United States, and Newfoundland. Kennedy's daughter Marjory wrote a book about the journey and noted that her father saw it as his mission 'to carry the songs of Scotland round the world to all the Scots scattered abroad'.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, James Scott Skinner (1843-1927), a fiddler from Banchory, went to the U.S. and Canada in 1893<sup>90</sup>, Willie Frame addressed 3000 spectators in New York's Carnegie Hall on 23 November 1898 with the words 'Brither Scots, when Freens meet He'rts Warm'<sup>91</sup>, and Neil Kenyon, a Scotch comic based in London, played Australia, Singapore, New Guinea, Java, Sumatra, Timor, Egypt, and Algiers in 1910.<sup>92</sup>

The interest in Scottish comedians throughout the English-speaking world and beyond was such that London and Melbourne produced their own 'Scotch' artists to meet demand.<sup>93</sup> The Australian Billy Williams (1878-1919), for example, became a famous Scotch comic in London. In 1913, he sang a song about how his wife had fallen in love with Scotland and turned into what tourism marketers of the twenty first century would call an 'Affinity Scot':

Since my old woman went to Scotland for a holiday  
 She's got Scotland on the brain  
 She's driving me insane  
 She used to give me eggs and bacon for my breakfast once  
 But I've been eating nothing else but porridge now for months  
 She does like a little bit of scotch, d'ye ken?  
 She does like a little bit of scotch.  
 In the middle of the night she begins to sing  
 Jumps out of bed and does a highland fling  
 She's christened me Sandy  
 Her ways you ought to watch  
 It's a braw brecht moon licht nicht d'ye ken?  
 She does like a wee bit of scotch, och aye!  
 She does like a little bit of scotch.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Bruce, *Scottish Showbusiness*, 29, 27.

<sup>89</sup> Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, *A Life of Song* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929).

<sup>90</sup> Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 174.

<sup>91</sup> Willie Frame, *Willie Frame tells his Own Storie* (Glasgow: W. Holmes, 1905[?]). Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 172f.

<sup>92</sup> Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 178.

<sup>93</sup> In Glasgow during the 1920s, the Scotch comic was a role often performed by Glaswegians of Italian, Jewish, and Irish descent. See Maloney, 'Ethnic Representation in Music Hall', 139, 145.

<sup>94</sup> Transcribed from the original 4-minute Edison Blue Amberol Record, No: 23113, UK 1913.

But the most famous of all Scottish Music Hall artists was, of course, Sir Harry Lauder. Born in 1870, he became a textile worker at the age of 12, worked in the coal mines at 13, sang in a temperance choir, took part in competitions, and eventually became a Music Hall star. Wherever Lauder went, he caused scenes of tartan turmoil. On his first arrival in New York in October 1907, he noted:

A very old British friend in Peter Dewar [of Dewar's Whisky] ... had arranged for several pipers in full Highland dress to 'blaw me ashore' and lead the way from the pier to a tartan-draped [sic] motor-car in which I drove to the Knickerbocker Hotel. Hundreds of expatriated Scots had also turned up at the harbour; they gave tongue to vociferous cries, Hielan' hoochs and shouts of welcome. This was all a surprise to me indeed. I had not expected anything like it.<sup>95</sup>

Lauder did 22 tours in North America and became a very wealthy man (who never tipped to uphold the Scottish thrift cliché). He also visited Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and the Far East. His shows were popular with Scottish expatriates – but also with other audiences. Sime Silverman, the founder of *Variety* magazine, wrote in a review of Lauder's first New York show, on 9 November 1907: 'The house was crowded by his countrymen, but you did not have to wear kilts to appreciate him.'<sup>96</sup> Lauder had plans for a film with Charles Chaplin, but it never came to it. When World War I broke out, Lauder was in Australia. He returned in 1916 and began to actively recruit soldiers in Scotland with his own recruitment band. After his son fell with the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders in January 1917, Lauder travelled to the continent and performed for British troops at the front lines. In May or June 1917, he played for a Scottish division stationed at Aubigny-sur-Nère in France:

I was glad to see the kilted men of the Scots regiments all about me. It was them, after all, that I had come to see. I wanted to talk to them, and see them here, in France. I had seen them at home [sic], flocking to the recruiting offices. I had seen them in their training camps. But this was different. I love all the soldiers of the Empire, but it is natural, is it no? that my warmest feeling should be for the laddies who wear the kilt.<sup>97</sup>

Fascinatingly, this encounter of Scottish playactors – soldiers in Highland costume, a singer in Highland costume – took place at a location which had played a major role in the Franco-Scottish Auld Alliance and which would much later, in the 1990s, set up one of the most colourful Scottish commemorative festivals on the European continent (see Chapter 7).

Sir Harry Lauder is as much a Scottish icon as the Highland soldier. He helped to spread the image of the kilted Scotsman and to keep it alive. He recognised the international popularity of the Scottish dreamscape and successfully cashed in on it. He played a Scot for money and inspired many other Scottish entertainers to do likewise. Lauder's legacy is apparent in the characters of film actor James Finlayson (1887-1953), Stan and Ollie's *Bonnie Scotland* (1935), the BBC-show *White Heather Club* (1958-1968) and the work of Scottish entertainers like accordionist Will Starr (1922-1976), singer Andy Stewart (1933-1993), and the Alexander Brothers (performing since the 1950s).<sup>98</sup> 'Harry Lauderism' is a living genre.

#### [4.4: Sir Harry Lauder in New York City, c. 1907]

<sup>95</sup> Lauder, *Roamin in the Gloamin*, 135.

<sup>96</sup> Cited in Gordon Irving, *Great Scot. The Life Story of Sir Harry Lauder, Legendary Laird of the Music Hall* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1968), 77f.

<sup>97</sup> Harry Lauder, *A Minstrel in France* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1918), 223. Lauder, *Roamin in the Gloamin*, 193.

<sup>98</sup> Albert D. Mackie, *The Scotch Comedians. From the Music Hall to Television* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head, 1973).

## [4.5: Alexander Brothers, c. 2007]

It is also a well-hated form of entertainment among most Scottish artists and intellectuals. Lauder stands for the adoption and wilful internalisation of the international cliché. To many, the Clan McClown represents what Frantz Fanon called inferiorisation; the native's acceptance of the colonists' racist stereotypes.<sup>99</sup> An obituary in the *Independent* called Scotch singer Andy Stewart sorry 'the Englishman's image of Scotland in the Fifties and Sixties'.<sup>100</sup> The Scottish nationalist poet Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) insisted that he had 'never met a single intelligent Scot who would be seen at a Lauder performance'.<sup>101</sup> And the documentary film-maker John Grierson (1898-1972) passionately complained:

The synthetic picture of kilties and comics hurts when a nation remembers that it has been in its time both Robinson Crusoe and Paul Jones, conquered large slabs of Russia for the Czars, been so eager to fight out the fate of Canada that it provided warriors for both armies at Quebec, emancipated a couple of South American countries, developed steam and steamhammers and bridge-building and shipbuilding and road-building and modern surgery, founded logarithms and the bank of England, and travelled first down the big rivers of Africa and across Canada and Australia and, as the map will testify, many other places as well.<sup>102</sup>

Grierson's attempt to launch a Scottish counter-image, a mythology of industrial and colonial heroism, would find an echo in later works such as Arthur Herman's *How the Scots invented the modern World*.<sup>103</sup> But as the next section explores, complaints about Scotland's misrepresentation in popular culture became ever more frequent in the second half of the twentieth century, when Hollywood discovered the Scottish dreamscape.

**Conclusion 4.3:** *Many Scottish (and some non-Scottish) Music Hall artists performed as 'Scotch Comics' in the United Kingdom from c. 1870 to 1914; clichéd Scotsmen in Highland costume singing in strong accents. They also played in North America, Australasia, and beyond, where many thousands of Scottish expatriates (and other English-speakers) entertained nostalgia for the old country and identified with the Highland dreamscape. Harry Lauder and his colleagues actively impersonated Scottish clichés for national and international audiences and thus helped to keep the Scottish dreamscape alive. Their work inspired some of the best-known Hollywood films about Scotland.*

#### 4.4 Screen: *Highlander* (1986)

*Highlander* (1986) was not a film about Scotland. Forsyth Hardy called it 'the most spectacular of these quasi-Scottish films' – a Scottish-looking cinematic fantasy that had little

<sup>99</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (Paris: Maspéro, 1961). Craig Beveridge & Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), 1.

<sup>100</sup> Gordon Irving, 'Obituary: Andy Stewart', *The Independent* (13 October 1993).

<sup>101</sup> Cited in Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 2.

<sup>102</sup> Cited in Forsyth Hardy, *Scotland in Film* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1990), 5.

<sup>103</sup> Arthur Herman, *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: Crown, 2001).



or no relation to Scotland, the place on the map.<sup>104</sup> And yet, *Highlander* revitalised the Scottish dreamscape at the end of the twentieth century and reminded a new generation of artists and moviegoers of the seasoned Scottish counter-world – a world of kilted warriors, ancient tradition, distinctiveness, and defence. It prepared the ground for *Braveheart* (1995), Mel Gibson’s spectacularly successful angry-white-male version of the Scottish Middle Ages.

*Highlander* was not the first Hollywood fantasy of Scotland; there is a tradition of ‘quasi-Scottish’ film-making in the United States (and in England). This chapter examines how Hollywood rewrote and disseminated the Scottish dreamscape throughout the twentieth century. It acknowledges the United States’ importance in the global distribution of Scottish aesthetics and historical myths. American popular culture has changed the ways the world sees Scotland (and many other places, too). The Scots of Europe portrayed in this study all had exposure to Hollywood-dreams of Scotland.

### Scotland and cinema

Scotland has long been a popular setting, and the many films which claim to tell a Scottish story have attracted exhaustive scholarly attention; at least five monographs, two edited volumes, and numerous book chapters and articles investigate how filmmakers imagine Scotland.<sup>105</sup> *Braveheart* alone has been discussed in at least a dozen learned essays.<sup>106</sup> To examine ‘Scottish’ films must mean to look towards North America and England; the iconic films about Scotland were not made in Scotland. ‘It is primarily Hollywood and secondarily England which have produced the definitive cinematic depictions of Scotland’, states Jeffrey Richards, and Duncan Petrie remarks:

Since the very beginnings of the cinema a great many films have been made which feature Scottish subject-matter, Scottish location, Scottish actors and even on occasion Scottish directors. But practically all of these have been initiated, developed, financed and produced by individuals and companies based either in London or Los Angeles.<sup>107</sup>

It is fair to say that this state of affairs has somewhat changed in the past decades. Scottish filmmakers have begun to formulate their own visions of Scotland in the 1980s and 1990s. John Brown’s 1983 claim that ‘cinema audiences in Scotland are not at all accustomed to

<sup>104</sup> Hardy, *Scotland in Film*, 192.

<sup>105</sup> Colin McArthur, ed., *Scotch Reels. Scotland in Cinema and Television* (London: BFI, 1982). Hardy, *Scotland in Film*. Eddie Dick, ed., *From Limelight to Satellite. A Scottish Film Book* (London: BFI, 1990). David Bruce, *Scotland the Movie* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996). Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland* (London: BFI, 2000). Colin McArthur, *Brigadoon, Braveheart and the Scots. Distortions of Scotland in Hollywood Cinema* (London: Tauris, 2003). David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2009).

<sup>106</sup> Among the more interesting texts are Michael D. Sharp, ‘Remaking Medieval Heroism. Nationalism and Sexuality in Braveheart’, *Florilegium* 15 (1998): 251-66. Colin McArthur, ‘Braveheart and the Scottish Aesthetic Dilemma’, in *Screening the Past. Film and the Representation of History*, ed. T. Barta (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 167-87. William Luhr, ‘Mutilating Mel. Martyrdom and Masculinity in Braveheart’, in *Mythologies of Violence in Postmodern Media*, ed. C. Sharrett (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1999), 227-46. Sally J. Morgan, ‘The Ghost in the Luggage. Wallace and Braveheart. Post-colonial “Pioneer” Identities’, *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2:3 (1999): 375-392. Euan Hague, ‘Scotland on Film. Attitudes and Opinions about Braveheart’, *Etudes Ecossaises* 6 (2000): 75-89. Jeffrey A. Brown, ‘The Tortures of Mel Gibson. Masochism and the Sexy Male Body’, *Men and Masculinities* 5:2 (October 2002): 123-143.

<sup>107</sup> Jeffrey Richards, *Films and British National Identity. From Dickens to Dad’s Army* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 177. Petrie, *Screening Scotland*, 15.

seeing Scottish movies' is no longer fully valid.<sup>108</sup> In the wake of Bill Forsyth's *Gregory's Girl* (1981) and *Local Hero* (1983), Scottish directors and screenwriters have increased production and enjoyed success with both Scottish and international audiences. Danny Boyle's *Trainspotting* (1996) was one of the most important European independent films of the 1990s, and it distributed a new image of urban Scotland that contrasted starkly with Hollywood's tartan clichés. Other new Scottish films include *Shallow Grave* (1994), *Orphans* (1998), *Ratcatcher* (1999), *Morvern Callar* (2002), *Young Adam* (2003), *Dear Frankie* (2004), *Red Road* (2006), and *Hallam Foe* (2007). And yet, this new wave of Scottish cinema had only limited impact outside the European arthouse scene. The films that really spread Scottish aesthetics to the far corners of the world at the end of the twentieth century – *Highlander* (1986), *Rob Roy* (1995), *Braveheart* (1995) – were still made in Hollywood. They were also still dominated by tartan, kilts, and bagpipes.

North American filmmakers have made use of Scottish symbols from a very early stage in cinema history. In 1908, the U.S. production company Vitagraph came up with *The Chieftain's Revenge – A Tragedy in the Highlands of Scotland*. In 1909, Edison produced adaptations of Walter Scott's *Lochinvar* and *Kenilworth*, and in 1912 Vitagraph followed with Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* and JM Barrie's *The Little Minister*. Duncan Petrie notes that by 1914, six films portrayed the life of Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>109</sup> *Annie Laurie* (1927) was a nine-reel costume film that dealt with a Clan feud in ancient Scotland and featured film star Lillian Gish and dozens of kilted warriors. Other important 'Scottish' films before 1945 include the adaptations of RL Stevenson's *Kidnapped* ('the most enduring celluloid image of Scotland', according to Jeffrey Richards, brought to the screen in 1917, 1937, 1948, 1960, 1971, 1995)<sup>110</sup>, and the comical ghost story *The Ghost Goes West* (1935), in which an undead Scotsman and his castle are magically transported to contemporary Florida.

[4.6: *Annie Laurie, 1927*]

[4.7: *The Ghost Goes West, 1935, International Film Posters*]

But all these early Scottish visions were eclipsed by Vincente Minnelli's *Brigadoon* (1954), a smash-hit musical that many consider Hollywood's definitive take on Scotland to this day. In *Brigadoon*, two American tourists (Gene Kelly and Van Johnson) embark on a hunting trip in the Scottish Highlands, lose their way and stumble across an enchanted village where time stands still. The Americans are fascinated by this reservoir of Highland history and assist the villagers in the protection of their past.<sup>111</sup> *Brigadoon* makes no attempt whatsoever to portray Scotland realistically and was shot entirely in a U.S. film studio. Forsyth Hardy calls it 'the archetypal film of a bogus Scotland', and Colin McArthur sees in it the main 'distortion of Scotland in Hollywood cinema'.<sup>112</sup> *Brigadoon* powerfully reactivated popular notions of Scotland as a land of history and magic. In Britain, 'Brigadoon' became a fixed expression for an over-the-top assemblage of tartan kitsch; it was famously employed in the successful

<sup>108</sup> John Brown, 'Land Beyond Brigadoon', *Sight and Sound* 53:1 (Winter 1983/1984): 40.

<sup>109</sup> Janet McBain, 'Scotland in Feature Film. A Filmography', in *From Limelight to Satellite. A Scottish Film Book*, ed. E. Dick (London: BFI, 1990), 233-53, here: 235-6.

<sup>110</sup> Richards, *Films and British National Identity*, 177.

<sup>111</sup> McArthur, *Braveheart, Brigadoon, and the Scots*, 7-64.

<sup>112</sup> Hardy, *Scotland in Film*, 1. McArthur, *Braveheart, Brigadoon, and the Scots*. An alternative candidate would be *Whisky Galore!* (1948), a comedy produced by Ealing Studios, London.

romantic comedy *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994), when at the sight of a lavish Scottish wedding a spectator comments: 'It's bloody Brigadoon!'

*Brigadoon* was the last film in the comic kiltie tradition that recalled the work of Harry Lauder. In the second half of the twentieth century, American filmmakers employed Scotland as a setting for more serious male heroism. Cinema had been largely directed at female audiences before World War II, both in Europe and North America, but in the 1950s, young men discovered the silver screen, and they liked their Scotsmen rougher.<sup>113</sup> Walt Disney's *Rob Roy, the Highland Rogue* (1953), *The Master of Ballantrae* (1953, with a swashbuckling Errol Flynn), *Quentin Durward* (1955), and *Kidnapped* (1960) still featured tartan and kilts, but the men who wore them had changed. Susan Harper points out the differences between the 'languid and often feminised heroes' of the 1930s bodice-ripper films who clearly had 'constituted a spectacle for females' – and the new Highland warriors of the 1950s: 'In the [new] Scottish epics, it was male *energy* which was celebrated. The heroes are better at running up a burn than they are at making love. These were costume films for men.'<sup>114</sup> The new Scottish heroes had the rugged manliness of a John Wayne, and director Harold French straightforwardly called his *Rob Roy* (1953) 'a Western in Kilts'.<sup>115</sup>

The late 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of the angry white male in American filmmaking. Whether the genre was science-fiction, crime, horror, or heroic fantasy, dozens of movies were suddenly populated by white primitives, muscle-packed rebels who fought the world alone. This was the time of *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) and *Tarzan – Lord of the Apes* (1984)<sup>116</sup>, the moment when John Rambo became the wild and inarticulate guerrilla fighter he had failed to conquer in Vietnam (*First Blood*, 1982), when Robert de Niro expressed his disgust for modern society with a Mohawk haircut and an array of automatic weapons (*Taxi Driver*, 1976), and when Michael Douglas lost his temper again and again (*Falling Down*, 1993).<sup>117</sup> Angry white men rebelled against modernity (Rambo throws rocks at a helicopter), an increasingly technological society that has no use for their skills, and against the loss of male authority. Graham Thompson thinks that the 1980s saw a boom of 'hypermasculine' celluloid heroes who 'reasserted a sense of cultural and social authority' after the success of feminism in the 1970s.<sup>118</sup> The most famous angry white Scotsman of that period is *Braveheart* (1995) – the vengeful, homophobic rebel who paints his face and bares his behind to the enemy. Aesthetically, however, *Braveheart* was inspired by *Highlander* (1986).

## The immortal Scot

*Highlander* is a fantasy film about an immortal Highland warrior. Connor Macleod (played by Frenchman Christopher Lambert) is a Highland Scot, 'born in 1518 in the village of Glenfinnan on the shores of Loch Shiel', as he himself declares during the film. The movie

<sup>113</sup> Sue Harper, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie Revisited. British Costume Films in the 1950s', in *The British Cinema Book*, ed. R. Murphy (London: BFI, 1997), 133-43, here: 136.

<sup>114</sup> Harper, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', 138.

<sup>115</sup> Harper, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', 138.

<sup>116</sup> Edgar Rice Burroughs created his Tarzan in the 1910s, another moment in history when the United States worried about white identities and healthy male bodies, see John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tazan, and the Perfect Man. The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

<sup>117</sup> William J. Palmer, *The Films of the Eighties. A Social History* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1993), 67-71.

<sup>118</sup> Graham Thompson, *American Culture in the 1980s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007), 103.

shows how Macleod is fatally wounded in a Clan feud in 1536 but, unnaturally, survives his injuries and recovers. His superstitious kin fear Macleod might be possessed by the devil and expel him from the village. The Highlander settles down in the wilderness with a woman named Heather (Beatie Edney), but peace is disturbed when the Egyptian dandy Ramírez (Sean Connery) appears to inform Macleod that he is an 'Immortal', a member of an undying race and destined to live forever until the time of 'The Gathering'. Immortals, Ramírez explains, roam the world and cannot die unless they are beheaded. When one Immortal beheads the other, the accumulated knowledge of the dying is transferred onto the survivor. The last two Immortals standing will meet at The Gathering and compete for 'The Prize'; universal knowledge, the sum of all Immortal wisdom. Ramírez stays in the Highlands and teaches Macleod to decapitate enemies, but then The Kurgan (Clancy Brown) arrives, a dark Immortal from the Russian steppe who beheads Ramírez and rapes Heather. Macleod remains in Scotland with his wife, but while he stays young forever, she grows old and dies. Broken-hearted, Macleod wanders the world, forever faithful, forever lonely. In 1985, Macleod and The Kurgan meet again in New York City. The time of The Gathering has come. In the end, as the enemies keep reminding each other, 'there can be only one'.

*Highlander* was written in a 1981 screenwriting class at the University of California film school by then twenty-year-old student Gregory Widen. The author was inspired by a holiday trip to London where he had visited the Tower of London and its large collection of armoury. Widen wondered how it would be 'if you had actually worn all this, over a long period of time', at different stages in a very long life.<sup>119</sup> Some Scottish items in the collection seem to have made a particular impression. Widen's film school supervisor, Professor Richard Walter, liked the script, originally entitled *Clan of One*.<sup>120</sup> The manuscript found its way to producers William Panzer and Peter S. Davis who had it rewritten several times.<sup>121</sup> A crew was assembled and sent to Britain (where the producers would 'get more bang for the buck').<sup>122</sup>

*Highlander* was no success with the critics when it came to theatres in the United States around Christmas 1985. Co-producer William Panzer remembers hiding in his house for three days, shocked by the rejection.<sup>123</sup> Reviewers mocked the film for being stylish, but superficial and woodenly acted. Much fun was made of Christopher Lambert's past as Tarzan in *Greystoke* (1984) and of the Australian director Russell Mulcahey's experience with music video clips – the fast and flashy new medium everybody talked about in the mid-1980s. The New York Times called *Highlander* hollow and noted that 'it should surprise nobody if excerpts [of Highlander] appear on the music video channel'. Furthermore, '*Highlander* keeps on exploding for almost two hours, with nothing at stake'.<sup>124</sup> The Films & Filming magazine called *Highlander* a piece of 'unabashed hokum' and noted that 'the sequences set in sixteenth century Scotland alternately resemble a Monty Python sketch and an advertisement for Mentholated cigarettes'.<sup>125</sup> Few people foresaw the film's longevity in 1986.

<sup>119</sup> Interview Gregory Widen, in *The Making of Highlander: Eine Legende wird geboren* (Germany 2007), dir. Robert Fischer.

<sup>120</sup> Personal communication, Professor Richard Walter, UCLA (March 2009).

<sup>121</sup> Carolyn Imai, 'Location Report: Highlander', *Film and Filming* 372 (September 1985): 12-3, here: 13.

<sup>122</sup> Imai, 'Location Report', 12. According to *Films & Filming*, the film cost 14 million US\$ to make.

<sup>123</sup> Interview William Panzer, in *The Making of Highlander*.

<sup>124</sup> Only Sean Connery's performance found approval: 'For his brief time on screen, Mr. Connery brings dash and style to the overblown proceedings'. Walter Goodman, 'Highlander' (Review), *New York Times* (8 March 1986).

<sup>125</sup> Tim Pulleine, 'Highlander' (Review), *Films & Filming* 381 (June 1986): 34.

Some two years after *Highlander's* premier, the supporting actress Roxanne Hart received a late night phone call from her brother in Boston. He reported that there were people outside his house dressed as Scottish swordfighters, queuing for a midnight screening of *Highlander*. Hart thinks that the costumed film fans recited the film's lines by heart, just as in the famous night screenings of the *Rocky Horror Picture Show*.<sup>126</sup> *Highlander* became a cult film. By 2007, it had spawned four feature-length sequels, 119 episodes of syndicated TV series (1992-1998), numerous comics and animation films, and a flood of merchandise. Large and dedicated fan clubs from Australia to Germany continue to publish fanzines, hold conventions, and organise tours through the Highlands.<sup>127</sup> A remake of the original movie is in the making.<sup>128</sup> The fan-authored 'Encyclopedia of Fantasy' agrees that *Highlander* is still 'widely castigated as incoherent, illogical and unresolved' but insists that these negativisms are 'unimportant in the context of this cult movie's undoubted power and glamour; it's frenetic glitz complements and enhances the sense of magic.'<sup>129</sup>

#### [4.8: Christopher Lambert as Highlander, 1986]

#### [4.9: Mel Gibson as Braveheart, 1995]

It is futile to speculate too much about a film's success or failure, but it appears that *Highlander* profited from three main factors. To begin with, its 'frenetic glitz' has aged only little since 1986. *Highlander* was the work of visual pioneers; set designer Allan Cameron became one of the top architects in Hollywood, responsible for *Willow* (1988), *Starship Troopers* (1997), and *The Mummy* (1999). Similarly, costume artist James Acheson is responsible for Terry Gilliam's *Brazil* (1985), Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* (1987) and the *Spiderman* series (from 2002). The exploding flashes which so unnerved critics in 1986 became the new aesthetics of modern action film. *Highlander's* success was further aided by the mid-1980s video clip boom and the highly successful soundtrack by British rock band Queen who wrote one of their greatest hits for the film ('Who wants to live forever'). As Thompson notes: 'In the 1980s, ... music video became a way of selling films while films became a way of selling music.'<sup>130</sup>

For the makers themselves, it was the film's setting which did the trick. *Highlander* was shot on original locations in Scotland, among them Glen Nevis, Glenfinnan, Eilan Donan Castle, Glen Coe, and the Cullin mountains on Skye. The filmmakers created a pre-modern, empty Scotland for *Highlander*. In a 1985 set interview, director Russell Mulcahy revealed that he intended to capture a Scotland that would contrast to the urban scenes of Manhattan: 'Scotland is all very earthy, grand and very sweeping. Whereas the modern city is more a battlefield within a city.'<sup>131</sup> This portrayal of Scotland as a counter-world to the hostile modern city followed the Scottish dreamscape's tradition and was later adopted by the makers of *Braveheart*, too, where the English are always indoors while the Scots live under

<sup>126</sup> Interview Roxanne Hart, in *The Making of Highlander*.

<sup>127</sup> 'Highlander WorldWide produces a newsletter, conducts conventions, workshops and tours, maintains a members' email list, markets a range of merchandise and conducts regular auctions to support its newsletter, events and conventions. It also facilitates the lobbying of television networks and movie houses and distributors to maximize the showing of Highlander. It acts as a virtual community for Highlander fans and actively nurtures international world of Highlander and its fandom.' [http://www.highlanderworldwide.com] (12 April 2011)

<sup>128</sup> 'A Re-imagination of Highlander', Press Release, Summit Films, Los Angeles, California (22 September 2009).

<sup>129</sup> John Clute & John Grant, eds., *Encyclopedia of Fantasy* (London: Orbit, 1997), 466.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson, *American Culture in the 1980s*, 94.

<sup>131</sup> Imail, 'Location Report', 12.

the open sky.<sup>132</sup> To set designer Allan Cameron and photographer Gerry Fisher, the Scottish extras and their enthusiasm also helped to make the film and especially the sixteenth-century battle-scenes credible and 'authentic'. 'We got all the locals from Fort William and the towns around to come and fight', recalls Cameron. The day was cold and wet, and many of the 800 to 1000 extras had a warming drink before the shoot. In the end, the battle scenes turned out almost too realistic. Fisher thinks that 'they redid, relived the battle – the real battle. They were actually physically hitting each other.' Cameron adds how one tall and red-haired extra wandered off at the end of the day, still wearing his kilt and waving his prop sword, singing happily as he disappeared into the fog: 'He was a real Scotsman ... and nobody dared to ask him about giving back the gear'.<sup>133</sup> In this reading, *Highlander* was no fantasy of Scottish history, but a recording or re-awakening of the real thing.

But perhaps the main reason for *Highlander's* success was Christopher Lambert and his appeal to female audiences. Lambert had become something of sex symbol with *Tarzan*, and he remembers that while shooting *Highlander* in Scotland, people would point at him and Sean Connery and say: 'Oh, look, James Bond and Tarzan'.<sup>134</sup> After *Greystoke*, the offers for further film roles had not to been Lambert's liking: 'they were all the same – you know, half naked somewhere'.<sup>135</sup> The Highlander was dressed – but only scantily, in a flowing plaid with bare legs. Connor Macleod was an angry white male with a soft heart and puppy eyes. He managed to please both the action-seeking male moviegoer, as he cut up slickly dressed Wall Street type adversaries in New York City like a vengeful white primitive flown in from the past, but he also moved the more romantic minds and hearts. A female interviewer for *Films and Filming* magazine argues that Lambert's heroes 'are vulnerable, likeable men'.<sup>136</sup> Macleod's faithfulness to his wife and his lonely journey through the centuries after her death is a key theme in the movie which arguably inspired a whole genre of Highlander Romance novels (see below). The following of *Highlander* is a decidedly female one, and Lambert and his television clones are at the centre of their ongoing attention.

*Highlander* produced a highly stylised update of the Scottish dreamscape. It packed medieval swashbuckling, 1980s action-film heroism, science-fiction time travel, Gothic Vampirism and immortality, as well as a romantic love-story into the Scottish Highlands. The Highlander had something of Ossian, a lone Highland warrior, the last of his kind, something of the Highland soldier, waving his claymore, an 'ethnic' warrior, even something of Harry Lauder, a comical Highlander, clumsy and likeable at the beginning of the film. Like an Immortal, the Highlander travelled through popular culture for the past two centuries.

### Regressive myths?

Of course, there is more than one celluloid image of Scotland. A complete survey of Scotland's cinematic representations would take us from the mean crofter in Alfred Hitchcock's *The 39 Steps* (1935) to the drunken cowboys in the Italian Spaghetti Western *Sette Pistole per i MacGregor* (1966), and from Alec Guinness' military melancholy in *Tunes of*

<sup>132</sup> McArthur, *Braveheart, Brigadoon and the Scots*, 188.

<sup>133</sup> Interview Allan Cameron & Gerry Fisher, in *The Making of Highlander*.

<sup>134</sup> Interview Christopher Lambert, in *The Making of Highlander*.

<sup>135</sup> Sally Hibbin, 'Highlander Hero', *Films & Filming* 383 (August 1986): 30-32, here: 32

<sup>136</sup> Hibbin, 'Highlander Hero', 30.

*Glory* (1960) to Groundskeeper Willie, the angry, red-haired Scottish superintendant in *The Simpsons* cartoon series who the *Sunday Times* called 'the most instantly recognisable Scot in the world: better known than Billy Connolly or Ewan McGregor, even Sean Connery'.<sup>137</sup> Willie was introduced in 1991 and apparently inspired by the ill-tempered Scottish chef Angus Crock from the 1980s Canadian *Second City Television* series.<sup>138</sup> Even if we *would* find elements of the Scottish dreamscape in Hitchcock's dark and misty Scotland, the roguish hotheadedness in the MacGregor cowboys (Rob Roy was a MacGregor), the martial ethos in *Tunes of Glory*, and white hot anger in Groundskeeper Willie; there are many cinematic Scotlands.

And yet, the Scottish dreamscape dominates all other images. This has raised concern from Scottish scholars and intellectuals. The fact that most American (and English) films please to imagine Scotland as a pre-modern Highland land of tartan, kilts, and bagpipes makes them complain about misrepresentation, 'Scotsploitation', even cultural imperialism.<sup>139</sup> They are particularly enraged if this imperialism is successful, if Hollywood's version of Scotland is adopted by the Scots. Colin McArthur, defender of a tartan-free Scotland, despairs over his compatriots' love for *Braveheart* (1995):

It is a mark of Scotland's provincialism that it has regularly feted (in the form of breathless national and local media coverage) those Hollywood stars who have come there and, what is worse, celebrated those films which have constructed Scotland within regressive discourses. ... It is a mark of the self-lacerative qualities of the Scots (nowhere more apparent than in their response to *Braveheart*) that they consequently mistake shit for manna.<sup>140</sup>

In recent years, however, this critique has softened considerably, and the Scottish debate on Hollywood imperialism has been recognised to be strangely insular.<sup>141</sup> After all, Scotland is not the only place in the world that has lost authority over her visualisations and narratives. Austria discusses cuckoo clocks and *The Sound of Music* (1965), Greece has to deal with Anthony Quinn's *Zorba the Greek* (1964) and the tourists who demand to see the Greece they know. Just like literature and visual arts in earlier times, cinema forms public opinions about peoples and nations – not only in Scotland, all over the world.<sup>142</sup> If the pseudo-Scottish films of Hollywood are mistaken for Scottish history or reality, it is up to the Scots to produce the better films. Alan Riach notes that the culture of America 'bleeds into Scotland' but hopes that this fact may bring 'an enhancement of sharp wit and caustic, derisive laughter' and a form of 'counter-appropriation'.<sup>143</sup>

**Conclusion 4.4:** *The iconic films about Scotland were made in North America and England. They employ Scotland's historically seasoned Highland dreamscape, the world of kilts, tartan, and bagpipes. Its early depictions were mostly based on Scottish Romantic literature. Visually, the comic Scotch singers of Music Hall were an*

<sup>137</sup> Adrian Turpin, 'The Strange World of Oor Grown-Up Wullie', *The Sunday Times* (23 Oct 2005).

<sup>138</sup> Marc Horne, 'Groening lifts toilet lid on the real-life Groundskeeper Willie', *Scotland on Sunday* (22 July 2007).

<sup>139</sup> Brown, 'Land beyond Brigadoon', 40.

<sup>140</sup> McArthur, 'Braveheart and the Scottish Aesthetic Dilemma', 178 and 186, n.26.

<sup>141</sup> Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema*, 16-19.

<sup>142</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'Images of the Nation. Cinema, Art, and National Identity', in *Cinema and Nation*, eds. M. Hjort & S. Mackenzie (London: Routledge, 2000), 45-59. See also Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past. The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995).

<sup>143</sup> Alan Riach, *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography. The Masks of the Modern Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 194.

*important influence, too. With the rise of the angry white male and new barbarians in opposition to feminism and the slick yuppie world, the Scottish Aesthetic became a setting for more savage heroes in the 1980s. Highlander (1986) marked a starting point on which Braveheart (1995) could build up. Hollywood films revitalised the Scottish dreamscape at the end of the twentieth century.*

## 4.5 Are there Scotswomen?

A Scots-authored guidebook to Scotland and its inhabitants describes quite accurately how the outside world sees the Scots:

The Scotsman of popular imagination is a tartan-swathed figure of heroic strength, red-haired, red-bearded and spoiling for a fight – an image that the Scots are happy to accept, particularly the stocky, unfit, balding ones.<sup>144</sup>

The Scotsman of popular imagination also appears to be a man. Masculinity, physical strength, and a certain hairy belligerence are vital aspects of Scotland's international stereotype. The kilt is a male garment, and there is no female equivalent. 'Are there Scotswomen?', asks Petra Dolata in an essay on German imaginations of Scotland, and it seems that there are none.<sup>145</sup> Mary Queen of Scots and many benevolent and mischievous missionaries must stand back behind William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Highland soldier, even Sean Connery and Ewan Macgregor.<sup>146</sup> The Scottish dreamscape is gendered, the Scottish dreamscape is male. This strange eclipse (or silencing) of Scottish women would surely deserve its own study. Some more creative explanations aside<sup>147</sup>, it appears that it results largely from the over-dominant image of the Highland soldier which came to stand for Scotland in the nineteenth century and was adopted by the Scots themselves. This image left no room for a female counterpart.

This said, there is no shortage of female Scotland-enthusiasts – and there never has been. The Scottish dreamscape and its vision of heroic masculinity survived and spread with the help of female agents and audiences. The most famous of all female Scotland-fans was, of course, Queen Victoria (r. 1837-1901) who spent so much of her time at Balmoral Castle and away from London that she caused political disruption. Her fondness for her Highland servant John Brown was a much discussed scandal. In her widely read Highland Journals, Victoria lauded the beauty of the kilted male; the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders were 'such a chivalrous, fine, active people', men who 'looked very handsome in their kilts'.<sup>148</sup> While the 'traditional erotic frisson of the "Highland Laddie"' may have its origins in earlier times, it was Queen

<sup>144</sup> David Ross, *Xenophobe's Guide to the Scots* (London: Oval, 2002, orig. 1999), 13.

<sup>145</sup> Petra Dolata, 'Der Kilt ist männlich. Gibt es Schottinnen?', in *Deutsche Schottlandbilder*, eds. W. Sieber & U. Zagratzki (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1998), 31-49.

<sup>146</sup> It remains to be seen whether pop singers Annie Lennox, Shirley Manson, and Amy Macdonald can break this male dominance.

<sup>147</sup> Martin suggests that female figures are often used to represent nation (Marianne, Britannia), and that 'Scotland developed no female emblem of its nationhood because it neither had, nor in the nineteenth century sought, an independent existence'. Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot. Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 32.

<sup>148</sup> David Duff, ed., *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1980, orig. 1968), 47, 25.



Victoria who made it known throughout Britain.<sup>149</sup> Under her reign, the Scot became a symbol of primal masculinity. This primal masculinity became a vital ingredient of the Scottish dreamscape.

As Maureen M. Martin shows in an interesting study, this symbol proved attractive to men as well. As nineteenth-century modernisation turned many British men from physical workers into office clerks, questions arose about male identities. Nostalgia for old-fashioned manhood and worry about the healthy male body were abundant. English upper and middle class tourists travelled to Scotland to re-connect with their masculinity by stalking deer and shooting grouse. They put on the archaic dress of the Highlander and re-enacted manhood in the Scottish 'virility theme-park' to discover their 'inner Scot'.<sup>150</sup>

The Highland soldier's erotic potential continued to fascinate men and women in the twentieth century. In a 1940 short story by French-American writer Anaïs Nin, Maman, an aging brothel manager in Paris, inflames over the idea of a Scottish regiment. The passage deserves to be quoted in full:

Maman's greatest adventure had been the parade of the Scots soldiers one spring morning. While drinking at a bar, she had heard a conversation about the Scotsmen. A man said: 'They take them young and train them to walk that way. It's a special walk. Difficult, very difficult. There is a *coup de fesse*, a swing which makes the hips and the sporran swing just right. If the sporran does not swing, it's a failure. The step is more intricate than a ballet dancer's.'

Maman was thinking: Each time the sporran swings, and the skirt swings, why, the other hangings must swing too. And her old heart was moved. Swing. Swing. All at the same time. There was an ideal army. She would have liked to follow such an army, in any capacity. One, two, three. She was already moved enough by the swing of the pendants when the man at the bar added: 'And do you know, they wear nothing underneath.'

They wore nothing underneath! These sturdy men, such upright, lusty men! Heads high, strong naked legs and skirts – why, it made them as vulnerable as a woman. Big lusty men, tempting as a woman and naked underneath. Maman wanted to be turned into a cobblestone, to be stepped on, but to be allowed to look under the short skirt at the hidden 'sporran' swinging with each step. Maman felt congested. The bar was too hot. She needed air.

She watched the parade. Each step taken by the Scotsmen was like a step taken into her very own body, she vibrated so. One, two, three. A dance over her abdomen, savage and even, the fur sporran swinging like pubic hair. Maman was as warm as a day in July. She could think of nothing else but of elbowing her way to the front of the crowd and then slipping on her knees and simulating a faint. But all she saw were vanishing legs under pleated plaid skirts. Later, lying against the policeman's knee, she rolled her eyes upwards as if she were going to have an attack. If the parade would only turn and walk over her!<sup>151</sup>

Less explicitly, the erotic Scot was a recurring theme in the many Hollywood rhapsodies on Scotland, from the handsome phantom in *The Ghost goes West* (1935) to Richard Todd's *Rob Roy* (1953), and from Christopher Lambert's soft macho (*Highlander*, 1986) to Mel Gibson's valiant impregnation of the English Queen (*Braveheart*, 1995). A more recent and

<sup>149</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, 8.

<sup>150</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, 39-79, 29, 13.

<sup>151</sup> Anaïs Nin, 'The Basque and Bijou', in her *Delta of Venus* (London: WH Allen, 1979), 160-1. (Written 1940, first published 1977)

less often discussed expression of interest in the erotic Scotsman is the largely American literary genre of Highlander Romance novels. Since the early 1990s, dozens of these are published every year and sold by the many thousands, in English and in translations. The works usually sport half-naked muscular white men in tartan or kilt on their covers and carry titles like *To tame a Highland Warrior* (Karen Marie Moning, 1999), *Devil in a Kilt* (Sue-Ellen Welfonder, 2001), *The Irresistible MacRae* (Karen Ranney, 2002), *Highlander in Love* (Julia London, 2005), and *Highland Barbarian* (Hannah Howell, 2006). They are bodice-ripper-novels and mainly interested in the Highlander's quality as a lover.

#### [4.10: Highlander Romance novels, book covers, c. 1991-2010]

By far the most successful Scottish Romance author is the U.S. American writer Diane Gabaldon (born 1952). Gabaldon's *Outlander* series started in 1991 and has inspired a huge following.<sup>152</sup> The major theme in *Outlander* and its sequels appears to be female discontent with contemporary masculinity. The American heroine Claire Randall is a medical nurse and locked in a 'paternal, virtually sexless' relationship with her academic husband.

Dissatisfaction evaporates when Claire travels back through time after touching a circle of standing stones while on holiday in Scotland. Claire finds herself in the Scotland of 1743 and meets Jamie Fraser – 'a primordial Scot who awakens her passions.'<sup>153</sup> In her search for real masculinity, Claire found the one true reservoir; the Scottish dreamscape. This is the place where heroic yet chivalrous masculinity may be found aplenty.

Time-travel – already familiar from *The Ghost goes West* (1935) and *Highlander* (1986) – is a recurring theme in all Highlander novels. Scotsmen from the past swim through time to release twenty-first-century American women from frustration with modern men. In Moning's *Kiss of the Highlander*, heroine Gwen Cassidy is still a virgin at 25. 'Come to think of it she wasn't sure if she'd ever seen a grand passion outside of a movie theatre or a book.'<sup>154</sup> She departs on a holiday to Scotland and is surprised and angry to learn that women there have a more exciting love life than her. Sulkingly, Gwen goes for a lonely hike around Loch Ness but ends up falling down a ravine, 'awakening Drustan MacKeltar, a Scottish laird who has been slumbering there for 500 years under a gypsy's spell.'<sup>155</sup> Drustan's manliness is the pleasurable antidote to modernity Gwen had been looking for.

In their frustration with modern gender roles, American writers and thousands of their (largely female) readers build up an erotic Scottish dreamworld. The Scottish dreamscape serves as a reminder of what 'real men' used to be. They clearly wore kilts, and they were both wild and gallant. As a senior editor of a U.S. publishing house that specialises in Romance novels explains, the appeal of the Highlander results from 'the sense that he is a powerful, dangerously masculine figure, but that he shows through his clan loyalties that he

<sup>152</sup> Gabaldon was inspired by Jamie McCrimmon, the fictional Scottish piper who fled the battlefield of Culloden after defeat in 1746 and teamed-up with time-travelling Dr Who in the BBC-series. See Euan Hague & David Stenhouse, "'A Very Interesting Place.'" Representing Scotland in American Romance Novels', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, ed. B. Schoene (Edinburgh: EUP, 2007), 354-361, here: 359.

<sup>153</sup> Hague & Stenhouse, 'A Very Interesting Place'.

<sup>154</sup> Karen Marie Moning, *Kiss of the Highlander* (New York: Dell, 2001), 15, cited from Hague & Stenhouse, 'A Very Interesting Place', 359.

<sup>155</sup> Hague & Stenhouse, 'A Very Interesting Place', 359.

has a caring nurturing side'.<sup>156</sup> As will become apparent in the subsequent chapters, there are many women among the Scots of Europe who like to dress up their men as Highlanders.

**Conclusion 4.5:** *The image of the Scottish Highlander came to stand for primal masculinity in the course of the nineteenth-century. In the Highland mythology, there exists no female equivalent to the ultra-masculine Scottish Highlander. The Scottish dreamscape is gendered. As a reminder of 'traditional manhood', the Highlander has fascinated both men and women. The most recent expression of an ongoing female interest in the Scottish dreamscape are Scottish Romance novels.*

## Conclusion Chapter 4

Kilted Scottish warriors have fascinated readers, dreamers, and moviegoers for more than 200 years. The Scottish dreamscape is a seasoned set of myths and images. When the Hollywood films *Highlander* (1986) and *Braveheart* (1995) revitalised and re-disseminated Scottish myths and images at the end of the twentieth century, their success was made possible not by their novelty, but their familiarity. Poets, novelists, writers, comedians, and filmmakers have helped to turn the Scottish dreamscape into a global fantasy of a local identity.

To be sure, this chapter only touched the surface of the rich body of cultural productions which employ Scottish images and help to spread Scotland's global mythology. We still wait for a scholarly treatment of the nineteenth-century Russian Burns Supper phenomenon, the surprising number of Scottish-themed Wild West films, the survival of kilted regiments and pipe bands throughout the former colonies of the British Empire, and the international effect of Scottish musical groups such as Runrig or the Bay City Rollers.

The following chapters document the Scots of Europe, the continental enthusiasts who impersonate mythical Scots at the beginning of the twenty first century. In one form or another, these playactors all had exposure to the Scottish dreamscape. They have witnessed a regimental pipe band on parade, enjoyed a film with a Scottish theme, or read about wild Highlanders in Romance novels. The Scots of Europe perform the Scottish dreamscape.

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<sup>156</sup> Interview Karen Kosztołnyik, senior editor Warner Books, New York, cited in Hague & Stenhouse, 'A Very Interesting Place', 356.

## Chapter 5

### WALL OF DRONE: PIPE BANDS

On the parking lot, dozens of pipers and drummers are getting ready to march. Some bustle around half-dressed, still looking for kilt socks, bonnets, brogues, and sgian dubhs in the trunks of their cars. Others stand ready in full Highland regalia in the early morning haze and warm up their instruments. The dissonant drone of the Great Highland Bagpipe carries across the empty fields of Flanders and may be heard on the roads to Tongeren and Bilzen, the two next larger towns.<sup>1</sup> Twenty kilted pipe bands will compete this Friday at Schotse Weekend in Alden Biesen, Belgium's largest Scottish festival with more than 25 000 visitors.<sup>2</sup> Most participating bands hail from Flanders and the Netherlands, but some have come from France, Sweden, Denmark, and England.<sup>3</sup> In earlier years the Schotse Weekend had featured some renowned bands from Scotland, but in 2009, the event's 24<sup>th</sup> edition, only the adjudicators are Scottish, flown in by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, Glasgow.

The pipe band competition takes place in the castle park. The first band to enter the ring at ten a.m. are The Lowland Pipers of Turnhout, a city near Antwerp, Belgium. Spectators lean on the metal fences which close off the ring, some of the elderly have brought camping chairs that fold up into walking sticks. The Lowland Pipers march in a formation of twelve. Two of the drummers are teenagers and visibly nervous; they have their eyes fixed on their older colleagues and follow their every move. The Lowland Pipers are one of Belgium's oldest pipe bands, founded in 1963 by the Sint Joris boy scouts of Turnhout.<sup>4</sup> Most of the original members have retired or passed away, but the band keeps renewing itself. The Lowlanders still practice at the boy scouts' headquarters, every Wednesday and Friday evening from 7 to 10 p.m.

Now The Lowland Pipers are being inspected. Four kilted adjudicators circle them, pokerfaced, unsmiling, taking notes on their clipboards, following the official Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association's guidelines to establish the bands' musical abilities, their synchronicity of step, their attire and overall style. With their feathered caps, stout figures, and swift movements, the judges remind of giant roosters examining their prey. The Lowland Pipers wear their day dress, not full regalia; no kilt jackets but white long-sleeved shirts and dark vests, kilts made of red Royal Stuart tartan, white socks, black bonnets. The pipers have tied dark green ribbons to their instruments which flutter in the wind. The adjudicators do not give away their feelings, but even an amateur can spot that the Lowlanders' kilts vary greatly in length and that the bass drummer's sporran should not be worn like a lady's handbag. The Lowland Pipers will end up seventh in the Grade 4 competition. But, as they inform the author afterwards, they have come to have fun, not to win.

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, Flanders refers to Vlaams, the Flemish-speaking region of modern Belgium.

<sup>2</sup> This according to the organisers. Our own estimate for 2009 confirms this.

<sup>3</sup> The 2009 bands were The Murray Pipes & Drums of Gothenburg (est. 1976), Paris & District Pipe Band (1989), The Heather Pipes & Drums of Copenhagen (1970), Houghton Le Spring Pipe Band, Houghton, UK (1967).

<sup>4</sup> Sint Joris is Dutch for Saint George. The band first carried the name Sint Joris Pipe Band but then changed it to The Lowland Pipers. The band's twentieth anniversary CD was still issued as Sint Joris Pipe Band in 1983. Interview Diego Pemen, Pipe Major, The Lowland Pipers (12 Sept 2009).

The Schotse Weekend is one of the largest and most popular Scottish events of Europe. It was set up in 1986 as by members of the Antwerp & District Pipe Band (est. 1978). None of the founders were Scottish by birth, ancestry, or residence.<sup>5</sup> In its early years, the weekend attracted only modest crowds and took place in changing locations. But in the early 1990s, the event grew and the pipers moved to the expansive premises of Landscommanderij Alden Biesen in 1994, a sixteenth-century castle in Belgium's Limburg province.<sup>6</sup> By the year 2009, the Schotse Weekend had evolved into a three-day Scottish spectacle. The organisers handled a budget of more than a hundred thousand Euro, and the festival programme featured well-known Scottish folk music acts such as Dougie MacLean, Capercaillie, and the Red Hot Chilli Pipers. Highland Games or 'Schotse Volksspelen' were held, other attractions included Highland Dancing, whisky tasting, a Scottish market, a story-telling tent, and historical re-enactors demonstrating 'authentic' Clan warfare. There also was a variety of non-Scottish fringe entertainment such as falconry shows, sheep herding, children's animations, and, bizarrely, a flyball racing track for dogs. Many dog owners showed up wearing kilt-like garments to acknowledge the festival theme. For most guests, however, the highlight at Alden Biesen remains the annual Belgian pipe band championship and the powerful sight and sound of the massed pipes at the end of the festival. In 2003, the European Pipe Band Championship was held at Alden Biesen which featured over 100 kilted pipe and drum bands from the whole continent.

Scottish playacting began with pipe and drum bands. Musicians were the first to dress up regularly in Highland costume and host Scottish festivals and competitions on the European continent. This chapter examines the history of Scottish piping in Europe. It first examines how bagpipers came to be associated with Scotland. It then examines what the continental pipe bands of today have in common, what makes them part of an international piping community rather than just Dutch, Flemish, and Austrian bands. And it finally takes a look at the two main motivations which inspired the first kilted pipe bands in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, namely the imitation of kilted soldiers and the quest for a lost European folk music tradition. Scottish pipe bands have commemorative functions. They bring back recent history and re-imagine the distant past.

## 5.1 Piping and the Scots

The bagpipe is one of Scotland's best known cultural symbols. It is so widely associated with Scotland that the image of the Great Highland Bagpipe has eclipsed that of all other bagpipes in most parts of Western Europe (and North America). For most outside the narrow circles of folk music expertise, to play the pipes is a Scottish thing to do. The pipes mark and make the Scots, and they do so internationally. Joshua Dickson of the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama suggests that the bagpipes have acquired symbolic meaning as a national instrument – 'in communities both in Scotland and throughout the Scottish diaspora'.<sup>7</sup> In his autobiography, the entertainer Harry Lauder observed how people around

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<sup>5</sup> This and the following is based on: Interview Ludo Thijssen, organiser Schotse Weekend and former pipe major Antwerp & District Pipe Band (12 Sept 2009).

<sup>6</sup> The castle dates from the sixteenth century, but the Landscommanderij itself was founded by the Teutonic Order in the eleventh century. It is situated in the hamlet of Rijkshofen.

<sup>7</sup> Joshua Dickson, 'Introduction', in *The Highland Bagpipe*, ed. J. Dickson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 1.

the world use bagpipes to demonstrate their Scottish affiliations. In 1925, Lauder met a Chinese gentleman in Rangoon who, to Lauder's delight, owned a set of bagpipes and played them well, performing the 'waggle walk of the real Scottish piper'. It turned out that, as a young man, Mr 'Sugar King' Lim had been sent to Scotland to attend Dollar Academy in Clackmannanshire. There he had served as pipe major to the Academy's pipe band. To Lauder, this makes the Chinaman a Scot: 'Harry Lauder and Mr. Lim, grand Scots both, parted the best of friends and cronies.'<sup>8</sup> The bagpipes express and provide Scottishness.

The Scots did not invent the bagpipes. Up until the eighteenth century, bag-powered reed instruments were common all over Europe (see Chapter 5.4). As some of the famous paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564-1638) and Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) show, bagpipes were played by herders, buskers, and soldiers at fairs and at court.<sup>9</sup> Scotland's piping tradition developed in a thoroughly European context, and at least one scholar suggested that one of the most famous piper dynasties of the Highlands, the MacCrimmons of Skye, may have been immigrants from the Italian city of Cremona.<sup>10</sup>

### [5.1: Albrecht Dürer, Sackpfeifer, 1514]

Early forms of the bagpipe have been played in Northern and Western Scotland from the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup> They served as ceremonial instruments, at dances, fairs, and in battle. One of the first references to Scottish piping is found in *L'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse*, published in Paris in 1556. It describes a gathering of Scottish soldiers before the Battle of Pinkie in 1547, where '...the wild [sauvages] Scots encouraged themselves to arms by the sound of their bagpipes [cornemeuses]'.<sup>12</sup> Bagpipes had a military function. Consequently, British authorities considered Highland pipers a military threat at the time of the Jacobite rebellions. After Culloden (1746), authorities treated the use of pipes in combat as armed aggression against the state. On 15 November 1746, the piper James Reid was executed at York as a Jacobite rebel. 'In his trial which was reported in the Scots Magazine it was alleged in his defence that he had not carried arms, but the Court observed that a Highland regiment never marched without a piper and therefore that his bagpipe in the eyes of the law was an instrument of war.'<sup>13</sup>

Because of their weapon-like status, bagpipes were temporarily banned in Scotland after Culloden with the Disarming Act. The mid-eighteenth century saw a 'steep decline' of piping in the Highlands, and by 1770, 'there was concern that bagpipe playing was in danger of

<sup>8</sup> Harry Lauder, *Roamin in the Gloamin'* (Hutchinson: London, 1928), 253-4.

<sup>9</sup> Erich Sepp, ed., *Der Dudelsack in Europa mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Bayerns. Begleitband zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (München: Bayerischer Landesverein für Heimatpflege, 1996). Ernst Eugen Schmidt, *Sackpfeifen in Schwaben. Die Wiederentdeckung eines vergessenen Volksmusikinstrumentes* (Stuttgart: Schwäbisches Kulturarchiv des Schwäbischen Albvereins, 1997). Hubert Boone, *La Cornemuse. Les Instruments de Musique Populaire en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles: Renaissance du Livre, 1983). For technical descriptions, see Anthony Baines, *Bagpipes* (Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, 1995, orig. 1960).

<sup>10</sup> The claim was made by a nineteenth-century Gaelic scholar, see Hugh Cheape, *The Book of the Bagpipe* (Belfast: Appletree, 1999), 22. Francis Collinson, *The Bagpipe* (London: Routledge, 1975), 143-6.

<sup>11</sup> Cheape, *Book of Bagpipe*, 10. Hugh Cheape, 'Traditional Origins of the Piping Dynasties', in *The Highland Bagpipe*, ed. J. Dickson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 97-126. Roderick D. Cannon, *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> Cit. in Cheape, *Book of Bagpipe*, 65.

<sup>13</sup> Cheape, *Book of Bagpipe*, 70. Collinson, *The Bagpipe*, 170-1.

extinction'.<sup>14</sup> Friendly societies which advanced the protection of Highland culture voiced their enthusiasm for the Great Highland Bagpipe.<sup>15</sup>

Ironically, the pipes' survival was mainly ensured by their incorporation into the British Army.<sup>16</sup> As examined in Chapter 4.2, many Highland men joined the Army in the second half of the eighteenth century. Pipers figured prominently in their newly established Highland regiments, and the image of the kilted bagpiper was soon carried out into the world by the troops of Empire. Scottish bagpipes have played at Waterloo in 1815, in Crimea in 1854, during the Indian Mutiny in 1857, at Passchendaele in 1917, at the D-Day landing in 1944, and in Hong Kong when the British flag was lowered in 1997. Scottish piping is inextricably linked with the British military. As is examined in Chapter 7, popular commemorations of Scottish warfare in Europe often involve kilted pipers, and there are several European pipe bands which see themselves as 'commemorative' bands and even 'mobile monuments'.

The piper-soldiers who impressed the world with their sounds and looks were not necessarily Scottish by birth. With the growing popularity of the Highland regiments, several English and Irish units adopted pipers and kilted pipe bands in the nineteenth and twentieth century. When the British Army left for the Falklands in 1982, the two regiments which brought pipers with them were the Scots Guards and the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Edinburgh's Own Gurkha Rifles.<sup>17</sup> Some of the kilted regiments which helped liberate the Netherlands in World War II and which inspired the first imitative pipe bands were not British but Canadian (e.g., the 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Canada, established in 1891). And as noted earlier, some of Britain's former colonies in Asia and the Middle East retained military pipe bands after their independence. Thomas S. Abler counted 23 Indian infantry regiments with pipe bands in 1999, and several of them wore tartan kilts or plaids. The bands from the Punjab regiment to the Jammu and Kashmir Light Infantry.<sup>18</sup> Regimental pipe bands also survive in South Africa, Pakistan, and the Middle East. All of these bands are staffed exclusively with non-Scots today.<sup>19</sup> These borrowings reflect the martial value associated with the Scottish regiments and their pipers.

Pipe bands were set up in the British Army for the purpose of military parading and competition. The War Office order of 11 February 1854 which established that all Highland Regiments should have '1 Pipe Major and 5 Pipers' is often seen as the beginning of the pipe band tradition. But it is likely that the order only formalised an established practice; Lieut. Col. Murray claims that by 1854, the first year of the Crimean War, pipe band practice was 'in fact a good-going strong concern'.<sup>20</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, marching pipe and drum bands became popular outwith the confines of military in Scotland. Police and Fire brigades in Edinburgh and

<sup>14</sup> Cannon, *Highland Bagpipe*, 73-4.

<sup>15</sup> Iain MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe. The Impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, 1781-1844*. (Unpublished M.Litt. thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> David Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments. Cogadh no Sith* (Edinburgh: Pentland, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Thomas S. Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress. European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 83-4, 95. While Ireland has its own piping tradition, Irish military and civilian pipe bands often employ Scottish aesthetics and kilts (see Chapter 5.4).

<sup>18</sup> Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 90.

<sup>19</sup> Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 85-97. Jonathan Hyslop, 'Cape Town Highlanders, Transvaal Scottish: Military "Scottishness" and Social Power in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 47 (November 2002): 96-114

<sup>20</sup> Cannon, *Highland Bagpipe*, 152. Lieut. Col. DJS Murray, 'Piping in the Army', *PSC* (March 1975): 1-28. See also Cheape, *Book of Bagpipe*, 73-4.

Glasgow set up pipe bands in the 1880s, and the first civilian pipe band competition seems to have been promoted by Glasgow Rangers Football Club in the same decade. One of the first pipe band competitions that took place in the Highlands was the 1897 world championships at Cowal Highland Gathering.<sup>21</sup> The Scottish (later Royal Scottish) Pipe Band Association was founded in 1930 in the city of Glasgow. Today, Scottish schools, community councils, and commercial companies sponsor their own pipe bands. As Hugh Cheape notes, pipe bands are 'the live wire through which most people's experience of the bagpipe has been transmitted'.<sup>22</sup>

Civilian pipe bands consist of pipers and a section of bass and tenor drummers. Their musical director is the pipe major, and on parade the band may be lead by a drum major, swinging a mace. If several bands march together they form 'massed pipes and drums'. All musicians dress in Highland attire, and the sartorial dimension of piping is vital. Musicians dress up to perform. The Swedish piper and author Mats d'Hermansson calls this the 'extramusical traits' and the 'peacock aesthetic' of Scottish piping.<sup>23</sup> Almost all pipe bands admit women since c. the 1970s, and musicians are dressed unisex. For purists, pipe and drum bands (and Highland Dancing groups) are thus the only proper setting for a woman to wear the kilt.<sup>24</sup>

### [5.2: Female Pipers, Częstochowa Pipe Band, Poland]

Civilian pipe and drum bands became a popular vehicle for Old World enthusiasm among Scottish expatriates in North America and Australasia at the end of the nineteenth century. Bands were formed to provide a Scottish atmosphere at Caledonian Games, Burns Suppers, and other Scottish social events. Some of the longest-running pipe bands in the U.S. include the Holyoke Pipe Band in Massachusetts (1909), the Cincinnati Caledonian Pipes & Drums (c.1912), and the Manchester Pipe Band of Connecticut (1914). In Canada, the Sons of Scotland Pipe Band in Ottawa was set up in 1896, but the military Lorne Scots Pipes & Drums claim to exist since 1881. In Australia, the City of Melbourne Highland Pipe Band (formerly South and Port Melbourne Thistle Society Pipe Band) was formed in the 1890s. In New Zealand, the City of Dunedin Pipe Band dates from 1897.

Musicians in these nineteenth and early twentieth-century bands were almost without exception first generation immigrants who had been born in Scotland and learned their piping skills there. As Rowland Berthoff reports, there was a serious shortage of skilled bagpipers in the early twentieth-century United States, so that the Yonkers Kilty Band for instance did post a watch at the docks of New York harbour to spot and stop any new arrival 'who carried anything that even looked like a pipe box'.<sup>25</sup>

This shortage belongs to the past. Since the 1970s, many dozens of new pipe and drum bands have sprung up in the context of the 'white ethnic revival' (Matthew Frye Jacobson), the spreading popular enthusiasm for often distant Scottish ancestry in North America and

<sup>21</sup> Rowland Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt. Variations on the Scottish-American Ground', *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1982): 5-34, here: 12. Cannon, *Highland Bagpipe*, 153-4.

<sup>22</sup> Hugh Cheape, *Bagpipes. A National Collection of a National Instrument* (Edinburgh: NMS, 2008), 4.

<sup>23</sup> Mats d' Hermansson, *From Icon to Identity. Scottish Piping and Drumming in Scandinavia* (Göteborg: Göteborg UP, 2003), 348, 193.

<sup>24</sup> The same is true in the U.S.: 'Women may wear floor or below-the-calf pleated tartan skirts, but they do not wear the kilt (unless they are in a bagpipe band).' Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 211.

<sup>25</sup> Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt', 12, citing *The Highlander* 3:2 (June 1965): 21.



Australasia (see Chapter 2). In 1979, Berthoff counted 180 pipe bands who called themselves 'Scottish' in the United States, and in 2010 there seemed to be at least 250 active bands.<sup>26</sup> Some North American pipers have become more proficient than the Scots; the world champion of Grade 1 pipe bands in 2009 was the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band, a Canadian outfit. The grading authority, however, remains Scottish; it is the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association in Glasgow which rates the bands from 1 (best) to 4.<sup>27</sup>

To many musicians, playing in a pipe band is a way of expressing their 'ethnic' affiliation. However, it should be noted that North American and Australasian pipe bands usually offer membership to anyone interested and thus have many members who are not of Scottish extraction. A full third of the 3 500 kilted pipers and drummers active in the U.S. in 1979 had 'no family ties whatever to Scotland', according to Berthoff.<sup>28</sup> Pipe bands in America are a place for playing Scotsmen, and roots are not required to play along.

By the beginning of the twenty first century, Scottish pipes have reached almost every corner of the world. The first South American Pipe Band Gathering was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in April 2004 and hosted by the Scottish Pipe Band Association of South America.<sup>29</sup> The Tokyo Pipe Band (est. 1974) is the most famous of several kilted bands in Japan, and in New Papua Guinea's capital, the Port Moresby City Pipes & Drums were inspired by Australian World War II soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Without doubt, Joshua Dickson is correct when he notes a successful 'globalisation of Highland piping'.<sup>31</sup> Kilted piping has been embraced internationally, and the 'Highland bagpipe is beginning to be more or less indigenized into other cultures in several parts of the world'.<sup>32</sup>

[5.3: Tokyo Pipe Band, Japan, 1993]

## 5.2 The Pipes and Drums of Europe

In the second half of the twentieth century, Scottish piping came to Europe. At least 230 Scottish pipe and drum bands were active on the continent in 2010. They were 'Scottish' in the sense that their musicians wore Scottish uniforms and kilts and employed the Great Highland Bagpipe. The formations often carried names which echoed a Scottish pipe band tradition, combining a place name and the label 'pipe band' or the more military 'pipes and drums'. Almost half of the continental bands of 2010 were based in Germany, where the Bagpipe Association of Germany BAG e.V. (established in 1983) listed 101 bands, from the

<sup>26</sup> In December 2010, there were 112 bands registered with the Eastern, 69 with the Western, 49 with the Mid Western, and 16 with the Southern United States Pipe Band Associations. Many more bands were active throughout the U.S. without any formal membership. See *Alliance of North American Pipe Band Associations*, [<http://www.anapba.org/>] (12 Dec 2010)

<sup>27</sup> In North America, there is also a fifth grade.

<sup>28</sup> Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt', 16.

<sup>29</sup> See [<http://www.spbasa.org/>] (10 March 2011)

<sup>30</sup> See [<http://tokyo-pipeband.jp>] (10 March 2011). The Port Moresby City Pipes & Drums have registered their own tartan with the Scottish Tartans Authority in 2007 (STA 7236).

<sup>31</sup> Dickson, 'Introduction', 1.

<sup>32</sup> Mike Paterson, 'Return of the Drone: A Folk Thing?', in *The Highland Bagpipe*, ed. J. Dickson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009): 221-52, here: 226.

1<sup>st</sup> Illertal Bagpipers of Kirchberg, Baden-Württemberg (est. 1989) to the Wupper District Pipe Band of Solingen, North Rhine Westphalia (2000).<sup>33</sup> Impressive numbers of pipe bands could also be found in the Netherlands (39), in Belgium (20), Switzerland (20), and Denmark (13). A small but well-established pipe band tradition was alive in Sweden (5), while the formations of France (8), Austria (6), and Italy (4) had all sprung up in the past two decades. One or two bands were active in each Luxembourg, Austria, Norway, Finland, the Czech Republic, Poland, Russia, and, less surprisingly, the former British outposts Malta and Cyprus. A full list of pipe bands is included in the appendix.

Scottish piping in Europe is a post-war phenomenon. No kilted pipe bands were active on the continent before the 1950s. Pipe bands began to appear in the Netherlands, when young locals copied the kilted soldiers who had liberated several Dutch towns from Nazi occupation in World War II. The bands were boosted by the folk music revival of the 1970s, when Scottish bagpipes were embraced as a remainder of a lost European piping heritage, and they multiplied in the 1990s, when popular interest in Scottish history and folklore grew thanks to successful Hollywood films and fantasy novels.

Scottish piping is an overwhelmingly Northern and Western European activity. No organised Scottish piping seems to take place in Spain, Portugal, the Baltic countries, and South-Eastern Europe. This means that Scottish piping had much less of an impact in areas where an indigenous piping culture has survived or was revived successfully (see Chapter 5.4).<sup>34</sup> Bagpipes figure prominently in the folk music of Northern Spain (Asturias, Cantabria, Galicia), Portugal, the Baltic countries, and in most states of Southern and Eastern Europe. There appears to be no need for Scottish *ersatz* instruments.

Continental pipe band musicians do not consider themselves ethnically Scottish. While their bands may feature the odd Scottish expatriate (or an Australian with a Scottish name), they usually have a majority of non-Scots marching in their ranks. The large number of pipe bands on the continent does not reflect a strong Scottish presence in Europe. If there *are* Scots in the band, they often have applied for membership in an existing pipe band rather than set up their own band abroad. Ian Currie, Scotland-born pipe major of Copenhagen's Heather Pipes & Drums (est. 1969), arrived in Denmark in the year 2000 to work in the chemical industries. 'I found out on the internet that there were two pipe bands in Copenhagen. My old band in Scotland was a grade 2 band, so I was keener to join Heather who were also Grade 2. Heather were also closer to where I lived.' Mr Currie was in no way surprised to find that there were two kilted pipe bands in Denmark: 'It's a global thing, piping', he explains.<sup>35</sup>

In many European cities, Scottish pipe bands provide an Anglophone haven for expatriates. The Pipes & Drums of Geneva (est. 1977) for instance bring together a diverse body of musicians: 'We are a happy group of all ages, of both sexes, of Breton, Canadian, French, Scots, American, Australian, Polish and Swiss pipers and drummers from Geneva and the

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<sup>33</sup> [<http://www.bagev.de>] (10 March 2010)

<sup>34</sup> On the revival of continental piping, see Mike Paterson's excellent articles in *Piping Today* (2002-2009), a magazine published by the National Piping Centre, Glasgow.

<sup>35</sup> Interview Ian Currie, Heather Pipes & Drums (12 September 2009).

surrounding area.<sup>36</sup> Pipe bands serve as social clubs for international professionals – be they Scottish or not. In this they remind of Caledonian and St Andrew's Societies.<sup>37</sup>

All pipe bands consist of amateurs, hobbyists who earn their living otherwise. Pipe bands are social clubs which come together on the weekends and in the evenings. They provide their members with a circle of contacts and regular rehearsal meetings. Like football fan clubs, pipe bands offer an identity with their carefully chosen names and colours, intricate crests and logos, even Clan associations and official tartans. The more successful bands play live shows on every second weekend, and its members spend much time in tour buses together. There is a strong social dimension to Scottish piping and drumming.

Scottish pipe and drum bands are live and loud expressions of the Scottish dreamscape. Its musicians wear kilt and tartan and play songs which honour the Scottish military tradition (*Scotland the Brave, Scottish Soldier* etc). The shock and awe effect of a pipe band in full regalia – long appreciated by the British Army – has inspired many a bystander to join a band, to become a Scottish piper or drummer him- or herself. The kilted marching bands spread the Scottish virus. In a way, not so much has changed since a 1895 British juvenile journal describes how two young boys witness a Highland regiment in Glasgow: 'The skirl o' the bagpipes maks my bluid run dancin' through ilka vein in my body, and if I had a sword and was big enough, I could fight to music like that.'<sup>38</sup> The fascination of Scottish pipe bands lies as much in their spectacle as in their music.

Europe's pipe bands compete. 'In Germany, a pipe band doesn't count if it doesn't take part in at least two or three competitions every year', says Mike Dahlmanns (born 1944), a founding member of the German Claymore Pipes & Drums (est. 1976).<sup>39</sup> Unlike other folk music genres, Scottish piping is a competitive affair, and band grades and championships are part of the hobby's fascination. In the past decade, the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association in Glasgow has successfully established itself as the international authority in all piping matters. Its adjudicators regularly visit North America and Europe to judge pipe band competitions, and its teachers play an important part in educating European pipers and drummers at summer schools and, more recently, in online classes.

Several European pipe band and solo competitions take place every year; one of the most important events is the Copenhagen Winter Competition, first held in 1973. Successful piping competitions may turn into large-scale Scottish festivals, like Schotse Weekend at Alden Biesen, Belgium, described above, or the Highland Gathering Peine in Germany (est. 1995), which attracts 20 000 people.<sup>40</sup> Another form of pipe band festivals are Tattoos – military music festivals with a distinctively Scottish theme. These events imitate the Edinburgh Military Tattoo, the world's largest pipe band festival (est. 1950).

<sup>36</sup> [<http://pipesanddrumsofgeneva.googlepages.com>] (1 March 2010)

<sup>37</sup> 'We have a large percentage of non-Scots, and they really enjoy to wear the kilt at our festivities ... We are easier to join than other societies. You do not have to prove any special heritage with us. The St. George's Society of Singapore wanted to have heritage proven and thus nearly died to death.' Interview St Andrew's Society of Singapore (25 July 2009).

<sup>38</sup> Gordon Stable, *How Jack Mackenzie won his Epauettes* (1895), 59, cited in John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction', in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950*, ed. JM MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992), 14.

<sup>39</sup> 'In Deutschland zählt 'ne Band nicht wenn sie nicht mindestens zwei drei Mal im Jahr an einem Wettbewerb mitmacht.' Interview Mike Dahlmanns, Claymore Pipes & Drums (17 March 2010).

<sup>40</sup> Questionnaire Helmut Horneffer, Highland Gathering Peine (19 March 2009).

The first continental Tattoo was set up in the Dutch city of Delft in 1954 and inspired by the Koninklijke Militaire Kapel (the Dutch Royal Military Band) which had performed at the Edinburgh Tattoo in 1952. The Dutch event has been running continuously until today, now renamed the Netherlands Military Tattoo and held (indoors) near Rotterdam.<sup>41</sup> The notion of a Dutch Tattoo marks something of a homecoming; the word 'Tattoo' derives from the Dutch phrase 'tap toe', literally 'close the taps'. When Scottish and English soldiers served in the seventeenth-century Low Countries, tambours signalled with an evening drumbeat when publicans should shut the beer taps and soldier return to the barracks.<sup>42</sup> The Scottish taptoe/Tattoo was a continental souvenir to begin with. In the 1990s and 2000s, when Scottish-styled pipe and drum bands multiplied in Europe, new Tattoos sprang up, all with a decidedly Scottish aesthetic. The *Fulda Military Tattoo*, Germany, was first held in 2000 as an event 'for all friends of Scottish music and folklore, Royal tradition, and military aesthetic'.<sup>43</sup> The *Basel Tattoo* in Switzerland was set up in 2005 and evolved into a mega-event of two weeks, selling 100 000 tickets in 2009 alone.<sup>44</sup> The *Kremlin Tattoo* or *Spasskaya Bashnya* was first held (under the name *Zoria*) on Moscow's Red Square in 2007. Its advertisements for the 2009 edition had the inner city of the Russian capital plastered with huge colour posters showing a Scottish piper.<sup>45</sup> Considerably smaller events include the *Malta Military Tattoo* (2003), the *Modena Tattoo*, Italy (1992), the *Luxembourg International Military Tattoo* (2007), and the *International Tattoo Heerlen*, Netherlands (c. 1995). The trend may also be observed in North America, Australasia, and South Africa, where Scottish Tattoos were set up in Halifax, Nova Scotia (1979), Hamilton, Ontario (1992), Norfolk, Virginia (1997), Victoria, Australia (1999), Québec City (2001), Montecasino, Johannesburg (2008). In 2005, *The Edinburgh Military Tattoo – A Salute to Australia* – a franchise of the Edinburgh original – was attended by over 150 000 people in Sydney.<sup>46</sup>

#### [5.4: Advertisement Basel Tattoo, Switzerland, 2010]

Ambitious European pipe bands will not stay in Europe but travel to Scotland to compete against the world's top bands. In 1980, the Antwerp & District Pipe Band from Flanders (est. 1978) was promoted to Grade 3 at one of world's most important pipe band competitions, the Cowal Highland Gathering in Scotland.<sup>47</sup> And The City of Amsterdam Pipe Band (est. 1974) even received Grade 2 after winning the English Championships in Nottingham 1987 and several prizes at competitions in Scotland. (In 1989, however, the band lost some vital players and was subsequently downgraded to Grade 3 again.)<sup>48</sup> To the dedicated piper, Scotland is more than a Highland fantasy. It is a place on the map which retains authority over its music and which may judge international imitations. European pipers and drummers seek recognition by pipe bands and authorities in Scotland. Kevin Reilly, chairman of the

<sup>41</sup> [<http://www.nationaletaptoe.nl/>] (20 Jan 2010)

<sup>42</sup> 'If anyone shall bee found tiplinge or drinkinge in any Taverne, Inne, or Alehouse after the houre of nyne of the clock at night, when the Tap-too beates, hee shall pay 2s. 6d.' Col. Hutchinson's Orders (1644), cit. in the Oxford English Dictionary's entry for 'Tattoo', [<http://www.oed.com>] (14 March 2011)

<sup>43</sup> 'Das besondere Ereignis für alle Freunde schottischer Musik und Folklore, royaler Tradition und militärischer Ästhetik.' [<http://www.military-tattoo.de/>] (13 March 2010)

<sup>44</sup> Interview Erik Julliard, Basel Tattoo (24 August 2009).

<sup>45</sup> It seems that *Zoria* was created by the Moscow Caledonian Society but then adopted by the Kremlin and the Russian Ministry of Defence. Some suspect an unfriendly takeover of a financially promising concept.

<sup>46</sup> The event in Sydney was an official franchise of the Edinburgh Tattoo and repeated in 2010.

[<http://www.edinburghtattooinaustralia.com.au>] (13 March 2010)

<sup>47</sup> [<http://www.adpb.be/geschiedenis.php>] (19 January 2010)

<sup>48</sup> [<http://www.cityofamsterdampipeband.nl/>] (19 January 2010)

Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association in Glasgow: 'Many of the bands from Europe come to Scotland to compete at the Games and championships. They see that as almost a pilgrimage. The pilgrimage is the second Saturday in August: the World Pipe Band Championships. They want to be part of that.'<sup>49</sup> In 2010, the Swiss Highlanders (est. 2008) were immensely proud when they became the first pipe band from outside the Commonwealth to perform at the Edinburgh Military Tattoo.<sup>50</sup>

### [5.5: Swiss Highlanders, Edinburgh, 2010]

To succeed at international competitions is a question of practice and discipline. Most pipe bands are no hard-drinking party outfits but drill bands. Weaker members are taught and encouraged until they improve or leave. Toughness and stamina are frequently employed terms when pipers talk about their work. A now retired founding member of the Basel Pipes & Drums (est. 1978) in Switzerland states: 'If you protect the culture like we do, if you wear Scottish military uniforms, you have to be tougher than the Scots. There's no leeway. We never played any silly pop tunes.'<sup>51</sup> Scottish piping is a serious matter, and to make fun of the Scots is unacceptable.

Europe's pipe bands aim to meet international standards. To become a Scottish drummer or piper is to accept the rules of the genre. This begins with the dress code and continues with the tunes. Every band is expected to be able to play standards like *Scotland the Brave* or *The Green Hills of Tyrol* without fault. Massed pipes rely on the limited set of tunes. Fascinatingly, not all of these tunes are rooted in the Scottish piping tradition. One of the most popular pipe tunes worldwide is *Highland Cathedral* – written by two German bagpipe fans in 1982.<sup>52</sup> The tune has become a new 'Scottish' classic and may be regularly heard at the Edinburgh Military Tattoo. When the last British Governor in Hong Kong, Chris Patten, left Government House for the last time in 1997, the Royal Hong Kong Police Pipe Band played *Highland Cathedral* in a much televised farewell.

Piping costs money. While some bands have the means to provide new members with starter kits, most musicians spend impressive sums on their costumes and instruments. On their website, the First Guards of St Killians from Germany (est. 1991) warn all interested hobbyists that the 'complete outfit' will cost around 2 500 €. <sup>53</sup> 'You have to be crazy or rich to afford it', says George, a piper with the Moscow District Pipes & Drums, Russia (est. 2004). However, if successful, a pipe band may also generate income. The Moscow District Pipes & Drums claim to play almost 50 shows every year and to charge US\$ 2000 for an appearance with 12 musicians. Their bookings range from the opening of a Range Rover outlet in Moscow to a city holiday parade in Kaliningrad.<sup>54</sup>

### [5.6: Moscow District Pipes and Drums, Russia]

<sup>49</sup> Interview Kevin Reilly, Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (12 September 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Interview Ronnie Rebmann, Swiss Highlanders (9 August 2010).

<sup>51</sup> 'Wenn man die Kultur pflegt, so wie wir das eben machen, wenn man schottische Militäruniformen an hat, dann muss man härter sein als die Schotten, dann verträgt es gar nichts. Das hat es nicht gegeben, dass wir irgendwelche komischen Schlager gespielt hätten.' Interview Gerard Götti, ex-PDBS and Basel Pipefest (18 July 2009).

<sup>52</sup> The tunes' composers are Uli Roever and Michael Korb. [<http://www.highlandcathedral.de/>] (13 March 2011)

<sup>53</sup> 'So liegt der Preis für ein komplettes Outfit bei ca. 2.500 € pro Person.' [<http://www.firstguards.de/>] (15 March 2010).

<sup>54</sup> Interview Moscow District Pipes & Drums (30 August 2009).

Pipe bands often play in non-Scottish contexts. Kilted pipe bands may be hired for ceremonial effect. They provide a service, and the service is beyond the mere production of music. Pipe bands provide *gravitas*, a ceremonial air, a sense of tradition, class, or military serenity. In 2010, the Baul Muluy Pipe Band of Hamburg (est. 1984 as Hamburg Caledonian Band) appeared at the German national Catholic Day in Hamburg, the British Day in Hamburg, the anniversary festival for the port of Hamburg, the re-opening ceremony for the Hamburg Dome, as well as at various birthdays, weddings, corporate celebrations, and openings. They also played on the pitch before the football game between Germany and Scotland in Bremen's Weserstadion, joined the pop star André Rieu on tour, and supported the German Heavy Metal band Grave Digger on stage at the world's largest Heavy Metal festival in Wacken, Germany.<sup>55</sup> Scottish glamour is in high demand.<sup>56</sup>

Where does this demand come from? Why are military glamour, drone, and lockstep so attractive to both amateur musicians and spectators? The following two sections examine two of the main motivations which inspired the pioneering European pipe bands in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and which still are at the core of Scottish piping today. They are the imitation of soldiers and the search for a lost European folk music.

### 5.3 Imitating Soldiers

With their colourful uniforms, piercing sound, and martial choreography, Scottish pipe and drum bands are designed to stun and awe. They are never really civilian, but always imitate the military. On the continent, Scottish piping and drumming began as a civilian re-enactment of the kilted soldiers who had fought in Europe during World War II.

One of the longest-running continental pipe bands are the Dutch Pipes and Drums of Tilburg, formerly *De Scotjes*, the 'wee Scots'. Their story begins on 28 October 1944.<sup>57</sup> The British Army's 15<sup>th</sup> Scottish Division had freed Tilburg from Nazi occupation, and acting Major-General Colin Barber declared the city officially liberated. To celebrate the victory, the Scots Guards' pipe band paraded through Tilburg city centre. The local population lined the streets by the thousands and cheered as Major-General Barber led the band.<sup>58</sup> A journalist of the local *Nieuwsblad* was pleased with the event but taken aback by the sound of the pipes: 'we do not hope that this instrument has now become popular in Tilburg'.<sup>59</sup> If only he had known.

De Scotjes were founded on 9 May 1953. It was the time when social life recovered after the War and friendly societies thrived in the pre-television Netherlands. A group of boys in Lange Nieuwstraat were keen to form a drum band and had been looking for an original name and

<sup>55</sup> [<http://www.bmpd.de>] (3 Aug 2010), Interview Chris Boltendahl, Grave Digger (9 August 2010).

<sup>56</sup> On glamour, see David McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995), 7.

<sup>57</sup> This and the following after the band's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication, *50 Jaar Dutch Pipes & Drums. Opgericht in Mei 1953 as Jeugdooedelsakband de Scotjes*. (Published by Vereniging Dutch Pipes & Drums: Tilburg, 2003).

<sup>58</sup> The Regionaalarchief Tilburg holds photographs and newspapers documenting the 1944 parade. In 1945, Major-General Barber brought his pipers back to Tilburg to celebrate the first anniversary of the liberation.

<sup>59</sup> 'we hopen niet dat dit instrument nu in Tilburg populair zal worden', cit. in *50 Jaar Dutch Pipes & Drums*, 4.

theme for some time. They wanted to be different than all other local youth orchestras.<sup>60</sup> The father of two prospective drummers suggested imitating a Scottish pipe band. He had witnessed the Scots Guards in Tilburg in 1944. De Scotjes were set up as a homage to the victorious pipers, a celebration of their high and emotional memory value. By the end of 1953, the band was kitted out with kilt costumes and self-made bagpipes. In October 1954, when Tilburg celebrated its liberation's tenth anniversary with a week-long festival, some 40 Scotjes played in front of a large audience and alongside the Pipes and Drums of the Cameronians who had come over from Scotland. Colin Barber shook hands with the boys, smiling at his young impersonators.

[5.7: Scots Guards on Tilburg's Marktsplein, October 1944]

[5.8: De Scotjes in Tilburg with Colin Barber, October 1954]

[5.9: De Scotjes, Netherlands, 1971]

The Scotjes kept performing throughout the second half of the twentieth century, at some point changing their name to Dutch Pipes and Drums. Their international success inspired other Dutch and Flemish youth orchestras to adopt a Scottish image. In the Netherlands and Belgium, most early Scottish bagpipe bands were formed by youth and boy scouts organisations – clubs in which quasi-military brass and drum band traditions already existed. In Amsterdam, the Dutch branch of the Boys' Brigade set up a pipe band in c. 1958, after a befriended Boys' Brigade unit from Hawick, Scotland, had come over to visit them and brought their pipe band over. 'We [in Amsterdam] were a copy of their band, same uniforms, same dress', remembers Steve Scholte (born in 1946), then a member of the Amsterdam Boys' Brigade, today a bagpiper for hire and a kilt salesman.<sup>61</sup> The Boys' Brigade was founded in Glasgow in 1883 as an international Christian youth organisation with a strong military dimension. Its objective (to this day) is 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.' While the history of its international spread is not entirely clear, it appears that its pipe bands inspired enthusiasts not only in the Netherlands but also in England, Denmark, and throughout the Commonwealth.<sup>62</sup>

Pipe bands appealed to all sorts of boy scouts clubs. In The Hague, *De Haagse Hooglanders* (Hague Highlanders) were set up in 1957 as an outdoor club ('wandelclubje') for children who were dressed in 'Scottish skirts' ('kinderen in Schotse rokjes'). In 1962, the club acquired a drum section, and in 1967 it turned into a pipe band.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, The Lowland Pipers of Turnhout, Belgium, (see above) were set up in 1963 by the Sint Joris Boy Scouts, and the Red Hackle Pipe Band of Antwerp were formed as St George Scouts Band in 1967.<sup>64</sup>

These youth orchestras were managed by adults and played a surprising number of national and international shows in the 1950s and 1960s. It seems that it was possible to earn money with the little Scotsmen. Steve Scholte recalls of his time with the Amsterdam Boys' Brigade

<sup>60</sup> 'De oprichters denken na over de toekomst van de club waarbij steeds de vraag nar voren komt: "Hoe onderscheiden wij ons van andere muziekclubjes in Tilburg?"' *50 Jaar Dutch Pipes & Drums*, 7.

<sup>61</sup> Interview Steve Scholte (24 May 2009).

<sup>62</sup> [<http://www.boys-brigade.org.uk/aboutus>] (March 29, 2010) See also Cannon, *Highland Bagpipe*, 153. Hermansson, *Icon to Identity*, 159-60.

<sup>63</sup> [<http://www.hhpb.nl>] (19 January 2010)

<sup>64</sup> Interview Ludo Thijssen, ex-Antwerp District Pipe Band (12 Sept 2009).

Pipe Band in the early 1960s: 'We were very popular at that time, we received a lot of requests to play at all kinds of cases, and they made quite a lot of money with the band.'<sup>65</sup> Several of these early 'Scottish' youth clubs were turned into adult pipe bands in the 1970s. In 1974, for instance, members of The Amsterdam Boys' Brigade Pipe Band joined forces with the YMCA Pipes & Drums to form the Selected Piping Group Amsterdam, later The City of Amsterdam Pipe Band, to this day one of the Netherland's most famous pipe bands.<sup>66</sup>

Soldiers also played an important role in Western Germany, where the first kilted pipe and drum bands emerged in the 1970s. These bands were not inspired by a memory of soldiers but by the British forces still stationed in Germany. For most German bagpipe pioneers, interest in Scottish music was first aroused by military parades. Peter Bergschmidt (born 1939), a concrete builder and founder of the Clan Pipers Frankfurt (est. 1974), remembers that as a boy, he saw pipers play 'whenever the Brits marched around'.<sup>67</sup> Mike Dahlmanns (born 1944), a retired pastry chef and founding member of the Munich Civilian Pipe Band (est. 1976, renamed Claymore Pipes and Drums in 1989) says that as a boy in Mönchengladbach, he regularly watched a piper of the British Rhine Army play at manoeuvres:

Near where I lived, or where I grew up, there was a forest, and behind that forest there was a small industrial zone that belonged to a different part of town. .. There was a Rhine Army Workshop. This was in fact the former steelwork Weller. They fixed the tanks there and so on, the War had not ended all that long ago, see? And there always was that ceremony, there was this centurion tank, standing in front of the factory gate, and very often in the evenings it used to be noisily driven backwards into the field again. This was demonstrate: Hello, yes, [we are] the winners. And sometimes there stood a piper at the door and played.<sup>68</sup>

Dahlmanns also remembers seeing Scottish pipe bands at a NATO music festival in Mönchengladbach in 1950 or 1951. 'The pipes were always near somewhere', he says.<sup>69</sup> As a young adult, Dahlmanns was a skiffle player (like Bergschmidt above), playing the trumpet in street jazz bands.<sup>70</sup> But when he met a bagpiper playing on Munich's Marienplatz in 1976 (hired by the military-inspired Munich Scottish Association), the two decided to form a pipe band. The piper he had met was a German who had driven to Ireland on his motorbike in 1969 and bought a set of bagpipes there.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Interview Steve Scholte (24 May 2009).

<sup>66</sup> [<http://www.cityofamsterdampipeband.nl>] (9 January 2010).

<sup>67</sup> 'Und immer wenn die Briten rummarschiert sind: Pipes & Drums.' This and the following after Martin Keßler, 'Martin Keßler befragt Peter Bergschmidt', *BAG Info* (published by BAG e.V., December 2004), n.p.

<sup>68</sup> 'Es war so, in der Nähe wo ich wohnte, oder wo ich aufgewachsen bin, da war ein Wald und so weiter, und hinter dem Wald war ein kleines Industriegebiet, von einem anderen Stadtteil, die Stadt wucherte damals so in die Gegend rein, von früher her, und da war eine Rhine Army Workshop. Das war eigentlich das ehemalige Stahlwerk Weller, und die haben da diese Panzer gerichtet und so weiter. War ja der Krieg noch nicht lange her, ne? Und da gab's immer so 'ne Zeremonie, da stand so ein Zenturientank, stand vor dem Fabriktor sozusagen, und der wurde mit grossem Gerumpel sehr oft abends wieder rückwärts in das Gelände gefahren. Es wurde ja auch ein klein bisschen demonstriert: Hallo, ja, die Sieger. Und dann stand da auch gelegentlich ein Piper an der Tür und spielte.' Interview Mike Dahlmanns, Claymore Pipes & Drums (17 March 2010).

<sup>69</sup> 'Die Pipes waren irgendwo in der Nähe immer. Da war diese Argyll Kaserne in Gladbach, und da waren immer Schotten. Und 51 oder 50, das kann ich jetzt nicht mehr so genau sagen, gab es ein NATO Music Festival in Mönchengladbach, und dann kamen da die grossen Bands und so weiter.' Interview Mike Dahlmanns, Claymore Pipes & Drums (17 March 2010).

<sup>70</sup> Skiffle – street jazz music played on improvised instruments – was a pre-Beat-phenomenon and highly popular in 1950s Britain, Europe, and North America ('Rock Island Line' was a skiffle radio hit, in 1955).

<sup>71</sup> 'Interview Mike Dahlmanns', *BAG Info* (published by Bagpipe Association Germany, December 2005).



The military pipers stationed in Germany were not only observed by the boys, they began to teach them. Helmut Horneffer (born 1958), a merchant in Lower Saxony and founder of the large Highland Gathering Peine (first held in 1995) was taught to play the bagpipes as a child by a pipe major of the Royal Scots Greys (today: Royal Scots Dragoon Guards) in the 1970s – a military band stationed at Bad Fallingbostal, Lower Saxony.<sup>72</sup> Its pipe major John Bruce and successor Bryon Brotherton also taught the pipers of the Hamburg Caledonian Pipe Band in the 1980s.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the Rhine Area Pipes & Drums of Düsseldorf were formed in 1977 (under the name Old & Scotch Pipe Band), 'after intense learning years with experts of the British Rhine Army'.<sup>74</sup> Founding member Klaus Glocksins (born 1945), an architect, remembers that he was first taught by a press officer at the Mönchengladbach headquarters and later became possibly the only German and the only civilian member of a Royal Air Force Volunteer Pipe Band in the 1970s.<sup>75</sup>

[5.10: Clan Pipers Frankfurt, Western Germany, 1986]

[5.11: Clan Pipers Frankfurt, Germany, c. 2001]

The Scottish regiments stationed in Western Germany after World War II also inspired imitation in some of the neighbouring countries. When the Black Watch (2<sup>nd</sup> Batt.) was stationed in Duisburg, Western Germany, in the 1950s, their pipers and drummers often played with the police band of Heerlen, a city just across the Dutch border.<sup>76</sup> Pipe major Jimmy Jenkinson and drum major Robert Roy taught the Dutch policemen in the art of Scottish piping and drumming. The Heerlen Police Pipe Band became a popular ensemble and played many shows throughout the Netherlands. They ceased to exist after a police reorganisation in the 1970s. But their spirit lived on. Steph and Hein Quaedvlieg founded Coriovallum Pipe Band in 1978 to honour and remember both Heerlen's piping tradition as well as the legacy of their father who had been a policeman and a drummer in the 1950s original band. The Scottish link has become family lore, and one of the four drums which the Black Watch presented to the Heerlen policemen remains in the Quaedvlieg family: 'It is said that these drums have been used in El Alamein, where Jimmy Jenkinson lost one of his eyes', says Steph Quadvlieg. Continental pipe bands offer the chance to participate in the Scottish military mythology.

Scottish military pipers also inspired Switzerland. In the city of Basel, *Schotteclique* was founded in 1947 – not a proper pipe band, but a carnival ensemble ('Guggemusig') that combined traditional masks ('Larven') with self-made kilts and bagpipes.<sup>77</sup> Band legend has it that the founders took their ideas from a decorated shop window in Basel, advertising 'Schottenwoche', a week of prices so low that they would please even a stereotypically mean

<sup>72</sup> 'Ich erlernte im Alter von 14 Jahren das Spiel auf der Great Highland Bagpipe von dem Pipe Sergeant der damaligen Royal Scots Greys; heute The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards. Entsprechend begann auch das Interesse an schottischer Kultur mit den damit verbundenen Highland Games und Pipe Band Competitions.' Questionnaire Helmut Horneffer, Peine Highland Gathering (19 March 2009).

<sup>73</sup> Interview Jochen Kummerlöh, Clan Maclanborough Pipes & Drums (22 January 2011)

<sup>74</sup> 'Nach intensiver Lehrzeit bei Experten der Britischen Rheinarmee wurde 1977 die Dudelsackband THE RHINE AREA PIPES & DRUMS DÜSSELDORF gegründet.' [http://www.rapd.de/] (15 March 2010)

<sup>75</sup> Interview Klaus Glocksins, Rhine Area Pipe Band (14 August 2010).

<sup>76</sup> Personal communication Steph Quaedvlieg, Coriovallum Pipe Band (18 March 2010).

<sup>77</sup> The carnival club existed before 1947, as Fasnachtsgesellschaft Hirscheneck, named after a local bar. They changed their name to *Schotteclique* early in 1947. This and the following after Interview Roland Bacher, *Schotteclique* (18 July 2009); [http://www.schotteclique.ch] (19 March 2010); *Dudelsack* (*Schotteclique* club magazine).

Scot. But it is probably equally important that on 11 July 1946, the massed pipes and drums of the 52<sup>nd</sup> Scottish infantry division (stationed in Oldenburg, Western Germany) had been in Basel and played in front of thousands on the Münsterplatz. A local newspaper reports:

At the sight of the three drum and pipe majors leading the parade, our boys and girls held their breath. Our carnivalists who had arrived in large numbers had itchy fingertips when they saw how drumsticks whirled through the air with unbelievable precision and virtuosity, only to meet again in a flash under the drummers' noses.<sup>78</sup>

Carnival in Switzerland and the Alps often involves quasi-military brass, fife, and marching bands which are reminiscent of the local mercenary traditions. The city of Basel is the epicentre of Swiss carnival, and the journalist quoted above suggests that the city's rich local drumming tradition resonated with the Scottish band's sound and style. *Schotteclique* continues to appear at the annual Basel Carnival to this day. In 1978, some ambitious members set up The Pipes & Drums of Basel, a less surreal spin-off designed for formal pipe band competitions.<sup>79</sup>

[5.12: Heerlen Police Band feat. The Black Watch, Netherlands, c. 1950]

[5.13: Coriovallum Pipe Band, Netherlands, 2004]

[5.14: Schotteclique Basel, Switzerland 1947]

[5.15: Schotteclique Basel, Switzerland 2007]

The early continental pipe bands were inspired by kilted regiments and army pipe bands. The imitations were overwhelmingly respectful; if the pipe band masquerade contained a degree of mockery, it was outweighed by the desire to resemble the original soldiers, and, in Germany, to learn from them, to play in their league. In the Netherlands, the early pipe bands were social clubs which imitated the soldiers who had helped to liberate Europe. In Western Germany, the bands provided a way of bonding and competing with the victors, and enthusiasm for military pipers was an expression of Anglophilia. This sometimes led to conflict with the older generation. As piper Mike Dahlmanns recalls of his childhood: 'My mother did not like me watching the pipers. For her, they were the enemies.'<sup>80</sup> But for many young men of the German post-war generation, the Scots in their splendid uniforms and with their harmless tank manoeuvres were the victors, good guys who ensured the reconstruction of Western Germany after World War II.

It is perhaps significant that Scottish piping and drumming intensified in Europe in the 1990s and 2000s, when the Cold War ended, British and American soldiers cleared their bases in Germany, and many eyewitnesses of both World Wars passed away. The multiplication of

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<sup>78</sup> 'Unseren Buben und Mädchen verging beim Anblick der drei voranschreitenden Tambour- und Pipe-Majore Hören und Sehen. Unsern Fasnächtlern, die sich in hellen Scharen eingefunden hatten, zuckte es in den Fingerspitzen, als sie sahen, wie die Trommel- und Paukenschlegel mit einer unglaublichen Präzision und Virtuosität durch die Luft wirbelten, um sich dann blitzschnell unter dem Nasenspitz der Tambouren wieder zu vereinigen.' 'Schotten und Basler voneinander begeistert', *National-Zeitung* (12 July 1946). Another paper reports: 'Tausende säumten die Strassen, durch welche das Schottische Divisionsspiel nach 8 Uhr Abends von der Kaserne via Marktplatz zum Münsterplatz zog, nachdem es am Nachmittag auf Einladung unserer Regierung eine Dampferfahrt nach Rheinfelden unternommen hatte.' 'Der Dudelsack macht die Basler verrückt', *Basler Nachrichten* (11 July 1946).

<sup>79</sup> Interview Roland Bacher, Schotteclique (18 July 2009). Interview Gerard Götti, Pipefest Basel (18 July 2009).

<sup>80</sup> Interview Mike Dahlmanns, Claymore Pipes & Drums (16 March 2010).

Scottish pipe and drum bands at the end of the twentieth century is part of a wider public interest in the two World Wars. Pipe bands physically commemorate this past, re-enact the soldiers of the past.

There is a second commemorative dimension to the Scottish piping. Many European bagpipers chose to become 'Scottish' musicians in order to rediscover their own folklore. They understand Scottish bagpipe music as a surviving form of pre-modern European culture – a culture that has been largely lost on the continent.

#### 5.4 Remembering the Drone?

Continental pipe bands emerged at a time of unprecedented Western European prosperity. The first bagpipers in Western Germany were not unemployed workers or penniless students, but successful young professionals. Many of the pioneering musicians recount stories of motor bike trips to Ireland and Scotland in the 1960s, and of instruments and uniforms that cost them a good deal of money. Peter Bergschmidt of the Clan Pipers in Frankfurt ordered his first set of pipes directly from Robertson's in Edinburgh, in 1962, and it was no beginner's model: 'I was a specialist concrete builder at the start of my career, but I already had some spare cash on the side. I bought the thing right away. A full instrument, fully ivory mounted.'<sup>81</sup> The first European pipers were affluent, mobile, and looking for entertainment.

Folk music became a popular form of entertainment all over Europe and North America in the late 1960s. Folk bands emerged by the hundreds and performed at festivals small and large. The 'folk revival' drew its energy simultaneously from the baby boomer generation's lust for leisure and from their doubts about the possible consequences of affluence and commercialisation.<sup>82</sup> As is examined in more detail in Chapter 2, the deep-reaching social and economic changes of the post-war period were accompanied by a heightened interest in European history and folklore. The folk revival was a symptom of this interest.

In the 1970s, Scottish-styled pipe and drum bands were in the unique position that they attracted both military enthusiasts and folk music fans. To be sure, Scottish pipe bands do not play folk music; they are quasi-military marching bands whose members wear the uniforms of Empire and intone songs like 'The Scottish Soldier' and 'Scotland the Brave'. Pipe bands stood against everything that the largely hippie-inspired folk revival cherished. Nevertheless, they profited from the dynamics of the folk music boom.

The traditional music of Ireland (and to a lesser extent Scotland) occupied a central role in the folk revival. 'Celtic' folk music became a bestselling genre in the late 1960s. Its big advantage was that it did not have to be wholly reconstructed and reanimated, that it

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<sup>81</sup> 'Ich war gelernter Betonbauer, noch in meinen beruflichen Anfängen, hatte aber schon ein bißchen Asche nebenher. Ich habe dann gleich so ein Ding gekauft. Ein volles Instrument, fully ivory mounted.' Keßler, 'Martin Keßler befragt Peter Bergschmidt', n.p.

<sup>82</sup> The folk music revival's European dimension is underexplored. For national case studies, see Chris Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway. Revival and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). Michael Brocken, *The British Folk Revival, 1944-2002* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

appeared to be readily available.<sup>83</sup> As folk songs and dances had disappeared from many towns and cities of Western Europe, continental folk musicians looked to Ireland and Britain for living traditions. 'Celtic' music was seen as folk music that had never died out. Musicians like The Dubliners, The Chieftains, Van Morrison, Pete Seeger, The Battlefield Band, and Runrig came to be key figures of the European folk revival and headlined folk festivals from Scandinavia to Italy. Some bands and musicians could make a living from the circuit.

Scottish pipe bands were absorbed into the Celtic folk music genre. With their 'old' instruments and focus on 'traditional' tunes and rituals, pipe bands were accepted as exponents of Scottish traditional music. Folk music radio shows regularly played pipe music, especially after the *Royal Scots Dragoon Guards* topped the British, German, and Swiss charts with their recording of 'Amazing Grace' in 1972. The highly popular Radio Luxembourg hosted a 'Scottish Requests' show in the 1970s. The Celtic-military fusion must have come as a surprise to Army musicians such as the Dragoon Guards. They were professional soldiers of the British Army, stationed as an occupying force in Bad Fallingbommel, Western Germany, and all the sudden celebrated by folk music fans at the height of anti-war demonstrations. How did they end up in this position?

The European folk music revival had a profound interest in bagpipes. Mike Paterson thinks that the pipes 'address an aesthetic gap' in Europe, that they touch a wound and remind modern Europeans of a historical loss.<sup>84</sup> Bagpipes had disappeared from most parts of Western Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century, mainly due to tightening laws on amusement and the growing popularity of other instruments. Bagpipes had been commonly played at fairs for dancing and therefore were considered frivolous by the Church authorities. Also, new laws and borders fought vagrancy and limited mobility and thus finished the travelling buskers. The pipes survived in rural areas, in peripheries. When a Württemberg schoolteacher witnessed pipe-playing shepherds in the town of Markgröningen in 1778, he was pleasantly surprised to hear the sound of a lost world:

Every new arrival will hear the shepherds' bagpipes sound from all sides, which are very simple and may hurt an ear which has been spoiled with concerts and symphonies, but to him who thinks himself back into the old world of herdsmen, that is, into the raw times of music, they are very pleasant, because they do increase his illusion. He will believe to enter an Arcadian village...<sup>85</sup>

Awareness that bagpipes had once been a common instrument all over Europe never totally faded from popular memory. One of the most important German literary texts, Hans Jakob von Grimmelshausen's *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (1668), recounts how young shepherd Simpel plays the bagpipes (Sackpfeifen) to scare the wolves away from his sheep. Unfortunately, it is the time of the Thirty Years' War and his music attracts marauders who then pillage and burn his home.<sup>86</sup> *Simplicissimus* is read at every German high school and

<sup>83</sup> However, the traditional music of Ireland and Scotland had to be reinvented and transformed in the 1960s as well. See Ailie Munro, *Folk Music Revival in Scotland* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1984).

<sup>84</sup> Paterson, 'Return of the Drone', 232, 252.

<sup>85</sup> '[Es tönen] jedem neuen Ankömmling von allen Seiten die Dudelsäcke der Schäfer entgegen, die zwar sehr einfach sind, und vielleicht manchem Ohre, dass durch Konzerte und Symphonien verwöhnt ist, wehe thun, demjenigen aber, der sich in die alte Schäferwelt, d.i. in die rohe Zeiten der Musik zurück setzt, sehr angenehm sind, weil sie seine Täuschung vermehren. Er glaubt in ein Arkadisches Städtchen einzutreten...' cit. in Schmidt, *Sackpfeifen*, 117.

<sup>86</sup> HJC Grimmelshausen, *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (Zürich: Flamberg, 1963, orig. 1688), 6-10.

keeps a vague memory of indigenous piping alive. Other piping memories are contained in paintings and historical landmarks. In the Swiss capital of Berne, the 'piper fountain' (Pfeiferbrunnen) of 1545 reminds of the Swiss mercenary tradition and its pipers. It was not in Scotland alone where bagpipes had a martial function. In Swabia, Southern Germany, an ethnographer before the First World War still recorded a popular saying that claimed: 'When the pipers are coming, there will be war.'<sup>87</sup>

There have been many attempts at reviving European bagpipe music, and the Scottish Great Highland Bagpipe has served as an inspiration on several occasions. Most famously, Scottish pipes have been employed in Brittany, Western France, to revive a weakened local piping tradition.<sup>88</sup> The Breton pipe, the *bagad*, had largely disappeared by the eighteenth century, and for a forceful revival, the Breton nationalists required a catalysing kick-start.<sup>89</sup> Scottish pipes were imported to Brittany as early as 1932, the first piping society was formed during World War II, and in the late 1960s, young Breton pipers still learnt their trade in Scotland. Peter Bergschmitt of the Clan Pipers, Frankfurt, recalls sharing his first summer classes at the College of Piping near the Muir of Ord in Scotland with Breton musicians, among them later folk music star Alain Stivell.<sup>90</sup> The revival was successful, and Breton piping became a vital and popular folk music genre again. Scottish bagpipes helped to reinvent a local tradition.

The post-war folk music revival saw a huge reconstructive effort throughout Europe, and continental piping traditions were revived more or less successfully in Northern Spain, Hungary, Poland, the Baltic countries, in Scandinavia, and in Ireland.<sup>91</sup> Scottish pipers served as an inspiration, even behind the Iron Curtain. Czech bagpiper and Scotland enthusiast Miroslav Anger remembers that his first sighting of Scottish pipers was at a folk music festival in Strakonice, Czechoslovakia, in the 1980s. In Eastern Europe, the folk revival often assumed a political, anti-Soviet dimension, a message that could be enhanced and amplified with Anglophile, Western kilts and bagpipes. With glee, Mr Anger called his kilted pipe and drum band Czech Rebel Pipers.<sup>92</sup>

In some cases, Scottish bagpipes served not only as an inspiration for the revival of local music but as a full-blown *ersatz* folk music. In the Swiss city of Lucerne, carnivalists Hans Reber and Roman Kaeslin formed the *Lozärner Dudler* (later *Happy Pipers*) in 1973. Reber and Kaeslin both worked for the city council in the 1970s, and their interest in bagpipes was aroused by the sandstone pipers in the façade of Lucerne city hall.<sup>93</sup> The sandstone figures depict Swiss mercenaries, and the Happy Pipers hoped that Scottish bagpipes would help to rediscover the Swiss piping tradition and even a traditional Swiss folk instrument ('altschwei-

<sup>87</sup> 'Wenn Dudelsackpfeifer kommen, gibt's Krieg.' Georg Thierer, *Ortsgeschichte von Gussenstadt auf der Schwäbischen Alm vol. 1* (Stuttgart, 1912), 245, cit. in Schmidt, *Sackpfeifen*, 41. For the piper fountain, see the entry in Berchtold Weber's *Historisch-topographisches Lexikon der Stadt Bern* (1976), accessed via [<http://www.digibern.ch/weber/>] (10 March 2011). See also A.E. Gessler, 'Der Dudelsack - Ein verschwundenes altschweizerisches Kriegsinstrument', *Sinfonia* 8 (1947): 112-3. Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments*, 8-9.

<sup>88</sup> On Breton piping, see Patrick Malrieu, *Instruments du diable, musique des anges. Images et symboles de la cornemuse et du hautbois en Bretagne, XIVE-XXe siècle* (Rennes: Dastum, 1999).

<sup>89</sup> Cheape, *Book of Bagpipes*, 21.

<sup>90</sup> 'Martin Keßler befragt Peter Bergschmidt', *BAG Info* (Dezember 2004), n.p.

<sup>91</sup> See Paterson, 'Return of the Drone', and his articles in *Piping Today*.

<sup>92</sup> Personal communication Miroslav Anger, Rebel Pipers (8 March 2010).

<sup>93</sup> Personal communication Hans Reber, Happy Pipers (18-19 March 2010), and [<http://www.happy-pipers.ch>] (8 Feb. 2010). A documentation of the band's history is deposited at Staatsarchiv des Kantons Luzern.

zerisches Folkloremusikinstrument').<sup>94</sup> But instead of moving from Scottish to Swiss bagpipes in time, they retained the Scottish outfit and continue to perform as 'Scots' to this day. The vague memory of Swiss bagpipes could not be substantiated, and the elaborate and colourful aesthetics of a Scottish pipe band proved more satisfying than any re-invented Swiss piping tradition.

## Conclusion Chapter 5

The piping tradition of Scotland is no Victorian invention. Bagpipes have been played in and associated with Scotland long before 1800. Still, it was in the nineteenth-century British Army that the pipes were transformed from a 'barbarian' rebel klaxon into the respected national instrument of Scotland.

The first European pipe bands emerged after World War II, first in the Netherlands and Flanders, then in Western Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. The pipe band pioneers were inspired by the kilted regiments which fought in Europe during World War II or were stationed in Western Germany after the War. Many musicians have vivid childhood memories of bagpipe-playing soldiers or were even taught by them. In the 1970s, Scottish pipe bands drew further energy from the international folk revival, the spreading interest in Europe's traditional music. Via television and radio programmes, Scottish piping became known to a wider public. In the 1990s and 2000s, Scottish-styled pipe and drum bands multiplied in Europe. In 2010, there were well over 230 pipe bands on the continent which regularly held international competitions and Military Tattoos.

There is a commemorative dimension to Scottish piping in Europe. The first pipe and drum bands were set up to imitate the Scottish soldiers who had helped to liberate Europe from Nazi Germany. It is significant that the number of continental pipe bands multiplied after 1989, when the Cold War ended and many British and American soldiers left Western Europe. Kilted pipe bands are a (highly physical) way of commemorating the past at a time of change. They are a symptom of the memory boom. Furthermore, pipe bands assist in the reconstruction and reinvention of continental folk music. They serve as model folklore. By embracing the Scottish piping tradition, many Europeans hope to tap into their own lost musical heritage.

The imitative approach to Scottish history and tradition in the name of memory is not limited to music. The following chapter examines Highland Games on the European continent.

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<sup>94</sup> 'das Dudelsackspielen in der Schweiz wieder aufleben zu lassen' [<http://www.happy-pipers.ch>] (8 Feb. 2010).



## Chapter 6

### ONLY THE STRONG: HIGHLAND GAMES

It has been a good day in Puster Valley. The mountain sun and healthy pints of Tyrolean beer have made the Highlanders' faces shine. Now the hills are bathed in evening light, the bar works triple shifts, swords and pitchforks are safely tucked away. A folk band has taken the open air stage, kilts are flying, and the dancing begins.

The South Tyrolean Highland Games have been a success, even if it remains a mystery to most who has won the competitions. Many warriors have skipped the award ceremony in order to get a bite to eat in the village. Others just lost track of the many disciplines and competing teams. The fierce-looking bodybuilders of Clan Reischinga (named after nearby Reischach village) may have been among the best when it came to lifting wood blocks, and the all-female Puschtra-Hexn (Pustra witches) have done a terrific job in the piggyback race. Clan Schierhagl (Clan Poker) with their sunglasses, Tyrolean hats, blue-white kilts, and hiking boots should have won the Mr Highlander beauty pageant, while the camouflage combat kilts of McFreischärle (Freischärler: Alpine guerrilla, franc-tireurs) were a source of mild discomfort to the organisers who wanted the Games to be a family event.

The Games passed in a remarkably peaceful manner. Bearded barbarians sat smiling dreamily while Tyrolean girls tied braids into their hair. Large warriors assisted their colleagues with tender gestures in putting on authentic blue face-paint before going out into battle together. If asked for a photograph, the Highlanders happily assumed a heroic and slightly self-ironic pose. And if tensions did arise somewhere, one could be certain to see two or three of the muscular and bare-chested 'sauna bears' appear – no official security force but swimming pool attendants from the spa in nearby Bruneck/Brunico who had decided to participate at the Games.

[6.1: Clan Reischinga, South Tyrol Highland Games, Italy, 2009]

[6.2: Puschtra-Hexn, South Tyrol Highland Games, Italy, 2009]

[6.3: Clan Schierhagl, South Tyrol Highland Games, Italy, 2009]

[6.4: Visitors, South Tyrol Highland Games, Italy, 2009]

The fourth South Tyrolean Highland Games took place on a weekend in June 2009 on a sports ground in Pfalzen (Falzes in Italian), a community of some 2000 people in Italy's northernmost and largely German-speaking province South Tyrol/Alto Adige. The Games were created in 2006 by a group of friends who had become tired of organising the same amateur football tournaments every summer.<sup>1</sup> None of the organisers claims to be Scottish in any way, and none of the c. 3000 spectators of 2009 seemed to celebrate Scottish ancestors or homelands. Indeed, many of the attendants had never visited Scotland and knew the place only from movies and books.

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<sup>1</sup> This after Interview Werner Wieser & Harry Klenk, South Tyrolean Highland Games (26 June 2009).



The South Tyrolean Games are one of more than 130 Highland Games that take place on the European continent at the beginning of the twenty first century. In the rural zones of Western Europe, Scottish athletics are being established as a new summer tradition. The largest events attract up to 30 000 participants and have expanded into colourful festivals with a variety of Scottish and non-Scottish fringe-entertainment. Most games, however, remain small-scale amateur affairs and take place in potato fields and on village greens. Almost all of the continental Highland Games have sprung up after 1990. They are one of the most striking symptoms of a broad new European fascination with Scottish folklore.

This chapter first outlines the history of Scottish strength competitions and their international appropriation. It then presents the Highland Games of Europe and identifies the major themes which characterise them. It then sets out to show how in certain areas of Europe, the Games serve both as *ersatz* folklore and as enhancement of existing custom.

## 6.1 Strength, Sports, and the Scots

Highland Games are strength competitions. 'Large men throwing things!', the Seaside Highland Games of Ventura County, California, (est. 2003) advertise correctly.<sup>2</sup> They are also known as Highland Gatherings, after their alleged origins in times when Scottish Clan chiefs assembled their men in order to select an elite team of warriors. The Köstritzer Highland Games of Thuringia, Germany, provide a fairly typical mythology of origin: 'Highland Games derive from the time of the Celtic Kings of Scotland. They were held to find the strongest and fastest men of Scotland who then often became the King's bodyguards and messengers.'<sup>3</sup> However, in their modern and familiar form, Highland Games have been held for no more than 200 years in Scotland. As Grant Jarvie documents in his authoritative studies, the first Games which merit the name were established in the 1820s by friendly societies concerned with the preservation of Highland culture.<sup>4</sup> These societies had emerged in response to the massive social and economic transformations which followed the battle of Culloden (1746) and the modernisation of the Highlands (see Chapter 3).

Highland Games became popular in Scotland at a time when Romantic enthusiasm for the protection of Highland culture awakened on many levels. The ban of Highland dress had been lifted in 1781, Highland soldiers had figured prominently in the Napoleonic Wars and at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Sir Walter Scott had written his *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817) novels, and King George IV had visited Edinburgh and worn a kilt (over tights) in 1822. The once rebellious Highlander was pardoned and transformed into the Scottish nation's mascot. Highland Games enabled his celebration in a safely non-political way. The Highland Gatherings which defined the aesthetic tradition include Braemar (founded in 1817), St Fillans (1819), the Lonach in Strathdon (1823), Ballater (1866), Aboyne (1867), the Argyllshire in Oban (1871), and Cowal in Dunoon (1871). It was at these events where athletic disciplines like caber tossing, tug-of-war, and various ways of putting and carrying

<sup>2</sup> [<http://www.seaside-games.com/>] (10 March 2011)

<sup>3</sup> 'Die Highland Games stammen aus der Zeit der keltischen Könige in Schottland. Sie wurden ausgetragen, um die stärksten und schnellsten Männer Schottlands zu finden, die dann oft für den König Leibwächter und Boten wurden.' [<http://www.werfertag.de/Koestritz>] (15 January 2011)

<sup>4</sup> Grant Jarvie, 'Highland Games', in *Sport, Scotland, and the Scots*, eds. G. Jarvie & J. Burnett (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 128. Grant Jarvie, *Highland Games. The Making of the Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1991).

weights and stones were defined as the key disciplines of Highland Games. It is certainly true that strength competitions have been common in Scotland (as elsewhere in Europe) long before the nineteenth century. Events like the eleventh-century hill race to the summit of Craig Coinneach, organised by King Malcolm Ceann-Mór in order to find the fastest messenger, may indeed have served as inspiration to the modern Highland Games.<sup>5</sup> However, it was at the Games of the early nineteenth century where the sport was formalised, regulated, and endowed with a mythology of a thousand year old continuity. As Eric Hobsbawm observed, the 'invention of tradition' relies on bits and pieces of genuine custom but binds them into new and meaningful forms.<sup>6</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Games became important events for the Highland elites, the landowners, lairds, and Clan chiefs who embraced the Romantic re-enactment of Highland culture and participated in it. They used Highland Gatherings as a stage to express authority and paternal interest – while many of them had encouraged and sometimes enforced massive emigration from the Highlands to make room for modern farming. As Jarvie puts it, landowners who had helped to destroy Highland culture now acted as its protectors at the Highland Games.<sup>7</sup> An enduring link was established between the Games and nobility and 'sporting landlords', a link which was solidified in 1848, when Queen Victoria became patron of the Braemar Highland Gathering. The Royal Family continues to attend the Braemar Games, and to many twenty first century Highland Scots, the Games still are a sport for the upper classes.

Highland Games were quickly exported to the new world. In North America, Australia, and New Zealand, 'Caledonian Games' (as they were known then) became popular in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their numbers grew rapidly; Rowland Berthoff, analysing the *Scottish-American Journal*<sup>8</sup>, counted 8 or 10 annual Games in the United States in the 1860s, nearly 30 in 1890, and 125 Games by 1925.<sup>9</sup> Among the oldest continuously running Games in North America today are the Antigonish Highland Games in Nova Scotia (established 1863) and the San Francisco Caledonian Club's Highland Games (1866). The St. Andrew's Society of Detroit claims that their Games were founded in 1849. In New Zealand, the longest running games appear to be the ones in Otago (1862) and Turakina (1864), but a Caledonian Society in Wellington held Games as early as the 1840s. A fine eyewitness report survives.<sup>10</sup> In Australia, the Melbourne Cricket Club hosted Caledonian Games at the Metropolitan Ground in December 1861.

In North America and Australasia, Highland Games served as social gatherings for Scottish expatriates. They were hosted by Caledonian, St Andrews, or Thistle societies and allowed newly arrived immigrants to meet compatriots. In New Zealand, some 100 Caledonian

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<sup>5</sup> Jarvie, 'Highland Games', 131. David Webster, *Scottish Highland Games* (Edinburgh: Reprographia, 1973).

<sup>6</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 1-14.

<sup>7</sup> Jarvie, *Highland Games – Making of Myth*, 5. Webster, *Scottish Highland Games*, 11.

<sup>8</sup> The *Scottish-American Journal* (later *Scottish-American*) was published weekly in New York, 1857-1925.

<sup>9</sup> Rowland Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt. Variations on the Scottish-American Ground', *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1982): 5-34, here: 8. See also Gerald Redmond, *The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth Century America* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1971).

<sup>10</sup> See the entry for 25 December 1848 in Donald McLean, *Diaries and Notebooks*, Reference Number MS-1222, Object #1030957, Alexander Turnbull Library, accessed via [<http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/>] (2 Dec 2010).

Societies existed around 1900, and Caledonian Games were their 'main activity'.<sup>11</sup> It was at these events where Scottish pipers and pipe bands were required (see Chapter 5.1). The Games were also a way for Scottish societies to communicate with the rest of the population, to sharpen and improve their public face. To a larger extent than Burns Suppers and St Andrews Balls, Highland Games were inclusive attractions which encouraged non-Scots to join in, to 'become' Scottish for a day of sport and fun. Some of the Games attracted several thousands of spectators and must be understood as early forms of mass sporting leisure. In New Zealand, some Games became 'a successful business venture and brand' and were 'developed to appeal not only to fellow Scotsmen, but to the wider public'. Similarly, the Games in North America attracted many non-Scottish athletes. Berthoff notes on late nineteenth century Games in the U.S.: 'Irishmen, Negroes, and other non-Scots competed and often won.'<sup>12</sup>

Very few attendees at the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Highland Games celebrated their roots. The vast majority of attending expatriates was born in Scotland or at least had Scotland-born parents. As Berthoff notes: 'In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Scottish-American ethnicity was almost wholly confined to people born in Scotland.'<sup>13</sup> Many of these Scotland-born migrants experienced their first Highland Games abroad. The majority of them were Lowlanders and had little experience with tossing cabers.<sup>14</sup> The Highland Games of North America and Australasia do not represent an old and continuous Highland tradition but a Romantic re-imagination of Scotland shaped by homesickness and nostalgia. As Berthoff notes: '[T]his revival of old village customs, a generation or more after the final collapse of Gaelic clan society, appealed to otherwise hard-headed Scots of the urban-industrial age, at home or abroad.'<sup>15</sup> Highlandism was a transatlantic process.

As the Great Depression hit and Scottish immigration dried up at the beginning of World War II, many Highland Games in North America shrunk or folded. This could have been the end of that tradition – but it was not. The Games were revived in spectacular ways with what Matthew Frye Jacobson calls the 'white ethnic revival'; white America's (and Australia's, New Zealand's etc) growing interest in ethnic identities and ancestral cultures in the 1970s (see Chapter 2). Today, Highland Games are widely considered a perfect way for expressing Scottish-American or Scottish-Australian identities. 'There is nothing more quintessentially Scottish than the Highland Games', the Fort Nottingham Games of South Africa (established in 2006) confidently advertise.<sup>16</sup> Such a Scottish identity may be justified with a family tree, DNA-analysis, or just a gut feeling.

As with Scottish pipe bands, the number of Highland Games in North America has grown considerably since the late 1970s. In 1979, Berthoff counted 60 Highland Games in the U.S. and 26 in Canada, but in 2010, the Clan Campbell Society of North America listed 176 Scottish Highland Games in 47 U.S. states and 43 Games in Canada. In the United States,

<sup>11</sup> Tanja Bueltmann, 'Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability. Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand to 1910', in *Bluid, Kin and Countrie. Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, eds. T. Bueltmann, G. Morton et al. (Guelph: CSS, 2009), 167-84, here: 171.

<sup>12</sup> Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt', 8. Bueltmann, 'Sporting Caledonia', 172, 173

<sup>13</sup> Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt', 7.

<sup>14</sup> TM Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), 469.

<sup>15</sup> Berthoff, 'Under the Kilt', 8.

<sup>16</sup> [<http://www.fortnottinghamhighlandgames.com/>] (10 Dec 2010)

Highland Games took place in all states except Delaware, North Dakota, and the District of Columbia.<sup>17</sup> As in the nineteenth century, the Games are inclusive. Some attract up to 20 000 spectators, many of whom have no historical links to Scotland whatsoever.<sup>18</sup> The inclusiveness, however, is limited; Highland Games in the U.S. tend to be rather white affairs, as Rowland Berthoff, Euan Hague, and Edward H. Sebesta have shown.<sup>19</sup>

In Scotland, the Games have survived as well, even if few Scots would consider them a national sport – a title which would go to football, rugby, or golf instead. After some golden years in the 1920s, attendance at the Games dropped in the 1950s with the rise of television, bingo, and other new entertainment options. The Games were also increasingly rejected as ‘tartan kitsch’. Celeste Ray notes: ‘For many Scots, Highland and Lowland, the games represent a laughable stereotype of the Scots.’<sup>20</sup> Still, the Games have spread throughout Scotland – ‘penetrating even the Lowland and border counties whose inhabitants, less than two centuries ago, would probably have died rather than adopt the customs and dress of “the barbaric Highlander”’, as Charles Kightly states.<sup>21</sup> Highland Games are found as far south as North Berwick in the Lothians which exemplifies the extent to which Scotland adopted the Highland aesthetic on a national scale.<sup>22</sup>

Today, some 100 Games are held in Scotland each summer, and the vast majority are small and intimate affairs.<sup>23</sup> They mostly lack the solemn Clan parades and pseudo-medieval rituals so popular at the Games in America. Instead, they feature cycling, track and field athletics, sausage grills, jam vendors, and pony riding attractions. If they have not been deliberately set up in the past 30 years to attract tourism, Highland Games in Scotland are part of the rural entertainment circuit.<sup>24</sup> When attending the 2010 Games at Strathpeffer, Easter Ross, the author talked to an American roots tourist who desperately tried to avoid getting the whirligigs in his photographs. He explained: ‘People at home would think it’s a country fair.’ Which, of course, is what Highland Games in modern Scotland are.

## 6.2 The Highland Games of Europe

In 2010, at least 130 Highland Games were held on the European mainland, the majority of them in Germany (56), Austria (30), Belgium (18), the Netherlands (17), Switzerland (6),

<sup>17</sup> An authoritative listing, recommended by the U.S. Council of Scottish Clans and Associations [[http://www.ccsna.org/games/state\\_province.htm](http://www.ccsna.org/games/state_province.htm)] (10 Dec 2010). South Dakota’s Celtic Faire and Games were not listed but still took place in Aberdeen, South Dakota. [<http://www.nesdcelticfaire.com/>]. (10 Dec 2010). Berthoff, ‘Under the Kilt’, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Berthoff, ‘Under the Kilt’, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Euan Hague, Benito Giordano & Edward H. Sebesta, ‘Asserting Celtic Roots. The Use of Celtic Culture in the Nationalist Campaigns of the Lega Nord and the League of the South’, *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 31:1-2 (2004): 23-36. Edward H. Sebesta, ‘The Confederate Memorial Tartan’, *Scottish Affairs* 31 (2000): 55-84. Berthoff, ‘Under the Kilt’, 26.

<sup>20</sup> Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 111.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Kightly, *The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain. An Encyclopedia of Living Traditions* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 139.

<sup>22</sup> [<http://www.northberwickhighlandgames.co.uk/>] (3 March 2010)

<sup>23</sup> Listings at [<http://www.albagames.co.uk/>] and [<http://www.shga.co.uk/members-directory.php>] (15 Jan 2011)

<sup>24</sup> See Jarvie, ‘Highland Games’, 129, Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 115.

and France (3). Further Games were hosted in the Czech Republic (Sychrov), Poland, Luxembourg, in Norway's Arctic North (Snefjord), and of course in Pfalzen, South Tyrol. A full list of Highland Games is included in the appendix.

The Games have not reached Southern and Eastern Europe – just as Scottish piping is found much less south of the Alps and east of the German-Polish border (see Chapter 5). In Scandinavia, there are several kilted pipe and drum bands but hardly any Highland Games. Scottish athletics, so it seems, are a Western European and predominantly German- and Dutch-speaking phenomenon. The French parts of Belgium and Switzerland hold no Highland Games at all. As will be examined in Chapter 6.3, Scottish Highland Games have a special resonance in Germany, the Netherlands, and the alpine world.

Unlike Scottish piping and drumming, Highland Games are an overwhelmingly rural activity. While Amsterdam, Antwerp, Berlin, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, The Hague, Hamburg, Helsinki, Geneva, Munich, Moscow, Paris, Rome, Vienna, and Zurich all sport their own Scottish pipe bands, only two of these cities, Berlin and Vienna, hold (very small) Highland Games events.

Scottish Highland Games have been virtually unknown in Europe until the 1990s. Only two or three events in Germany and Austria claim to be running continuously since the 1980s and 1970s.<sup>25</sup> Two Highland Games were held in Western Germany during the 1980s (Munich/Anzing, Sternschanzenpark Hamburg) but were then discontinued.<sup>26</sup> These pioneering events were limited in size and mostly connected to pipe bands.

In the 1990s, continental Highland Games began to flourish. The majority of Games were set up in the years between 1995 and 2005, the same period that saw the spread of pipe bands (Chapter 5) and Scottish re-enactment clubs (Chapter 8). This surge of popular interest in Scottish history and folklore was triggered by the successful 'Scottish' Hollywood films (*Braveheart*, 1995) and fantasy novels (*Outlander*, 1991) of the 1990s. More fundamentally, the surge is a consequence of the 'memory boom', a growing passion for the European past and its remembrance. This development is not yet at its end; at least six of the thirty three Highland Games that were held in Flanders and the Netherlands in 2010 were held for the first time.<sup>27</sup> New generations are setting up Highland Games – generations which are no longer familiar with *Braveheart* (1995) and *Highlander* (1986).

The Games of Europe vary greatly in size and character. There are professionally organised events that are as big as the largest Scottish festivals of North America. Scotfest in Tilburg, Netherlands (est. 2006) attracted some 30 000 spectators in 2008. Schotse Weekend at Landscommanderij Alden Biesen, Belgium (1986) had 25 000 paying guests in 2010. The Highland Gathering of Peine in the flat lands of Lower Saxony, Germany (1995) has 20 000 people each year, the Swiss Highland Games championships at St Ursen (2003) and the

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<sup>25</sup> Questionnaire Klaus Schmitt, Rasenkraftsport Neu-Isenburg (21 January 2010). Enrico Sauda, 'Nach zehn Jahren wehen wieder Kilts', *OP Nachrichten* (16 May 2009). [<http://www.dieschotten.com/>] (29 March 2010)

<sup>26</sup> Interview Mike Dahlmanns, Claymore Pipes & Drums (16 March 2010). Interview Jochen Kummerl w, Pipes & Drums of Clan MacLanborough (22 Jan 2011).

<sup>27</sup> They are Limburgse Highland Games, Roysel Festen Highland Games, McFreedom Highland Games, McSinclair Highland Games, Team Madness Highland Games, and Joure Ballonfesten Highland Games.

Machern Highland Games near Leipzig, Germany, attracted 18 000 spectators each in 2009. Schotse Dagen in Ooidonk, Netherlands, had more than 15 000 attendants in 2007.<sup>28</sup>

The majority of the European Games, however, are small and local events. They take place in the rural areas of Western Europe and do not reach national audiences. The Games are part of a rural entertainment circuit and held next to fairs, carnivals, open air music festivals, cattle markets, amateur football tournaments, and motorbike conventions. When the author interviewed a Highland Games team by the name of 'Clan Halbfit' in South Tyrol, the kilted men demonstrated detailed knowledge about the prices for Scottish Highland cattle (1800 Euro the cow, 2000 the bull). In Prießnitz, Saxony/Germany, a 'Schottisches Weidefest' or 'Scottish pastures festival' takes place every summer since 1999. The organising cattle farmers have formed the German branch of Clan Gregor in 2008 and were officially approved by Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor, Chief of Clan Gregor.<sup>29</sup> Often the Games are set up by local clubs and civic associations, ranging from Evangelical Free Churches (Eckernförde Highland Games, Germany), Carnival bands (Salvenpass Highland Games, Austria), men's choirs (Irschen Highland Games, Austria), ice hockey teams (Schangnau Highland Games, Switzerland), office co-workers (DHL Highland Games, Belgium) to leather-clad biker clubs (Studen Highland Games Bike Weekend, Switzerland). Highland Games inspire a variety of ideologies and tempers, but they usually remain confined to the countryside.

Unsurprisingly, the European Games differ from those in both Scotland and North America. In Europe, Highland Games are mostly amateur competitions and 'strongest-man-of-the-village-contests', as an observer in Flanders puts it. While there are tournaments which try to tap into an international heavy athletics network with strict rules, expert referees, and single competitions (Bressuire in France, Kempen in Germany, and Kurenpolder/Hank in the Netherlands), most Games in Europe have amateurs competing.

In Scotland and North America, athletes will compete individually.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, the continental Highland Games are usually designed for teams of four to six. The tournaments are, as a veteran organiser from Switzerland explains, 'peasant Olympics', a rough and ready challenge in which groups of friends throw heavy things and drink large beers, often at the same time.<sup>31</sup> Another sight which distinguishes the European Games from most events in Scotland and America are the many women who compete, kilt and all, in mixed or all-female teams and in the heavy disciplines. Still, the majority of athletes are men, for, as noted earlier, Scottish playacting has few roles and costumes for females. The women at Highland Games more often act as spectators than as athletes.

[6.5: Female Tug-of-War Team, Schotse Feesten, Belgium, 2007]

[6.6: Athletic team 'Buxheimer Perlern', Buxheim Highland Games, Germany, c. 2009]

As in North America and Australasia, European Highland Games have invented new disciplines. At Bressuire in France, athletes will toss a huge oaken Champagne cork of 12.8

<sup>28</sup> Numbers are the organisers' estimates and usually based on sold or issued tickets. *Scotfest 2009* was drenched in rain, with only 15 000 people attending.

<sup>29</sup> Questionnaire Kathrin Kuhne, Schottisches Weidefest (26 January 2010). Personal communication Sir Malcolm Macgregor of Macgregor (6 January 2011).

<sup>30</sup> Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 109.

<sup>31</sup> Interview Chrigi K., Fehrltorf Highland Games (26 June 2009).

kilograms.<sup>32</sup> In Austria, throwing eggs and speed-drinking are established disciplines. In the Alps, ski boots may be worn to get a better grip in the tug-of-war. At the Alpen Games in Carinthia, matches of 'kilt soccer' are played. Other disciplines include piggyback races, wood chopping, barrel rolling, the throwing of milk containers (Machern, Germany), wellie throwing, and Mr and Mrs Highlander beauty pageants (South Tyrol). Some enthusiasts have started to hold Winter Highland Games which involve kilted downhill skiing (Dufftown Rangers and Original Highlanders Carinthia, Austria). Interestingly, new 'traditions' from America ('kirkin the tartan', haggis-hurling, and the 'bonniest knee' contest that involves men in kilts and blindfolded women) have not made it across the Atlantic.<sup>33</sup> Europeans make their own innovations.

Continental Games inspire each other. Many events are set up by people who have neither a deep and long-standing interest in Scotland or a first-hand experience of the Games of Scotland. More often, they were inspired by Games that they saw in a neighbouring village or on television. The next summer, they tried it at home. They looked up the Wikipedia entry for Highland Games, organised a couple of weights and tree trunks, improvised a bar, hired the local folk rock band, convinced a brewery to sponsor the event, printed 500 flyers, and told everyone to show up in a skirt. Simple Highland Games are easily set up. These events wholly depend on volunteers and friendly societies, they are held for fun, not to make money. Its organisers charge modest or no entrance fees and provide only the most basic facilities. Many continental Games have budgets of less than GBP 4000.

Things change when the Games are held successfully for several years. They will attract more and more people and become more organised as they grow. They will need car parks, camping grounds, safety standards, first aid medics, chemical toilets, cleaning teams, an accountant, and a bad weather insurance – like all larger festivals. A good example is the Wúy ú ay Highland Games of St Ursen in Switzerland (est. 2003), a festival that evolved within five years from a mud-kicking farmers' Olympics into a well-polished spectacle that attracts 18 000 people. In 2009, the Games featured international folk and rock music acts on a well-lit stage, different culinary treats, high-gloss festival programmes, and a website that listed helpful advice on shuttle buses, garbage recycling, and the dangers of drunk driving. The event's main sponsors were a Swiss bank and Guinness, behind which stands the international beverage company Diageo.<sup>34</sup> Successful Highland Games may become commercial festivals.

#### [6.7: Advertisement, Wúy ú ay Highland Games, Switzerland, 2008]

The commercialisation of Highland Games is an issue of some concern for many European Scots – mainly because they consider commercial mass production and Scottishness to be mutually exclusive. Participants and spectators at the European Highland Games often consider themselves 'a little bit crazy', different – people with an individual taste and mindset who will not fit into mainstream leisure culture (see Chapter 10). Sponsored festivals for the masses must appear like a big sell-out to them. 'Already people tell us that we are being too

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<sup>32</sup> The world record (10.10 metres) is held by Scott Rider (England). [<http://www.ajef.eu/>] (2 January 2011)

<sup>33</sup> Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 115-7.

<sup>34</sup> [[www.highlandgames.ch](http://www.highlandgames.ch)] (17 March 2010). Questionnaire Manfred Raemy, Wúy ú ay Highland Games.

commercial now', said Harry Klenk, one of the four main organisers, responsible for the (truly rough) South Tyrolean Highland Games.<sup>35</sup>

But Highland Games and entrepreneurial spirit go together well. Some organisers use the Highland Games for fundraising, like the Rotary Club of Velsen, Netherlands, that began holding Games in 1998. Competing teams are sponsored by companies and all the money is donated.<sup>36</sup> In Germany, several Highland Games teams and other Scottish playactors regularly support local charities – a fact which the local press likes to comment in articles like 'Scots are mean? Not at all!<sup>37</sup>

#### [6.8: The evidence: Scots not mean at all! German newspaper, 2008]

Others try to earn money with the Games. The International Highland Games at Machern in Germany (est. 2001) attract some 18 000 people to a castle park outside the city of Leipzig. The organisers entertain guests with a Scottish market, fireworks, massed pipes and drums, sheep dogs, falconry, and countless barbecue grills. Their sponsors are Guinness, a bottled water company, and a German discount supermarket by the name of MäcGeiz (literally: MacMean) – a chain named after the stereotype of the stingy Scot. The chain was set up in 1994 and had 275 tartan-draped shops and 1700 employees all over Germany in 2010.<sup>38</sup>

The thrifty Saxons from Machern recognised the growing demand for Highland Games as an entrepreneurial chance. They have begun to franchise their Games and helped setting up large and professional Scottish events all over Germany, so in Rüsselsheim (Mainland Games) and Angelbachtal. They charge money to act as instructors and commentators; a travelling circus of Scottish entrepreneurs. Main organiser Uwe Schimmel: 'We sell beer there, I do the speaker, and we get paid for that.'<sup>39</sup> Of course, many enthusiasts copy their Games without paying. Talking about a nearby Games event in Halle, Schimmel comments: 'They really just took over everything from us, even the typos in the festival programme.'<sup>40</sup>

The Flemish Kram Clan have a similar business model. They are a Highland Games athletic team of eight men in their early 40s, named after their regular pub. Among its members are computer specialists, a dentist, and a pub-owner. They started competing together in 2002 and now organise their own Highland Games in Mechelen, Flanders (est. 2007). In 2009 they had 12 teams participating and 6000 visitors attending. Kram Clan go to other towns and show them how Highland Games are done. For this they charge a fee which they re-invest in their club. 'Of course we charge a fee. If we go there for a whole day, we have to take a holiday, take care of the kids, bring along the material', says Banan, the Clan's PR man.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Interview Harry Klenk, South Tyrolean Highland Games (26 June 2009).

<sup>36</sup> 'Sinds de zomer van 1998 organiseren de leden van de Rotary Club Velsen de Rotary Highland Games, een Sportdag voor Bedrijfstteams, in het Park Velserbeek in Velsen-Zuid. Tot en met 2009 hebben de leden van de Rotary Club Velsen 7 maal een Highland Games georganiseerd. De netto-opbrengst van de Games in 2007 en 2009 was € 55.000 en € 45.000.' [<http://www.rotaryhighlandgames-velsen.nl>] (2 Jan 2011)

<sup>37</sup> 'Von wegen: Schotten sind geizig', *Niederrhein Nachrichten* (10 June 2009), n.p. 'Der Beweis: Schotten sind nicht geizig', *Grenzland Nachrichten*, Grefrath (18 September 2008): 15.

<sup>38</sup> [<http://www.mac-geiz.de/>] (17 March 2010).

<sup>39</sup> 'Wir verkaufen da Bier, ich moderier und lassen uns dafür bezahlen.' Interview Uwe Schimmel, Machern Highland Games, Germany (19 Sept 2009).

<sup>40</sup> 'Die haben wirklich alles von uns übernommen, sogar die Druckfehler im Programmheft.' Interview Uwe Schimmel, Machern Highland Games (19 Sept 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Interview Banan, Kram Clan (12 September 2009). Similar services by Clan der Berserker, Germany [<http://www.clan-der-berserker.de/>] (15 January 2011).



Another way of making money from the Games are 'team building Highland Games' for corporations. Banks and insurance companies rent the services of a Highland Games team which outfits their workforce with kilts and make them toss cabers and do the tug-of-war. Wout Zijlstra (born 1964) – who won the title of Holland's Strongest Man in 2001 and the Dutch National Highland Games championships in 2003 and 2004 – offers 'Highland Games for companies and groups' on his website: 'We take care of all the material, referees and score records. Many companies, town festivals, and societies (police, army, etc) have tried our services before you.'<sup>42</sup> Similarly, a company called Highland Events offers a day out with the firm at their 'Highland Camp' on Landgoed Beukenrode in Doorn, near Utrecht. You can choose between the Rob Roy, Highland, or Braveheart programme which seem to vary only very slightly.<sup>43</sup> In Germany, another event and leisure company offers 'team-building in a kilt' (Teambildung im Schottenrock) and 'fun and entertainment in a medieval competition':

Put on that Scottish kilt, shout out the Clan War Cry, and then we know: The Highland Games have begun! Enter the world of the wild Scots and test your strength... At the Clan tent, guests will be mustered into clans and outfitted with Clan-typical Scottish kilts. At the Clan tent you will also learn more about the Scottish ancestors of the Clans, the heritage and the history! After the war cry of the Clans, the Clan War Cry Rallye [sic], the strong men and women will compete in 'rustic Games'.<sup>44</sup>

Depending on the company's budget, the rustic challenge may be followed with a VIP experience. In Austria, the Alpen Highland Games of Carinthia offer a special Business Games competition. Teams of four first compete and then relax with Scotch whisky and exquisite food at the VIP lounge on Hallegg castle. Tariff is 1 200 Euro per team.<sup>45</sup> This trend has reached the United Kingdom, where the company Team Challenge with offices in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Belfast advertises: 'Unleash the Highlander inside and take on Team Challenge Company's Highland Challenge – the perfect way to enjoy a day of exciting and unforgettable Corporate Entertainment, be it for your clients, staff or team away days.'<sup>46</sup> As in the nineteenth century, when tourists could become Highlanders for a day while stalking deer and shooting grouse, Highland Games athletes are invited to shed their civilised skin and 'unleash the Highlander inside'.<sup>47</sup>

The ultimate team-building experience may be found at the KFOR. In 2002, the KFOR Nato troops in Kosovo held Highland Games in Leposavic. Competing soldiers wore kilt-like garments and wild face paint. Disciplines included a tug-of-war, carrying lorry wheels, log

<sup>42</sup> 'Highland Games voor bedrijven of groepen'. 'Wij zorgen voor alle materiaal, scheidsrechters en punten telling. Vele Bedrijven, dorpsfeesten, gezelschappen (politie, leger enz) gingen u al voor.' [<http://www.woutzijlstra.nl/>] (10 January 2011)

<sup>43</sup> [<http://www.highland-events.nl/>] Similar services are offered by [<http://www.totalblue-events.nl/activiteiten/highlandgames>] in several Dutch cities. (15 January 2011)

<sup>44</sup> 'Ziehen Sie sich den Schottenrock über, stoßen Sie den Clan War Cry aus und dann heißt es: die Highland Games sind eröffnet! Tauchen Sie ein in die Welt der rauen Schotten und messen Sie Ihre Kräfte... Im Clan-Zelt werden die Gäste in Clans eingeteilt und mit den Clan-typischen Schottenröcken ausgestattet. Im Clan-Zelt erfahren Sie auch mehr über die schottischen Ahnen der Clane, das Erbe und die Geschichte! Nach dem Kriegsschrei der Clane, der Clan War Cry Rallye, messen sich die starken Männer und Frauen u.a. in "rustikalen Spielen".' [<http://www.hirschfeld.de/>] (2 January 2011)

<sup>45</sup> [<http://www.businessgames.at/>] (15 January 2011)

<sup>46</sup> [[http://www.teamchallenge-company.co.uk/team-building-activities/1030\\_highland-games](http://www.teamchallenge-company.co.uk/team-building-activities/1030_highland-games)] (2 January 2011)

See also [<http://www.highlandsafaris.net/corporate/team-activities/>];

[<http://www.greatawaydays.co.uk/highland-games.cfm>] (2 January 2011)

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 3 and Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot. Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (New York: SUNY, 2009).

cutting, diving in a wooden barrel, and 'throwing an 18-kilo tank track element'.<sup>48</sup> These KFOR Highland Games were repeated at least once, in Camp Belvedere on 18 October 2009, when teams MacBattery (Belgium) and Danish Dragoons (Denmark) won the competitions.<sup>49</sup>

### [6.9: KFOR Highland Games, Camp Belvedere, Kosovo, 2009.]

In all this happily chaotic activity, there are inevitably those who seek to regulate and organise the Highland Games circuit for reasons of health and safety, profit, or both. In the heavy athletics subculture, continental governing bodies emerge, such as the 'Association Sportive des Jeux d'Ecosse en France' AJEF (est. 2005) or the 'Highland Games Federatie Nederland-België'. There are attempts to set up frameworks for the 'wild' team Highland Games, for instance with the 'Austrian Highlander Cup' (est. 2004). Some of these organisations bond with Scottish and international bodies such as the 'International Highland Games Federation' IHGF or the 'Scottish Highland Games Federation' SHGA. But, as in boxing, different systems compete, and no single authority exists that could absorb the European enthusiasm. While the many kilted pipe and drum bands of Europe look almost without exception to the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association in Glasgow, no Scottish organisation so far has managed to position itself as the overall authority for Highland Games athletes who look for an authentication of their efforts.

Many Scots of Europe are slightly wary about Scotland, the place on the map. While some state that they feel uncomfortable about appropriating someone else's culture ('would they mind?'), others note that the Scots are too stiff, too complicated, and too serious about wearing kilts, playing pipes, and tossing cabers. As a Flemish organiser who has visited Scotland puts it: 'We envy you [the Scots] for your culture, your heritage. But the Highland Games are better in Belgium than in Scotland.'<sup>50</sup> There is also a sensation that Scotland might not take it seriously enough, that dedicated Europeans do a better 'Scotland' than the Scots. 'The young Scots who would perhaps like our kind of Games, they usually do not even own kilts', explains the organiser of the Alpen Highland Games in Austria with some disdain.<sup>51</sup> And when a group of Tyrolean Highlanders visited the Strathpeffer Highland Games in 2010, two ladies in tartan gowns told the author that they found the Games slightly disappointing: 'There's no real Highlanders here, not like at home.'

## 6.3 Rediscovering a European Tradition?

Who are the real Highlanders? Many Europeans set up Highland Games without deep thoughts about Scotland or their own relationship to Scottish tradition. They may have seen kilted strongmen tossing tree trunks on television or at a Highland Games competition in the neighbouring village. They set up Highland Games as they would set up an amateur football

<sup>48</sup> Cdt Luc Vangansbeke, 'Highland Games in Leposavic', *KFOR Chronicle* 11 (July 2002): n.p. Accessed via [[http://www.nato.int/kfor/chronicle/2002/chronicle\\_11/](http://www.nato.int/kfor/chronicle/2002/chronicle_11/)] (2 January 2011)

<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Vadym Tymoshenko, 'Highland Games 2009', *KFOR Chronicle* 10 (October 2009): 26-7. Accessed via [<http://www.nato.int/kfor/docu/inside/2009/10/i091028c.htm>] (2 January 2011)

<sup>50</sup> Interview Team Madness (12 September 2009).

<sup>51</sup> Questionnaire Thomas Rettl, Alpen Highland Games, Austria (21 July 2009).

tournament or a folk music festival. The organiser of Austria's Lurnfelder Highland Games (est. 2009) explains: 'I saw the Games in Hopfgarten, Salvenauer Alm in Brixen Valley [Tyrol, Austria] and I was very keen to try this as well. It does not always have to be the local choir and folk dancing.'<sup>52</sup>

Some Europeans, however, see the Highland Games as an opportunity to reconnect with their own history and folklore. The Scots – with their apparently ancient athletic, musical, and sartorial tradition – serve as guardians of a shared past. By imitating Highland Games, the continental Highlanders hope to reactivate their own tradition. They develop elaborate mythologies of kinship to make the Games an expression of their own Celtic, Nordic, or otherwise pre-modern identity.

Celtic kinship is most commonly claimed. The enduring European interest in the Celts of antiquity and in their alleged linguistic, spiritual, and temperamental legacy is legion.<sup>53</sup> The idea that there slumbers a Celt inside us who might be re-awakened to save us from the degenerating effects of civilisation has been with us since the earliest stages of Romanticism. Scholarly doubts about the homogeneity of the ancient Celtic people and the continuities between them and the modern European nations have not shaken the popular belief that 'the Celts' have once ruled Europe – before they were pushed westwards by the Romans, to the fringe. In this mythology, Scotland (alongside Ireland, Wales, and Brittany) represents the rest of a once proud pan-European civilisation.

Scottish kilts and bagpipes – so visual, so theatrical – have been used as templates to formulate 'Celtic' nationalism in Ireland, Cornwall, Brittany, even Spanish Galicia throughout the twentieth century – usually by activists who did ignore that the Scottish icons they adopted originated in the imperial British military tradition. It appears that Highland Games were not commonly adopted – although in recent years, the 'Celtic' nations have discovered them as well. In Brittany, for instance, Breton wrestlers have begun to compete alongside Highland Games athletes, for example in 2010 at the C'hoarioù Breizh festival in Pontivy.<sup>54</sup>

But the Highland Games help to become 'Celtic' in areas of Europe which are less commonly associated with modern-day 'Celts'. Christoph Gänsbacher, Captain of the self-proclaimed Gordon Highlanders of Austria (born 1973, a civil servant) has established one of the first Highland Games in the Austrian Alps. When asked whether his hometown Donnerskirchen (Burgenland) has any special connection to Scotland, he replies: 'Not to Scotland, but to the Celts who are one of Scotland's original peoples'.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, Thomas Rettl (born 1962, a tailor) who set up the Alpen Highland Games in Carinthia, Austria (2006), thinks that to have Highland Games in Austria is no appropriation of Scottish tradition, but a rediscovery of

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<sup>52</sup> 'Ich habe die Spiele in Hopfgarten, Salvenaueralm im Brixental gesehen und war begeistert, dies auch einmal bei uns zu versuchen. Nicht immer Gesangsverein und Schuhplattler!' Questionnaire Josef Edlinger, Lurnfelder Highland Games.

<sup>53</sup> See e.g. Marion Bowman, 'Contemporary Celtic Spirituality', in *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, eds. A. Hale & P. Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 69-91. David C. Harvey et al., ed., *Celtic Geographies* (London: Routledge, 2002). Michael Dietler, 'Our Ancestors the Gauls. Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe', *American Anthropologist* 96:3 (1994): 584-605.

<sup>54</sup> François de Beaulieu & Hervé Ronné *Les jeux des Bretons* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 2002). Marcel Floc'h & Fanch Péru *C'hoarioù Breizh. Jeux traditionnels de Bretagne* (Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne, 1987). Anne Guillou, 'Les jeux bretons. Mise en scène du corps chez les ruraux', *Ethnologie française* 15:4 (1985): 359-368.

<sup>55</sup> 'Zu Schottland selbst nicht, jedoch zu den Kelten, die eben auch ein Urvolk Schottlands sind.' Questionnaire Christoph Gänsbacher, Gordon Highlanders of Austria (May 2009).

Austrian culture: 'We have Celtic roots... They were first in our place [in Austria] and only later moved to Scotland...' He argues that many of the things which are considered typically Scottish today may in fact be Austrian imports: 'We have proof that tartans come from Austria. As [archaeological] findings show, [we had them] c. 1000 years before the Scots.'<sup>56</sup> The Austrian says this with a wink and a smile. He does not mean to challenge the Scottishness of the modern kilt. The tailor accepts Scottish authority and has registered his own 'Carinthian National Tartan' with the Scottish Tartans Authority in Crieff (ITI No. 3899), not with any Austrian patent office.

[6.10: Styrian Tartan, advertisement, Austria, c. 2009]

[6.11: Alpen Highland Games, Austria, c. 2009]

Several Europeans see their Highland Games as a celebration of their Celtic roots. Chrigi Kessler (a publican in his forties) organises the Fehraltorf Highland Games (established 2001) on an old airfield in Switzerland. More than 10 000 participants regularly attend his Games, well-known folk and rock bands from Scotland like the Red Hot Chilli Pipers have performed there. Kessler is a passionate motor biker, and he combines his kilt with leather and metal. In his statement, he stresses that bikers used to be into Native American culture but have now discovered the Celts and Scots:

These days, the biker scene loses interest in the Native Americans, in the cowboy image, and discovers the Celts and Vikings instead. ... The Native Americans – I mean we don't have anything to do with them, really, nothing at all. But the Celts, Gaeldom, to go around carrying a sword, to hold a sword – many people like this a lot. ... People like to hold it, they feel good when holding it – probably because they know it, it is their past, they can identify with it. The people in Southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria, South Tyrol – they in particular can identify with it. Some 200 meters away from the old airstrip where we hold our Highland Games [in Fehraltorf] there are two Celtic burial mounds. This is our direct history, not like the Indians.<sup>57</sup>

The Swiss publican feels that the Scots are more closely related to him than the Native Americans. He thinks that the Highland Games he organises are an expression of the same ancient culture which has left behind the two burial mounds next to his pub. To dress up as a Highlander, a Gael, and to compete at Highland Games means to face an indigenous past, to remember an ancestral world. Importantly, his Scottish playacting is also consistent with the countercultural biker tradition, an appropriation of wild, 'barbarian' costumes and symbols, an opposition against mainstream and establishment. To be a Scot is to be a rebel (see Chapter 10).

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<sup>56</sup> 'Weiss nicht... wahrscheinlich keltische. Und die waren ja zuerst bei uns und sind dann erst später nach Schottland gezogen. Deshalb haben wir ja auch den Beweis dass die TARTANS aus Österreich kommen, wie Fundstücke belegen ca 1000 Jahre vor den Schotten.' Questionnaire Thomas Rettl, Alpen Highland Games (July 2009).

<sup>57</sup> 'Das Indianische, mit dem haben wir ja voll nichts am Hut, überhaupt nichts. Aber das Keltische, das Gälische, mit einem Schwert rumlaufen, ein Schwert halten, viele Leute halten das total gern. Es ist zwar eine Waffe, aber es sieht niemand als eine Waffe an, vielleicht eher ein Schutz. Die Leute halten es gern, fühlen sich irgendwie wohl weil das kennen sie, das ist ihre Vergangenheit, mit dem können sie sich auch identifizieren. Da die Leute im Süddeutschen, Österreichischer Raum und Schweiz sowieso. Bei uns hat es gerade 200 Meter nebenan 2 keltische Grabhügel, bei unseren Games und das hat es hier [im Südtirol]} sicher auch. Und das ist eben ihre direkte Vergangenheit, was das Indianische nicht ist. Das Kämpferische haben natürlich so MCs auch gern, die Biker-Clubs. Ich hab noch andere Rüstungen da hinten, und wenn die das sehen dann erblassen die vor Neid, weil die haben alle nur so Uniformen mit diesen Flügelchen, da. Und das ist eben eigentlich real, plus minus vielleicht mal so gewesen. Und das Leben zu können, daran haben total viele Leute Freude.' Interview Chrigi Kessler, Fehraltorf Highland Games (26 June 2009).

The quest for Scottish-Celtic self-discovery may become a patriotic occupation. In Germany, where much of pre-modern Germanic folklore and mythology has been ruined by Nazi misuse, Scottish Games (and bagpipes and kilts) are adopted as *ersatz* folklore. In Eastern Germany, a group calls itself Clan of Eburons (after the Celtic tribe described by Caesar). Their Highland Games of Halle, Saxony-Anhalt (est. 2005) have attracted several thousands of spectators in the past years (the event was paused in 2010). On their website, the Eburons state that to engage in Highland Games means to revive a German tradition:

For more than 2000 years competitions in athletic and musical-cultural disciplines at special festivals (Highland Games) have been documented in the whole of Europe. ... In the Scottish national spirit [Nationalgeist] these festivals survived until today. From Scotland, one of the last Celtic fallback zones [Rückzugsgebiete], many interested clubs and brotherhoods everywhere in Europe now draw inferences to revive the traditional festivals of our ancestors in their homelands [Heimatstätten].<sup>58</sup>

Scotland is made a reservoir of European culture from which inspiration for a Celtic-Nordic revival may be drawn. By competing 'in Celtic Germanic athletic disciplines', they argue, one can keep 'our Indo-Germanic past alive'. This effort clearly has a martial dimension; to reinvent a Germanic 'Heimatstätte' by importing Scottish 'Nationalgeist' does not suggest a peaceful family picnic.

Scottish Highland Games are declared to be a survival of ancient 'Celtic' culture. Their appropriation in Europe serves to formulate a 'Celtic' nationalism in Brittany and Galicia, a spiritual link to nameless burial mounds in the Swiss countryside, and a non-Germanic fantasy of a German heroic age. All these appropriations ignore the fact that modern Scottish Highland Games originate in Victorian Britain, that many of the Scottish symbols and customs they enthusiastically adopt encapsulate nineteenth-century British military culture in much more profound ways than a 'Celtic' continental past.

This said, Scotland and Europe *do* share some athletic traditions. A good number of strength sports are practised in contemporary Europe which resemble the Scottish Highland Games. Some of the European Scots have noticed these parallels and try to combine the continental sports with Highland Games. The aim is to sap some of the rebellious image of the Scot and the popularity of Highland Games and transfer it onto the often slightly dusty indigenous traditions. The Scottish element enhances an existing tradition. They imbue their national and regional customs with a rebellious Scottish spirit.

Traditional continental strength sports are found in the Alps. In Austria and Switzerland, traditional wrestlers from *Ranggeln* and *Schwingen* claim their own status as Highlanders and increasingly don kilts and compete in Highland Games.<sup>59</sup> Just like the Scottish Highland Games, their strength sports were re-invented in the nineteenth century. In Switzerland, Swiss wrestling or *Schwingen* has been revived and endowed with rules at large-scale

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<sup>58</sup> 'Seit rund 2000 Jahren ist der Wettstreit in sportlichen und musikalisch-kulturellen Disziplinen mit eigens dafür ausgetragenen Festspielen (Highland-Games) in ganz Europa nachweisbar. ... Nur im schottischen Hochland konnte das keltische Clansystem mit seinen Eigenheiten bis Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts weiter bestehen. Durch den schottischen Nationalgeist haben sich gerade diese Festspiele bis heute erhalten. Aus einem dieser letzten keltischen Rückzugsgebiete ziehen allorts in Europa interessierte Vereine und Bruderschaften Rückschlüsse für traditionelle Feste unserer Ahnen, um diese in ihren Heimatstätten neu zu beleben.' [<http://www.ebronen-clan.de/>] (10 May 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Personal communication Wullie Baxter, President International Federation of Celtic Wrestling FILC (23 January 2011).

patriotic festivals, the most famous ones being the Unspunnenfest (1805) and the Eidgenössische (1895).<sup>60</sup> In 2007, athlete Peter Michel from Interlaken (a carpenter in his thirties) first won the Swiss championships in stone putting at Eidgenössisches Schwing- und Älplerfest in Aarau – and then the Swiss Highland Games at St Ursen.<sup>61</sup> At the Swiss event he threw the Unspunnenstein – an 83,5 kilo stone with high political symbolism that has been robbed and held hostage several times, like Scotland's stone of the Kings. In 2008, Michel travelled to Scotland to compete at 'real' Highland Games. In Airth (far away from the geographical Highlands) he carried the Smiddy Stane, a stone of 130 kilos. He was beaten – mostly by Australian and Canadian athletes.<sup>62</sup>

[6.12: Swiss Athlete Peter Michel with Unspunnenstein and at Airth Highland Games, Scotland, 2008]

The Games have become international, or maybe they have always been. At nineteenth-century Swiss wrestling championships, there were competitors from 'England' trying to beat the locals. 'Around 1800, an Englishman was world champion in gymnastics and wrestling. He travelled the whole world to try the strongest men, wherever he came.' In Switzerland, he fought Martin Schelbert from Muotatal (but was beaten).<sup>63</sup>

Stones are also thrown and carried in the Basque country, where the Herri Kirolak Games are very much alive.<sup>64</sup> These strength sports imitate rural work practices. As modernisation made farmers and fishermen increasingly unemployed, their trade was turned into sport in almost commemorative ways. Herri Kirolak disciplines include hay bale tossing, wood chopping, stone throwing, and the tug-of-war. The strength performances are supported by music and costume groups who wear sheep skins, tall hats, and bells. In 2008, a Herri Kirolak ensemble of some 40 people called Nazioen Mundua (world of nations) came to Scotland to present their skills. In July 2009, they returned to participate in the Inverness Highland Games (est. 1822). They came onto the field with saws and axes, saltires and basque flags. They also performed in the Inverness city centre, carrying signs saying 'Autodeterminazioa' (self-determination). Unmistakably, they carried a political message into the world of (unfinished) nations. The Basque folklorists found common ground with Scotland, both in politics and athletics. They used the sportive similarities to invoke a shared culture of independence and distinctiveness.

[6.13: Basque Herri Kirolak group 'Nazioen Mundua' in Inverness, Scotland, 2008]

The Scots understood this message instantly. In 2009, an Inverness Basque Tartan was designed (ITI-No 10067), and in October 2010, a Scottish delegation travelled to the Basque country to demonstrate Highland Games. A 50 people strong delegation led by Scottish MSP

<sup>60</sup> Rudolf Gallati & Christoph Wyss, *Unspunnen 1805-2005. Die Geschichte der Alpherntefeste* (Interlaken: Touristik Museum der Jungfrau Region, 2005). See also Walter Schaufelberger, *Der Wettkampf in der alten Eidgenossenschaft. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Sports vom 13. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1972).

<sup>61</sup> Samuel Günter, 'Nun die Highland Games und die Schweizer Meisterschaft', *Jungfrau Zeitung* (30 August 2007). [<http://www.jungfrauzeitung.ch/artikel/78917/>] (15 January 2011)

<sup>62</sup> 'Erfahrungen mit Kugelhammer und Smiddy', *Jungfrau Zeitung* (6 August 2008). [<http://www.jungfrauzeitung.ch/artikel/87617/>] (5 January 2011)

<sup>63</sup> 'Um 1810 herum war ein Engländer Weltmeister im Turnen und Schwingen. Dieser bereiste die ganze Welt um überall, wo er hinkam, die stärksten Männer zu probieren...' Fritz Ineichen, *Starke Leute und Originale aus dem Inneren Lande Schwyz* (Luzern: Murbacher, 1962, orig. 1956), 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> Rafael Aguirre Franco, *Juegos y deportes del pais Vasco* (San Sebastian: Kriselu, 1989).

Rob Gibson and Highland Councillor Roy Pedersen travelled by coach to Portsmouth and there took the ferry to Santander. The tour was sponsored by the Basque Regional Government and Bòrd na Gàidhlig 'in support of the development of sporting and cultural and linguistic links between the Basque Highlands and the Scottish Highlands.' To be sure, there are no linguistic links, as Basque is an isolated language while Scottish Gaelic is q-Celtic and Indo-European language. Rather, the link is political. The Nafarroa Oinez festival which the Scottish delegation performed at in Pamplona raises funds for Basque language schools – a fundraising activity much understood by Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

The Scottish delegation performed in Ordizia on 16 October 2010 and in Pamplona the next day. At the Nafarroa Oinez festival in Pamplona, they entertained an audience of 100 000 people. The programme brought only the finest of Scottish culture and tradition to the Basques: Highlands Dancers, the Caledonian Canal Ceilidh Trail Band, the Highland Youth Pipes and Drums Band, Instrumental Band, Grousebeater Sound System, local DJ Andi Candoo and performers from Eden Court who brought Tour Mascot Jacobite Jess and the three Haggis People.<sup>65</sup> 'The reaction was tremendous', says Gerry Reynolds of the Highland Council who has been there. Strikingly, the kilned Highland Games athletes in the Inverness delegation hailed from Australia, Japan, Germany, Belgium (and Scotland). Scottish playacting feeds back into Scotland. In the Basque Country, it was playactors who taught the world about the Scots. It was playactors who performed on stage as real Highlanders.

## Conclusion Chapter 6

Highland Games have become a popular form of rural entertainment in North-Western Europe. Some pioneer events aside, the first Games were set up during the 1990s. In 2010, at least 130 Games were held, the majority of them in Germany, the Netherlands, and Flanders. While successful Highland Games may grow into large-scale and commercial festivals, the majority of events remain rough and ready village contests. Participants are usually amateurs and compete in teams of four or six. Highland Games are a highly social activity, a place for communal celebration.

Many continental athletes and spectators consider Highland Games an expression of old European culture. By setting up Highland Games they hope to rediscover their own lost tradition. They turn the Scots into Celtic relatives, guardians of pre-modern Europe. They also use Scottish Highland Games to boost and enhance their own local traditions.

Chapter 5 and 6 examined two vital forms of Scottish playacting in Europe; piping and athletics. Both activities may be understood as imitations of a Scottish folk tradition – be it 'invented' or not. But the Scots of Europe will not stop at folklore. Many attempt to move beyond the living tradition and towards the finished past. The following two chapters examine continental commemorations and re-enactments of Scottish history.

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<sup>65</sup> 'Inverness Highland Games Visit delights Basques', *Press Release Highland Council, Inverness* (21 Oct 2010). Accessed via [<http://www.highland.gov.uk/>] (10 December 2010).

## **Chapter 7**

### **OUR SCOTTISH PAST: COMMEMORATIONS**

The pipers and athletes examined in the previous two chapters do not imitate the past. While it is important to most of them that the musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions they engage with are solidly rooted in history, they do not attempt to reproduce that history. They perform in what they hope is an old but living Scottish tradition.

Commemorators and historical re-enactors have a different objective. As the next two chapters demonstrate, they seek to recreate the past in the present. They do not consider themselves part of an ongoing process; their past is finished, perfectly concluded. They frequently have strong opinions on dates, sources, and authenticity.

Chapter 7 investigates commemorations of Scottish history. Again, it focuses not on private or silent acts of remembrance, but on public, festive, and spectacular forms which have multiplied with the late twentieth-century memory boom. Like bagpipers and athletes, commemorators approach the past as celebrants, as performers. With festivals and ceremonies, they seek to uphold a Scottish memory in Europe. Where they are available, historical links with Scotland are being rediscovered and celebrated.

Almost without exception, these Scottish links are celebrated with the help of Scottish costume, pipe bands, and even Highland Games. The Scottish dreamscape helps to make commemorative events visibly Scottish. This often produces bizarrely blended events; a festival for the Scottish soldiers of World War I for instance may feature Highland Games competitions, and an event to recall medieval missionaries may involve military-style pipe and drum bands of the Victorian period. Commemoration fuses with the internationally popular and powerful Scottish dreamscape.

Chapter 7 first examines a French festival which recalls late medieval Scottish noblemen who fought for the French King. The event features a bewildering mixture of attractions and is largely designed to attract tourists. Commemorative events may be a form of place marketing. The chapter then provides an overview of the different commemorative events in Europe. It identifies some of the historical periods which are chosen for commemoration. It appears that there are usable and less usable Scottish pasts. Moments of warfare, in particular, dominate all Scottish remembrances. The chapter ends with a visit to Flanders, where local enthusiasts erected a monument for the Scottish soldiers who fell in World War I. It appears that Scottish commemorations may acquire a strong political subtext.



## 7.1 The Seigneurs of Aubigny

Aubigny-sur-Nère is a sleepy village in the Berry, the rural heart of France. Every summer since 1990, its inhabitants stage the steaming Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises, a Scottish-styled country fair which lasts several days and attracts some 10 000 visitors. The event commemorates the Scottish noblemen who ruled and owned Aubigny from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. John Stuart of Darnley (c. 1380-1429, of Renfrewshire) had sailed to La Rochelle with an expeditionary force of Scottish soldiers during the Hundred Years' War to honour the Auld Alliance, the military pact with France. He fought for the French King Charles VII against the advancing English, prepared the way for Joan of Arc at Orléans and was rewarded for his services with the town of Aubigny in 1423. John Stuart fell in battle in 1429, but his descendants stayed in Aubigny until 1672.<sup>1</sup>

Two Stuart chateaux still stand in and around Aubigny. Mr Yves Fromion (born 1941) is convinced he has rediscovered and revived the Scottish connection single-handedly. He claims that the Stuarts were no longer remembered in Aubigny when he was elected mayor in 1989: 'There was not a trace of memory left', he says, except for one elusive legend concerning a row of apple trees, allegedly planted by a Scotsman.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Fromion had not lived in Aubigny before 1989, and there is good evidence that the Scottish connection lay dormant rather than dead in Aubigny before his arrival.<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of a 1956 French-Scottish exhibition in Paris for instance mentions that the people of Aubigny-sur-Nère remember the Stuarts fondly and even try to make commercial use of their Scottish past by naming their shops after the noblemen ('Pâtisserie des Stuarts').<sup>4</sup> Several family names in the region such as Turpin or Bailly are locally referred to as 'Scottish'. And Mr Fromion himself learnt of Aubigny's Scottish past from his mother who had grown up in the neighbouring town of Vorly and attended girls' school in Aubigny. On 15 August 1931, she witnessed a country fair in Aubigny that promoted a Scottish theme and historical pageant. Apparently, the pageant was a re-enactment of Robert Stuart's (c. 1470-1544) victorious return from the battle of Marignano in 1515, where he and his Scottish soldiers had fought the Swiss for the King of France. A local aristocrat and owner of one of the surviving Stuart chateaux, M. le Marquis de Vogüé, played Robert Stuart in 1931, while a

<sup>1</sup> On the Scottish seigneurs of Aubigny-sur-Nère, see Jean-Yves Ribault, *Aubigny-sur-Nère: Cité des Stuarts* (Publication by Auld Alliance Museum, Aubigny-sur-Nère, 1995). Alastair J. Macdonald, 'Stewart, Sir John, of Darnley (c.1380–1429)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online Edition, October 2006) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26714>] (21 Sept 2010). See also BGH Ditcham, "'Mutton Guzzlers and Wine Bags". Foreign Soldiers and Native Reactions in Fifteenth-Century France', in *Power, Culture and Religion in France, c.1350–c.1550*, ed. C. Allmand (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 1–13.

<sup>2</sup> 'Il n'y avait aucune trace de mémoire.' Interview Yves Fromion, Mayor of Aubigny (13 July 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Mr Fromion grew up in the nearby village of Vorly but left for Paris as a young man to pursue a career, first in the army and then in the Ministry of Defence. He is not solely a provincial mayor but a well-known French politician. Since 1997, he is a member of the National Assembly of France for UMP, the centre-right party of President Nicolas Sarkozy.

<sup>4</sup> 'Aujourd'hui le souvenir de John Stuart et de sa lignée est resté vivant à Aubigny que celui de Jeanne dans les autres villes françaises. Tout y parle d'eux, même les plus humbles choses: non loin de leur château, vous pouvez, par exemple, manger de gâteaux à la "Pâtisserie des Stuarts".' Charles Braibant, then Director of the French National Archives, in *France Écossaise. Catalogue. Exposition organisée par les Archives Nationales (France) avec le concours du British Council sur l'initiative de l'Association Franco-Écossaise*. (Paris: Hôtel de Rohan, 1956), vi.

beauty queen from Paris took the role of a Stuart lady.<sup>5</sup> The historical parade (‘cortège’) was accompanied by the bagpipers of the Caledonian School of London who had come over to France for the occasion. The Scottish fair was organised by the Agricultural Society of Aubigny and part of the agricultural fair cycle which had every community hold a festival every seven years. But the event was never repeated – until 1990.

When he became mayor of Aubigny, Mr Fromion recalled his mother’s story of the Aubigny Scots and decided to revive the Scottish fair. The mayor thought that Aubigny needed a festival, an event to boost tourism and community feeling. He explains that the existing wine or horse festivals in the region seemed dull to him, and also a bit macabre, as agriculture was dying in these parts of France. Mr Fromion wanted to create something special, an occasion that would stand out and draw the crowds.

### [7.1: Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009]

The plan worked marvellously. The Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises have become Aubigny’s main tourist attraction. During the Fêtes, the town population swells dramatically, every auberge and hotel is booked. The many visitors from near and far are rarely disappointed. They find in Aubigny a French town which has styled itself Scottish. Since 1990, Aubigny set up an Auld Alliance museum (*Musée de la Auld Alliance*), a bar by the name of *Le Cutty Sark*, and a kilted pipe & drum band, the *Auld Alliance Pipe Band*. The band has been formed deliberately to perform at the Fêtes, by direct order of the Mayor Yves Fromion who even sent some of his municipality staff over to Scotland to attend bagpipe classes.<sup>6</sup> An Aubigny tartan was designed and registered with the Scottish Tartan Authority (No. 2159). However, no one seems to like its colours very much, and most locals wear the Stuart Hunting sett. At the town entrance, a wrought-iron bagpiper welcomes visitors, a monument depicting a sword in a stone reminds visitors of the town’s role in the Auld Alliance, and the local *Office du Tourisme* sells Aubigny Auld Alliance Malt Whisky, made by a Belgian distiller with water from Loch Katrine, Scotland. Mayor Fromion proudly explains that the town has acquired all the ‘distinctive signs of Scotland’.<sup>7</sup> Scotland is a game, and everyone who knows the rules can participate.

The Fêtes of Aubigny recall the medieval Stuarts with a variety of attractions. Visitors come to see the historical re-enactment camps, the fireworks, the medieval market (‘marché medieval’) where local producers sell marmalade and wine. The main attraction, however, is the grand parade and its pipe bands. When the author visited in 2009, the parade was led by the local pipe band, the Auld Alliance Pipe Band, consisting of about 40 musicians of all generations who performed in full Highland attire. Bystanders lined Aubigny’s main street on both sides and cheered when the Scots walked by. Other kilted pipers and drummers in the parade belonged to the Pipe Band of Saint-Brieuc, the Normandy Highlanders Pipe Band, and the Somme Battlefield Pipe Band, a commemorative pipe band whose musicians wore army

<sup>5</sup> A brief programme of the 1931 event is held by the National Library of Scotland (NLS 5.2079), and the *Musée Auld Alliance* in Aubigny-sur-Nère has several photographs and a large advertisement in its collection.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Personne ne savait jouer la cornemuse ici, on ne savait même pas que c’était. Alors j’avais un ouvrier municipal dans ma commune qui jouait le pierot. Alors je lui dit mais toi tu vas jouer la cornemuse, tu sais jouer le pierot – tu vas apprendre la cornemuse. On l’a envoyé en Ecosse puis il y a commencé à jouer un peu etc.’ Interview Yves Fromion, Mayor of Aubigny (13 July 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Interview Yves Fromion, Mayor of Aubigny (13 July 2009).

shirts above their kilts (see below). Between the bands there marched medieval re-enactors in shining armour, wild 'Celts' with huge Irish wolf hounds and flowing robes, Victorian fancy dress clubs, and the local theatre club. There were also several non-Scottish pipe bands, such as *Bagad Men Glaz*, an ensemble of Breton pipers and drummers, two sombre *gaita* bands from Northern Spain and Portugal, and several fire brigade brass bands from the neighbouring villages. Finally, the *Musique de Région Terre Nord-Ouest* came down the high street, a renowned French Army band stationed in Rennes and equipped with Breton bagpipes sporting the black and white Breton flag. The Scottish commemorative festival had turned into a military and folk music event.

### [7.2: Auld Alliance Pipe Band, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009]

To everyone's surprise, an elephant marched at the end of the parade. It trotted down High Street, following the heavily armoured re-enactors of *Les Chevaliers de Paladin*. Its wide forehead was decorated with red and gold, and on its blanket-covered back rode a female figure in several layers of pink dress. The elephant was led by a keeper who made sure the animal would not take a shortcut through the several thousands of spectators. Flyers were handed out by Asian people in festive dress. They asked the audience to support the Hmong people of Laos in the protection of their elephants. Mayor Yves Fromion had decided that the Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises were the perfect place to promote the Laotian elephant – especially now that a gentleman of Laotian descent had recently been elected to his municipality. When Mr Fromion addressed the audience via microphone, he made it clear that he would not be limited by history: 'After the monster of Loch Ness, we have invented the Scottish elephant', he exclaimed triumphantly. Everything is possible in the Scottish dreamscape.

## 7.2 Remembering the Scots

There is no shortage of historical contact between Scotland and Europe. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular saw many thousands of Scottish migrants travel to North-Eastern Europe. Scottish pedlars and vagrants came to the continent in so substantial numbers that they were banned from several cities, often along with Jews and Armenians.<sup>8</sup> In the Thirty Years War, large numbers of Scottish mercenaries fought in both the Protestant and Catholic armies of Europe.<sup>9</sup> And in the Baltic region, Scottish merchants set up powerful business networks and trading organisations after the decline of the Hanse.<sup>10</sup> Only with the

<sup>8</sup> David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe. The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, c.1214-1545* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001). TC Smout, NC Landsman & TM Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in *Europeans on the Move*, ed. N. Canny (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 76-111. Robert I. Frost, 'Hiding from the Dogs', in *Scotland and Poland. Historical Encounters, 1500-2010*, eds. TM Devine & D. Hesse (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011), 21-37.

<sup>9</sup> Robert I. Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Service of Poland-Lithuania, 1577-1661', in *Scotland and the Thirty Years War*, ed. S. Murdoch (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 191-213. David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg service, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). Stephen Conway, 'Scots, Britons, and Europeans. Scottish Military Service, 1739-1783', *Historical Research* 82:215 (Feb. 2009): 114-30.

<sup>10</sup> Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Almut Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft grossbritannischer Nation. Rahmen-*

rise of the British Empire did the stream of Scottish migration and trade turn West, towards the Atlantic world.<sup>11</sup> Scottish soldiers continued to attract attention in Europe as members of the British Army, be it in the Napoleonic, the Crimean, or the two World Wars.

The memory boom of the past two decades (see Chapter 2) witnessed a growth of public interest in Europe's many historical links with Scotland. In 2010, at least two dozen festivals and numerous private clubs in North-Western Europe were dedicated to the maintenance and revival of a Scottish memory. Most of the events and associations were established in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty first century. They belong to the same Scottish boom that saw the spread of pipe bands and Highland Games (see Chapters 5 and 6). A list of commemorative festivals is included in the appendix.

Many commemorative events recall the two World Wars. One of the largest events held in Europe at the beginning of the twenty first century is *Scotfest* in Tilburg, Netherlands, which was established in 2005 and attracted approximately 30 000 people in 2008.<sup>12</sup> Scotfest celebrates the memory of the Scottish regiments who liberated the region from Nazi occupation as part of the allied forces in 1944. It does so with a stunning number of 'Scottish' attractions. Scotfest 2010 featured a live show by Scottish comedy rock band Red Hot Chilli Pipers, Highland Games, bagpipe bands, a wellie throwing contest, blow-up cushions for the kids, a bird of prey show – in short, 'everything one can associate with Scotland'. The organisers advertise Scotfest as 'a day out for the whole family'.<sup>13</sup> Entrance to the event is free. As in Aubigny, the Scotfest organisers are keen to acquire all the 'distinctive symbols' of Scotland. In 2008, they registered a Tilburg Tartan with the Scottish Tartan Authority (No. 7464).

The two World Wars inspire Scottish commemorations in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. As examined in Chapter 5, the Scottish soldiers' pipe bands left a particularly strong impression on the continent. Their memory is being revived in 'commemorative pipe bands'. The 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Holland, for instance, were founded in the Dutch town of Apeldoorn in 1991 to commemorate the 48<sup>th</sup> Highland Regiment of the Canadian Army (est. 1891) which helped to liberate the Netherlands from Nazi occupation.<sup>14</sup> The 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Holland are technically a pipe and drum band, but see themselves as a 'living monument'. Their secretary (born 1965, a senior laboratory scientist) explains:

The band has been founded as a living monument to the liberators of our town Apeldoorn during WWII by some local enthusiasts. We are officially recognised by the regiment of the 48th Highlanders of Canada. Although we perform in Service Dress uniforms according to WWII pattern, we are also allowed to wear the modern Canadian uniforms with full regalia in and outside Canada.

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*bedingungen, Formen und Medien eines englischen Kulturtransfers im Ostseeraum des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> TM Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2004, orig. 2003).

<sup>12</sup> Interview Karel van Broekhoven, Scotfest (8 March 2010). See also [<http://www.scotfest.nl>] (10 March 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Interview Karel van Broekhoven, Scotfest (8 March 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Questionnaire John Fundter, The 48th Highlanders of Holland, *The Scots of Europe Survey* (2009-2010). See also [<http://www.48th-highlanders.nl/>] (1 March 2010).

In their attempt to reproduce the uniforms and crests correctly, the Dutch Highlanders have contacted the original regiment, stationed in Toronto. A retired pipe major of the Canadian regimental band, Mr Ross Stewart (d. 2001), came several times to the Netherlands during the 1990s to drill his Dutch imitators. Canadian veterans have met with the band when visiting the Canadian War Cemetery in nearby Holten, and the Dutch band's website is linked on the Canadian regimental pages. The copy found the original's approval.

Other such 'mobile monuments' include the *Passchendaele 1917 Pipes & Drums*, Flanders (est. 2007), the *Somme Battlefield Pipe Band*, France (est. 1989), the *Normandy Highlanders*, France (est. 2001), and the *The Seaforth Highlanders of Holland, Memorial Pipes and Drums*, Netherlands (1999). Their musicians usually wear twentieth century Scottish military dress rather than normal Highland attire, and they perform at commemorative events and parades. In France, the *D-Day Piper Bill Millin Association*, raised money for a £75 000 bronze statue of Mr Bill Millin from Glasgow (d. 2010), to be erected on Sword Beach, Normandy, where Mr Millin came ashore, playing the pipes in a hail of bullets, on 6 June 1944.<sup>15</sup>

[7.3: D-Day Piper Bill Millin Association, Sword Beach, France, 2010]

[7.4: The 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Holland, Netherlands, c. 2000]

These commemorative events and organisations are no isolated phenomena but part of a broader Western effort to remember the two World Wars (see below). Often, Scottish commemorators will join larger acts of remembrance. In Caravaggio, Northern Italy, the Italian *Claymore Pipes & Drums* (est. 1998) marched in a commemorative parade to celebrate the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II.<sup>16</sup> And the 2007 *Scottish Weekend* at Flanders (see below) was one of three theme weekends at Passchendaele, alongside an Anzac and a Canadian memorial event.<sup>17</sup>

But commemorators also target the more distant past. The annual *Pillarguri Days* in Norway's Gudbrands Valley commemorate the 1612 battle of Kringen which saw local farmers ambush a party of Scottish mercenaries who had come to join the Swedish army.<sup>18</sup> One of the expedition's leading figures was George Sinclair from Stirkoke whose grave in the town of Kvam may still be visited today. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, Norwegian poets recalled the luckless Scottish mercenaries and interpreted the episode as proof of Norway's national resilience. Their Sinclair ballads and fiddle tunes remain popular to this day.<sup>19</sup> The Pillarguri Days take place since the 1990s and are organised by the Sinclair

<sup>15</sup> [<http://ddaypiperbillmillin.over-blog.com/>] (10 Sept 2010)

<sup>16</sup> The band was founded 'con l'intento di riscoprire e approfondire l'identità e l'eredità culturale della Scozia, così come ci è stata tramandata attraverso i secoli', [<http://www.claymorepipesanddrums.com>] (10 March 2010).

<sup>17</sup> *Remembrance. Battle of Messines-Wytschaete. Battle of Passchendaele. 1917-2007. Program 7 June – 11 November 2007* (Brochure published by Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917, Zonnebeke, 2007).

<sup>18</sup> On the battle of Kringen, see Syver Bakken, *Ringene om Kringen* (Publication by Pillargurikomiteet, Otta, 2007). Per A. Holst, *The Massacre of the Scots at Kringen, 26th August 1612, based on accounts gathered in the Gudbrandsdalen Valley by Hans Petter Schnitler Krag, Pastor of the Parish of Vågå, 1820-1845, first published in 1838* (Otta: Otta Libris, 2001). Thomas Michell, *History of the Scottish Expedition to Norway in 1612* (London: T. Nelson, 1886). KC Steven, 'The Battle of Kringen', *Scots Magazine* 150:1 (January 1999): 70-2.

<sup>19</sup> Chris Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway. Revival and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 154-5. In 2008, a theatre company staged the Battle of Kringen in a neighbouring town, but unfortunately, the *Sinclair-spelet* seems since to have gone bankrupt recently, see [<http://www.sinclairfestivalen.com/>] (10 March 2010)

Club of Otta. They are named after the mythical Norwegian girl Guri who is said to have played her horn or *lur* when the Scots approached. The Pillarguri Days were attended at least once (in 1999) by the present Earl of Caithness, Chief of Clan Sinclair, who stresses 'the deep friendship that now exists between our related communities'. The festival involves a 'combination of pipes and drums and Hardanger fiddle, kilt and tartan bunad [a local costume said to contain tartan], akevitt and whisky', and is regularly joined by the Oslo Caledonian (est. 1997) and the Bergen Pipe Band (2005).<sup>20</sup>

Scottish commemorations can make use of long-standing legends. In the Italian Alps, the inhabitants of the town of Gurro (population 250) claim to be descendants of the 'lost Clan', a battalion of Scottish soldiers that got lost on the retreat after the battle of Pavia in 1525. In September 1973, a museum was opened, a commemorative plaque unveiled, and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, Chief of Clan Gayre and a professional anthropologist, made use of his right to adoption and declared all inhabitants of Gurro members of Clan Gayre. The occasion was broadcasted by BBC Scotland, and many Scots have heard of that Scottish village in the Piemontese mountains. In September 2003, a new Festival of Friendship was established in Gurro which now seems to take place biannually.<sup>21</sup> The town's only bar is named 'Scotch'. The case of Gurro is one of the very few cases in which Europeans claim Scottish ancestry.

#### [7.5: Le Giornate dell' Amicizia, Gurro, Italy, 2003]

In other areas of Europe, Scottish links are being rediscovered that have long faded from public memory. In Austria, the Tyrolean Highland Games of Leutasch claim to honour (amongst other things) Eleanor of Scotland (1433-1480), the daughter of King James I of Scotland who married the Habsburg Archduke Sigismund of Austria and died in Innsbruck. Her grave may still be seen at Stams monastery, Tyrol, but neither she nor her Scottish link are widely remembered.<sup>22</sup> The dedicated commemorator may select arcane moments of Scottish contact in order to justify a festival with a Scottish theme – or even bend history a little. Organisers of the Harz Highland Games in Germany stress that Louise of Stolberg-Gedern (1752-1824), the wife of Charles Edward Stuart, came from the Harz region.<sup>23</sup> However, while Louise's family has old links to the area, Louise was born in the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium) and spent most of her life in Florence.

Some commemorators do not limit themselves to only one historical event. In France, the remarkable *Alliance France-Ecosse* was founded in 1995 to produce an inventory of all the Scottish sites of memory in France.<sup>24</sup> It set out to map the nation's Scottish moments and produced a range of memorial plaques which were mounted and unveiled in commemorative ceremonies, often involving kilted pipe and drum bands and other Scottish attractions. The Alliance's president, Mr Julian Hutchings (born 1951, of Scottish ancestry), states:

<sup>20</sup> Rt Hon The Earl of Caithness, Chief of Clan Sinclair, 'Letter to the Editors', *Highlander Magazine* (9th October 2001). See also [<http://sites.ecosse.net/sinclairsclub/>] (10 March 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Lt. Col. Robert Gayre of Gayre, *The Lost Clan Sant'Andrea degli Scozzesi of Gurro, Novara, Italy* (Edinburgh: The Armorial, 1974). See also [<http://www.museogurro.it/>] (22 March 2011)

<sup>22</sup> [<http://www.tyrolean-highlander-games.com/>] (1 Oct 2010)

<sup>23</sup> Questionnaire Mario Steder, Harz Highlanders.

<sup>24</sup> The Alliance does not link their work to Nora's classic work. See Pierre Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992). (7vols)

Our wreath laying events, memorial inaugurations etc are all connected to Scots or Scottish events. We have 'taken care' of restoring Scots from events dating back to the Hundred Years War, right up to the Tartan Pimpernel – Donald Caskie – and the Second World War.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, the *Scots Heritage* club in the Netherlands organises Highland Games and various cultural events to commemorate the seventeenth century Scottish mercenary presence in the Low Countries as well as all other phases of Scottish contact. The society also provides assistance in genealogical matters. *Scots Heritage* restores Scottish gravestones in the Netherlands, such as the one to Jacobite general Lord George Murray, (d. 1760). Their piper also provides 'Scottish atmosphere' at commemorative and commercial events.<sup>26</sup>

In some rare cases, the Scots are also commemorated as descendants. In Flanders, Mr Daniel Crombez (born 1949) who organises a Celtic-Scottish festival in French-speaking Wallonie and who plays in the Blue Stone Pipes & Drums argues that the Crombies of Scotland are descendants of his emigrant-ancestors.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Clan Hay's continental Clan society was founded by Fleming Tom Hye in 2005. Hye insists that the Hays, his ancestors, had come to England with William the Conqueror in the eleventh century and subsequently helped to colonise and develop Scotland. Instead of dreaming up Scottish roots, he claims that the Scots were Flemish from the beginning.<sup>28</sup> This does not prevent his Clan Hay Europe from organising a commemorative parade for the 'Scottish' Hays who fell in the Great War, from forming a pipe band and having a 'Gathering' at the Highland Games of Ooidonk.<sup>29</sup> Even a Flemish Scotland is apparently best commemorated by summoning up the Scottish dreamscape.

Commemorative festivals provide entertainment. They compete for attention with other leisure attractions. History is one option in the market of weekend experiences. In the Hessian town of Schotten, Germany, a 'Scottish midsummer festival' aims to recall the Scottish (and Irish) monks who gave the village its name.<sup>30</sup> The event is marketed via the local official tourist office and clearly designed to attract entertainment seekers from the region. The festival consists of Highland Games, pipe bands, sword fighting, jugglers, pottery and craftsmen, theatre, live music, open air cinema ('Lord of the Dance'), and Whisky tasting. Scottish memory may be turned into an economically viable tourist attraction, an asset in place marketing. Several areas which have Scottish links begin to see these in a new light. Officials in the Polish town of Szkotowo, for instance, were seeking

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<sup>25</sup> Questionnaire Julian Hutchings, Alliance France Ecosse.

<sup>26</sup> Personal communication, René van Iterson, Scots Heritage Netherlands (8 March 2010)

<sup>27</sup> Questionnaire Daniel Crombez, St Ghislain Festival.

<sup>28</sup> 'The Hays ... left near Boulogne in France, but it was Flanders at the time, and they went to Scotland following William the Conqueror and the people after him.' Interview Tom Hye, Clan Hay Europe (25 July 2009). Indeed, several Scottish names derive from Flemish and Norman names, such as Chattan, Groat etc.

<sup>29</sup> On the 2006 parade, see Clan Hay Europe, [<http://www.clanhay.net/europe/index.php>] (10 June 2010). The Schotse Dagen at Ooidonk (est. 2005) may be found at [<http://www.schotsedagen.be/>] (02 March 2010)

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication, Tina Ulm, Schotten Tourismus (29 March 2011). There are several other place names in Germany and Switzerland which may have been inspired by Scottish missionaries, e.g. Schötz, Schottikon, etc. On the Irish-Scottish mission to Europe, see Paul Mai, ed., *Scoti Peregrini in St. Jakob. 800 Jahre irisch-schottische Kultur in Regensburg* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2005). Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000* (Malden, Mass. & Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), ch. 5. Johann Heinrich August Ebrard, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche des sechsten, siebten und achten Jahrhunderts und ihre Verbreitung und Bedeutung auf dem Festland* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1971).

support in Scotland in 2010 to set up a large-scale Scottish festival and theme park to celebrate the Scottish knights who allegedly gave the place its name:

To encourage tourists, a leisure park inspired by ancient Scottish architecture is to be set by the lake side. Creating a tourist attraction in such an attractive area connected with Scottish culture, increasingly popular in Poland, will not only provide real development opportunities for the local community but will also be an outstanding project designed to increase historical and cultural awareness.<sup>31</sup>

One of the great advantages of a Scottish link is that Scottish history comes with a full package of activities and symbols. Scottish iconography is rich and colourful.<sup>32</sup> It is also well-known; there are hardly ever any doubts about Scotland's 'distinctive symbols', about the ways in which a Scottish past could be commemorated and celebrated. The Scottish dreamscape has come to be internationally known, and it may be activated to commemorate Scottish links of every kind and period. Commemorators can rely on specialists who are ready to appear wherever Scottish history needs to be remembered and made visible; kilt wearers, bagpipers, Highland Games athletes, historical re-enactors. Unlike other strands of European history, the commemoration of Scottish history easily connects to an existing international playacting culture. When the Polish town of Szkotowo held a Scottish summer festival in 2010, the organisers had support from Polish Highland Games athletes and a pipe band from the city of Gdańsk (est. 2000).<sup>33</sup>

The remembrance of Scottish history is not congruent with Scottish migration to Europe. Commemoration does not spring up automatically at all points of historical contact. There is, for example, only limited commemorative interest in the Scottish mercantile presence in the Netherlands, early modern Prussia, Scandinavia, and the Baltic. This may be because economic history is a past less usable for remembrance, and civilian links are less easily turned into a Scottish festival.<sup>34</sup> Warfare is the dominant theme in all commemorations of Scottish history in Europe. True, some enthusiasts tried to set up events to remember the seventeenth century Scottish wool merchants in the Low Countries, or a Warsaw mayor with Scottish roots.<sup>35</sup> But compared to the number and size of Scottish war remembrances and memorials, the commemorative effort for civilian history is marginal.

<sup>31</sup> Personal communication, Jacek Jankowski et al. (not dated, received 8 June 2010).

<sup>32</sup> 'We might argue that Scotland suffers from too much heritage rather than too little.' David McCrone et al., *Scotland the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 1995), 5.

<sup>33</sup> [<http://www.gdansk-pipe-band.of.pl>] (10 Dec 2010)

<sup>34</sup> For two different employments of the concept 'usable past', see Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past. History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1988), Roger A. Mason, 'Usable Pasts. History and Identity in reformation Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review* LXXVI 1:201 (April 1997): 54-68.

<sup>35</sup> The *Stichting Veere Schotland* was founded in 1998 by Dutch archivist Peter Blom to commemorate that the Dutch town of Veere (in Zeeland) was the official Staple Port for the Scottish trade in the Netherlands from 1541 until 1799. On their mission and biannual festival, see [<http://www.veere-schotland.nl/>] (17 Sept 2010). On the Scots at Veere, see Peter Blom, *Scots Girn about Grits, Gruel and Greens. Four centuries of Scots Life in Veere* (Leaflet published by Stichting Veere-Schotland, Veere, 2003, translation: Jim Allan). Ian Blanchard, 'Northern Wools and Netherlands Markets at the close of the Middle Ages', in *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994*, ed. G. Simpson (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), 76-88. Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders. Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Victor Enthoven, 'The Last Straw. Trade Contacts along the North Sea Coast. The Scottish Staple at Veere', in *The North Sea and Culture, 1550-1800*, eds. J. Roding & LH van Voss (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), 209-221. On the commemorative plaque for Alexander Czamer (born Chalmers, d. 1703?) in Warsaw, see 'Warsaw's Scottish Mayor



There are several explanations for this dominance of warlike themes. First, the Scottish mercenaries and soldiers who fought in Europe in the Thirty Years War, the Napoleonic wars, and the two World Wars reportedly made a lasting impression on the European public (see Chapter 4). Their kilts and bagpipers were recorded in woodcuts, paintings, and photographs. Much of Scottish-European contact happened in the context of warfare, and this is mirrored in legends such as those in Norway and Northern Italy. Secondly, the popular image of Scotland is inextricably linked to military images. Nineteenth and twentieth century popular culture disseminated an image of kilted Highland soldiers. To direct one's commemorative impulse towards Scottish soldiers rather than merchants and civilians at the end of twentieth century was to follow the focus of the Scottish dreamscape.

Thirdly and most importantly, the commemoration of Scottish history is firmly embedded in the late twentieth-century memory boom (see Chapter 2). War and the graves which it produced are at its core. At a time when the last eyewitnesses and veterans pass away and first-hand memory fades, the two World Wars are increasingly recalled in commemoration.<sup>36</sup> To Mr Karel van Broekhoven (born 1971, a sales representative), the founder of Scofest in Tilburg, Netherlands, a commemoration of World War II is a commemoration of his own family history: 'My grandfather fought in the Dutch resistance in World War II, and my father saw the Scottish soldiers marching in as a child.' Mr van Broekhoven calls himself a 'hobby historian'.<sup>37</sup>

The memory boom as a whole is dominated by war.<sup>38</sup> If we, with Sharon MacDonald, imagine the European past as a 'Museum Europe', then visitors spend most of their time 'at battlefields, concentration camps, war-graves or interrogation centres'.<sup>39</sup> This obsession with war and suffering does not necessarily express a militarist *zeitgeist* or a lust for real war. The anthropologist Regina Bendix argues that the playing of (or with) war may be a strategy to avoid real war, and Sharon Macdonald points out that the commemoration of warfare may become 'a kind of talismanic act: if we publicly mark and commemorate atrocity we can protect our futures'.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps significantly, there is no lust for revenge in the continental commemorations of Scottish warfare. The Scots are without exception remembered as martyrs and 'good guys'. In Europe, the Scots are commemorated as allies (France), as liberators (Netherlands, France, Flanders), as hardy soldiers and mercenaries (Netherlands, France), as noblemen

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remembered' *Warsaw Life* (17 Nov 2008). On its unveiling, the Scottish Government records note: 'Ms Linda Fabiani, Minister for Europe, was in Poland to attend the Warsaw Caledonian Society's Caledonian Ball. Ms Fabiani took the opportunity to promote *Homecoming 2009* at the ball and during her visit also unveiled a plaque in honour of the first mayor of Warsaw, Scottish merchant Alexander Chalmers, and laid a wreath at the National War Memorial.' [<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/International-Relations/Europe/Current-European-Affairs/Bilaterals/Visits2008>] (17 Sept 2010)

<sup>36</sup> 'Farewell to WW1. From Memory to History', *The Economist* (17 December 2009).

<sup>37</sup> Interview Karel van Broekhoven, Scofest (8 March 2010).

<sup>38</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2006), 6. See also Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995).

<sup>39</sup> Sharon Macdonald, 'Museum Europe. Negotiating Heritage', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 17 (2008): 47-65, here: 59.

<sup>40</sup> Regina Bendix, 'Der gespielte Krieg. Zur Leidenschaft des Historic Reenactment', in *Volkskultur und Moderne. Europäische Ethnologie zur Jahrtausendwende* (Wien: Institut für Europäische Ethnologie der Universität Wien, 2000). 253-68. Macdonald, 'Museum Europe', 58.

and local patrons (France, Tyrol), and, sympathetically, as the defeated (Norway).<sup>41</sup> They are also remembered as embodiments of old fashioned military valour, a heroic antithesis to the cold technology of warfare. Without exception, the Scots are remembered as a likeable and befriended nation; there are no commemorative events in Europe marking 'the evil deeds of the Scots', or 'the day the Scots robbed us'. Commemorations of Scottish history are expressions of affection.

### 7.3 A Scottish Cross for Flanders

In Flanders fields, a Celtic cross of Scottish granite (Corrennie Pink) was erected on 25 August 2007. It stands as a monument to the Scottish soldiers who fought and died at Passchendaele during the Third Battle of Ypres in 1917, and of 'all Scots who were involved in the Great War'. This includes Highland regiments and Scottish soldiers from Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and also 'the many Scots who served in English, Irish, Welsh, New Zealand, New Foundland [sic] and other battalions'. The cross was raised to represent them all – and to fill what the initiators perceived to be a gap in the landscape of remembrance:

Strangely enough, at the Western Front, nowhere a monument can be found commemorating the overall Scottish involvement. This is so much more striking as the very Scottish regiments took part in some very heavy fighting, often at crucial moments.<sup>42</sup>

The Scottish cross was raised on the Frezenberg ridge near the village of Passendale (Passchendaele in English) in Zonnebeke, West Flanders. It stands on a plinth of original Great War bunker stones; the whole construction has a height of six metres (c. 20 feet). The cross was designed by a Flemish arts teacher and produced by Fyfe Memorials in Oldmeldrum, near Aberdeen, Scotland. The project's initiator was a professional Flemish soldier, Mr Erwin Ureel (born 1959) of Roeselare, a long-time aficionado of Scotland and Ireland and a founding member of the kilted *Passchendaele 1917 Pipes & Drums*. Mr Ureel is not of Scottish ancestry but feels that both he and his wife have 'a weak spot for the "Celtic" countries, especially Scotland', where they regularly spend their holidays. He also suspects that his interest in the Scots of Passchendaele stems from his distinctly Flemish outlook on world history and politics: 'I am from a Flemish-nationalist family which made me rather sensitive for the aspect of cultural diversity, not only in the Great War.'<sup>43</sup>

#### [7.6: Flyer, Flanders Memorial Day, Belgium, 2009]

<sup>41</sup> The U.S. American *Highlander Magazine* is wrong in suspecting that the Norwegians make fun of the ambushed Scots at their Gudbrand Valley celebrations. The Scots of Kringen are remembered as heroes, not as villains. See William McPeak, 'George Sinclair and his Scottish Mercenaries', *Highlander Magazine* September/October (2001): 22. The celebrations involve members of Clan Sinclair in both Scotland and the U.S. and seek reconciliation. See Rt Hon The Earl of Caithness, 'Letter to the Editor'.

<sup>42</sup> Erwin Ureel & John Sutherland, 'A Scottish Monument in Flanders', in *Will Ye Come to Flanders* (Brochure published by Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign, 2007), 20-3.

<sup>43</sup> Personal Communication, Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign (26 April 2010). *Presentation of the Project Scottish Monument in Flanders*, document published by Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign (c. 2007).

Mr Ureel first had the idea for a Scottish monument after witnessing the reburial of Private John Thomson (of Lochgelly, Fife), a Scottish soldier with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bn. Gordon Highlanders who fell in Flanders on 4 October 1917. Thomson's remains were found by a gardener in Zonnebeke in 1998 and then officially reburied at Polygon Wood Cemetery, in October 2004.<sup>44</sup> Some 250 people attended the ceremony which was organised by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and what was then the successor regiment to the Gordons, The Highlanders.<sup>45</sup> A regimental piper and several soldiers had come over from Scotland to attend, and so had members of Private Thomson's family. Mr Ureel remembers the ceremony as one of the most moving he had ever witnessed in his career both as a professional soldier and as a war museum volunteer.

In the subsequent years, Mr Ureel's 'Scottish Memorial in Flanders campaign' secured more than 40 000 € of funding from the Flemish Government, the Scottish Executive, the cities of Aberdeen and Glasgow, the Royal British Legion Scotland, the Vlaams Caledonian Society and other donors. Another 30 000 € were sponsored by the Zonnebeke community council.<sup>46</sup> In August 2007, the Scottish monument in Flanders was unveiled, and the occasion celebrated with a two-day Scottish Weekend. The festival was part of *Remembrance*, a series of commemorative events which marked the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battles of Passchendaele and Messines, and which was coordinated by the *Passchendaele 1917 Memorial Museum* in Zonnebeke.

The Scottish Weekend combined 'the aspects of remembrance with traditional Scottish culture' by offering a range of attractions; a pipe band tattoo, battlefield tours, a theatrical performance of a play allegedly penned by a Scottish stretcher-bearer ('The Prayer'), and a 'dawn service'. According to the programme, the 'unique battlefield walk' ended with 'a Scottish breakfast, prepared by an army cook from Scotland'. Perhaps surprisingly, the Scottish Weekend also included sheep dog demonstrations, a birds of prey show, Scottish dancing by the Vlaams Caledonian Society, a tasting of 'haggis and blends of whisky', and Highland Games. The latter provided, as the programme notes, '[a] taste of ancient folklore from Scotland ... genuine Scottish bruisers show how it should be done. Local teams will play for the honour'.<sup>47</sup>

Evidently, the commemorative event at Passchendaele conformed to a European tradition of celebrating Scotland. By incorporating pseudo-medieval falconry shows and entertainment such as Scottish dancing and Highland Games, the organisers made an effort to attract some of the crowds which are normally drawn to established Scottish events in Flanders, like the Scottish Weekend at Alden Biesen or the Schotse Beurs in Ghent. The unveiling of the war

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<sup>44</sup> Thomson's remains were identified by his badge and the initials 'J.R.T.' on his pocketknife. DNA comparisons with family members confirmed his identity. The reburial took place on 21 October 2004. Personal Communication Erwin Ureel (21 Sept 2010), CWGC's online archives [<http://www.cwgc.org/>] (10 Sept 2010)

<sup>45</sup> The Gordon Highlanders (created 1881) were combined with the Seaforth and Cameron Highlanders in 1994 to form *The Highlanders*. In 2004, *The Highlanders* were again amalgamated with other Scottish infantry regiments to form the *Royal Regiment of Scotland*. [<http://www.army.mod.uk/infantry/regiments/SCOTS.aspx>] (10 Sept 2010)

<sup>46</sup> Personal Communication Erwin Ureel (21 Sept 2010). Ureel & Sutherland, 'A Scottish Monument in Flanders', 23.

<sup>47</sup> *Remembrance. Battle of Messines-Wytschaete. Battle of Passchendaele. 1917-2007. Program 7 June – 11 November 2007*. (Brochure published by Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917, Zonnebeke, 2007).

memorial fused with the established Scottish dreamscape to become recognisably Scottish, and it did so successfully; the 2007 celebration brought c. 10 000 visitors to Zonnebeke. This encouraged the organisers to repeat the Scottish Weekend, in September 2009, as 'Flanders Scottish Memorial Day'. In the future, they will try to hold the event biannually.

Organisers of commemorative events try to authenticate their events by having real Scotsmen attending, just as the Highland Games and pipe band competitions may try to attract Scottish judges, bands, and guests of honour. At the 2007 Scottish Weekend in Flanders, internationally renowned Scottish pipe and drum bands like the *Scots Guards* and the *Isle of Cumbrae RBLs Pipe Band* (affiliated with the Royal British Legion Scotland) played alongside the *Somme Battlefield Pipe Band* from Peronne, France, *The 48th Highlanders of Holland* from Appelscha, Netherlands, and the Flemish *Passchendaele 1917 Pipes & Drums*, a commemorative band sporting the Gaelic motto 'Cuimhnichibh' (Remember) and a self-designed 'Passchendaele tartan', the colours of which 'reflect the mud and bloodshed of the Passchendaele 1917 battle' (Scottish Tartan Authority No. 6982).<sup>48</sup> In the massed band, Scottish and continental bands united to remember the dead Scots of World War I. They played 'Highland Cathedral', a well-known Scottish traditional – composed by two German Scotland fans in the 1980s (see Chapter 5).

While commemorations of Scotland will only very rarely lead people to think of themselves as Scottish, the celebration of Scottish heritage and warfare may provide identification for small nations and independence-minded groups. Scottish history may be commemorated and reframed politically. This became evident in the speeches that were held at the Scottish weekend at Passchendaele, in 2007. Mr Geert Bourgeois, Flemish Minister of Tourism, External Affairs, and Media and a member of the secessionist *Nieuw Vlaamse Alliantie* party, stressed that the Scottish monument furthered 'bonding through commemoration' and put the Flemish-Scottish co-operation in thoroughly contemporary political context: 'The commemoration of what should never be repeated thus immediately becomes an active step towards increased and intensified cooperation between the federated states in Europe.'<sup>49</sup> In this reading, the joint commemoration of the dead Scottish soldiers became an act of solidarity between two aspiring European regions. Both Scotland and Flanders acquired greater political self-determination in the 1990s but still harbour strong separatist movements.<sup>50</sup> At Zonnebeke, the soldiers' sacrifice was re-appreciated as having forged a bond between the two countries that might be of further use.

At some points, the rhetoric seemed even to suggest that the Scots of 1917 had given their lives for Scottish nationhood. Ms Linda Fabiani, Scottish Minister for Europe, External Affairs, and Culture and a member of the Scottish National Party, insisted that the Scots had died for Scotland at Passchendaele: 'It is with humility, compassion and quiet pride that we remember with gratitude those Scots who fought and died *for our nation* on the fields of Flanders during 1917.'<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Personal Communication, Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign (26 April 2010).

<sup>49</sup> *Will Ye Come to Flanders* (Brochure published by Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign, 2007), 7.

<sup>50</sup> Constitutional reforms in Belgium began in 1970. In 1995, the *Vlaamse Raad* was officially renamed *Vlaams Parlement*, Flemish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament opened in 1999.

<sup>51</sup> *Will Ye Come to Flanders* (Brochure publ. by Scottish Memorial in Flanders Campaign, 2007), 4. Emphasis add.

In a way, all war memorials and commemorations make instrumental use of the past. The historian Reinhart Koselleck noted that modern war memorials serve as sites of identity making to the survivors. Both the soldiers' physical death and later the commemoration of their sacrifice are used to support narratives of the political future. Koselleck notes that it is always the survivors who make a soldier's death meaningful in commemoration, and that such ascribed meaning may diverge from everything the soldier felt and thought about his death and duty.<sup>52</sup> Such instrumental uses of history and the dead have not ceased. The discourse on graves as markers of ethno-historical territory was a key feature of the wars in the Yugoslavia of the 1990s.<sup>53</sup>

The Flemish-Scottish co-operative effort to identify and commemorate an 'overall Scottish involvement' in the Great War is an unmistakably political action. The Scottish soldiers at Passchendaele will only very rarely have fought with Scottish or even Flemish nationhood on their minds. The monument in Flanders demonstrates how acts of remembrance may become stages for contemporary nationalism.

## Conclusion Chapter 7

At least two dozen recurring festivals and numerous clubs and associations in Northern and Western Europe commemorate moments of Scottish-European contact. While these festivals often make use of established local legends and public memory, they were all set up in the 1990s or in the first decade of the twenty first century. Commemorative spectacles are firmly embedded in the late twentieth-century memory boom, the growing public interest in the past and its celebration. The festivals represent a new approach to local history, an approach that employs the past in strategies of place marketing and tourism. They allow for a sensuous experience of local history.

The celebrated moments of Scottish-European contact range from the Middle Ages to the two World Wars and after. However, not every Scottish-European interaction is usable for commemoration. The strong Scottish mercantile presence in early modern Europe, for instance, seems to lack the drama that is sought by commemorators. Similarly, the many Scottish-European intellectual links during Reformation and the Enlightenment era hardly ever inspire commemorative spectacles. Today's commemoration does not mirror the actual or total Scottish presence on the continent in past times.

Usable pasts appear to be found predominantly in *martial* history. Commemorators recall Scottish soldiers, from sixteenth-century mercenaries to the British Highland regiments of the two World Wars. Again, we see that Scottish commemorations are part of the wider memory

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<sup>52</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 'Kriegerdenkmale als Identitätsstiftungen der Überlebenden', in *Identität*, eds. O. Marquard & K. Stierle (München: Fink, 1979), 255-76.

<sup>53</sup> Ivan Colovic, 'Mythen des Nationalismus. Ahnen, Gräber, Gene in der neuserbischen Ideologie', *Lettre International* 26 (1994): 19-21.

boom which is focused on themes of warfare, heroism, and mourning. Scottish soldiers – so colourful, so familiar, so unique – have become an attractive focus in commemoration.

As examined earlier, bagpipers and Highland Games athletes develop vague and creative mythologies of kinship to justify their performances. In contrast, commemorators recall largely real historical encounters with Scotland. They live in locations which experienced Scottish moments, sometimes decisive ones, as in World War II. And yet, this reality is not enough. Almost without exception, Scottish moments are remembered and made visible with the help of the Scottish dreamscape, with pipe bands and Highland Games that will draw the crowds. Commemorators may have a link to Scotland the place, but it is Scotland the dream which makes these links visible. As Chapter 8 explores, this may lead to a dilemma for those who advocate recreating the past 'authentically', according to the facts.



## Chapter 8

### RÉGIMENTS DU PASSÉ: RE-ENACTMENT

Chapter 7 examined how continental history enthusiasts commemorate moments of Scottish-European contact. While these commemorators seek to uphold or revive a Scottish memory, *re-enactors* strive to reproduce it. Since the late 1960s, historical re-enactment has become a popular leisure activity for thousands of hobbyists around the world. Re-enactors bring the past back to life in the present. They employ reconstructed weaponry, tools, costumes, and even language to re-enact selected moments and characters of the past. They do so for pleasure and sensuous experience.

'Scotland' became a proper re-enactment genre in the past two decades. In Europe, North America, Australasia, and beyond, many dozens of hobbyist groups specialise in Scottish history. Chapter 8 investigates continental re-enactments of Scottish history.<sup>1</sup> It first examines the cultural practice that is historical re-enactment and its development since the 1960s. It then explores the Scottish genre, the moments in Scottish history which re-enactors find usable for their performances. As in commemoration, Scottish soldiers are at the centre of attention. The chapter then addresses the issue of authenticity, the re-enactors' efforts to separate myth from fact. Most re-enactors strive to reconstruct the past 'as it really happened' – a creed which leads them into trouble when targeting Scottish history.

#### 8.1 To re-enact the past

In everyday usage, the expression 'historical re-enactment' stands for the theatrical recreation of past events and periods for the purpose of entertainment and/or education. This is how the term will be used in this study.

In academic discourse, 're-enactment' may also denote a historical method. The British philosopher and historian RG Collingwood (1889-1943) popularised the term in the 1940s, recommending that every historian should temporarily 'become' the people he or she studies. To comprehend the lives of the past, Collingwood argued, 'the historian must re-enact the past in his own mind'.<sup>2</sup> Notably, such re-enactment remained a cognitive effort; Collingwood never suggested that the historian should get up and wield a broadsword.

Physical recreations of past events have, of course, been popular throughout history. The sociologist Paul Connerton argues that *all* communities are created in repetition, in commemorative rituals that 're-enact' shared myth and history.<sup>3</sup> Homer's recital of the

<sup>1</sup> North American and Australasian re-enactors of Scottish history still await scholarly treatment. Celeste Ray registered the importance of re-enactment in her *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 169-72. For Scottish re-enactment IN Scotland, see Amy McNeese-Mechan, *Playing the Past. Historical Re-Enactment Societies and the Performance of Identity in Scotland* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> RG Collingwood, 'History as Re-enactment of Past Experience', in his *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1946), 282. William Dray, *History as Re-enactment. R.G. Collingwood's Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 61.



*Odyssey*, the restaging of the trials of Christ in popular German passion plays, even recurring outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence in late medieval Europe have all been interpreted as 're-enactments' of mythical and biblical history.<sup>4</sup> As examined in Chapter 2.3, medieval jousting and knightly play were popular from the beginning of the modern period, first in Europe, then in North America.<sup>5</sup> More recent 're-enactments' include the *tableaux vivants* in late eighteenth-century Europe<sup>6</sup>, the reproduction of political events on the British theatre stage<sup>7</sup>, historical pageants in nineteenth-century North America<sup>8</sup>, and the re-staged storming of the Winter Palace in the young Soviet Union, which had an estimated 10 000 people recreating the event in 1920, only three years after its historical occurrence.<sup>9</sup>

As a participative hobby for the masses, however, historical re-enactment originated in the late 1960s, when thousands of amateurs began to physically reproduce the past in social clubs. The battle shows at the U.S. Civil War centennials between 1961 and 1964, and the early role-playing events of the *Society for Creative Anachronism*, founded in Berkeley, California, in 1966, are alternatively seen as the beginning of hobbyist re-enactment.<sup>10</sup>

The spread of historical re-enactment must be understood as a symptom of the memory boom. Spreading affluence among the baby boomer generation of the West inspired new forms and markets of mass leisure, while a growing sense of nostalgia and anti-modernism made the past increasingly attractive as an exciting counter-world on these markets.<sup>11</sup> In the

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<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Lamb, 'Historical Re-enactment, Extremity, and Passion', *The Eighteenth Century* 49: 3 (Fall 2008): 239-250. James Shapiro, *Oberammergau. The Troubling Story of the World's most Famous Passion Play* (London: Little Brown, 2000). Richard C. Trexler, *Reliving Golgotha. The Passion Play of Iztapalapa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2003). Etienne François, 'Oberammergau', in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte III*, eds. E. François & H. Schulze (München: CH Beck, 2009), 274-92. Helmut Walser Smith, 'Anti-Semitic Violence as Reenactment. An Essay in Cultural History', *Rethinking History* 11:3 (Sept 2007): 335-351.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip & Son, 1987). Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1981). Morris Bishop, 'You are invited to a Mischianza', *American Heritage Magazine* 25:5 (1974).

<sup>6</sup> Birgit Jooss, *Lebende Bilder. Körperliche Nachahmung von Gruppenbildern in der Goethezeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Simon During, 'Mimic Toil. Eighteenth-century Preconditions for the Modern Historical Reenactment', *Rethinking History* 11:3 (Sept 2007): 313-333. Iain McCalman, 'Louthborough's Simulations. Reenactment and Realism in Late Georgian Britain', in *Historical Re-Enactment. From Realism to the Affective Turn*, eds. I. McCalman & PA Pickering (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 200-17.

<sup>8</sup> Naima Prevots, *American Pageantry. A Movement for Art and Democracy* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1990). David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry. The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990). Stefan Schweizer, 'Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben.' *Nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbilder in historischen Festzügen* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> James Von Geldern, *Bolshevik Festivals, 1917-1920* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 62f.

<sup>10</sup> In July 1961, the Battle of Manassas was restaged with more than 2000 participants and 70 000 spectators. Antietam followed in September 1962, Gettysburg in July 1963. Interestingly, the centennial re-enactments seem to have been partly inspired by reunions of uniformed Civil War veterans ('encampments') and their heir-organisations such as the 'Sons of Confederate Veterans'. These encampments had taken place since the early 1900s. Memory of the Civil War was carried from generation to generation in re-enactment. See Wallace Evans Davies, *Patriotism on Parade. The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1955). Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic. Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1999, orig. 1998), 136. Jenny Thompson, *Wargames. Inside the World of 20th Century Reenactors* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2004), 33-7. On Civil War re-enactment in general, see Rory Turner, 'Bloodless Battles. The Civil War Reenacted', *The Drama Review* 34:4 (Winter 1990). Dennis Hall, 'Civil War Reenactors and the Postmodern Sense of History', *Journal of American Culture* 17:3 (Fall 1994): 7-11. Randal Allred, 'Catharsis, Revision, and Re-enactment. Negotiating the Meaning of the American Civil War', *Journal of American Culture* 19:4 (Winter 1996): 1-13.

<sup>11</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, orig. 1976). JM Fladmark, ed., *Cultural Tourism* (London: Donhead, 1994). David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

1960s, historical re-enactment was recognised as an entrance into this counter-world, a way of experiencing history, both as an active performer and a passive spectator. Unsurprisingly, scholars of tourism and marketing have approached re-enactment and its economic potential with particular enthusiasm.<sup>12</sup>

To those who perform it, re-enactment provides a *sensuous* experience. The weight of armour, the mud of the trenches, the tiring effect of a Jacobite night march – historical re-enactment is all about an experience of the past. Notably, many of these historical sensations are strenuous; not unlike extreme sports, historical re-enactment provides its proponents with raw, unfiltered, and sometimes painful moments of intensity. There is a strong narrative of self-hardening and stamina in re-enactment culture, and some genres like ‘full-contact medieval jousting’ verge on costumed martial arts.<sup>13</sup>

The profound public interest in such *sensuous history* is indicative of both a widespread longing for physical experience in a largely sedentary modernity – and of a latently anti-intellectual sentiment among some history enthusiasts. Physical experience is open to anyone. The ‘authenticity’ sought is not one of fact but one of direct experience. Such affective interest in the past can take on an anti-intellectual air; distrust of bookish historians and scholarly theory are widespread among the agents of the memory boom. To quote the *Society for Creative Anachronism*, whose 32 000 members (2009) are interested in recreations of ‘pre-17th-century Europe’:

What makes the SCA different from a Humanities 101 class is the *active* participation in the learning process. To learn about the clothing of the period, you research it, then sew and wear it yourself. To learn about combat, you put on armor (which you may have built yourself) and learn how to defeat your opponent. To learn brewing, you make (and sample!) your own wines, meads and beers.<sup>14</sup>

The message is clear: To do it yourself is better than just reading about it. With the right instructions, anyone can understand the past via his or her senses.

Like so many agents in the memory boom, re-enactors are amateurs.<sup>15</sup> Their performances are examples of what has come to be known as ‘public history’.<sup>16</sup> History is increasingly interpreted and written in the public domain – a development which some have welcomed as a democratisation of knowledge and others rejected as an age of dilettantes. Re-enactors are part of this development. They perform in their spare time, on weekends and at evenings, and return to their ‘normal’ lives when the battle is over. They rarely get paid for their performances, on the contrary, they invest significant sums in their hobby. Re-enactment requires a degree of affluence for full participation.

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<sup>12</sup> Gianna M. Moscardo & Philip L. Pearce, ‘Historic Theme Parks: An Australian Experience in Authenticity’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 13:3 (1986): 467-479. Chris Halewood & Kevin Hannam, ‘Viking Heritage Tourism. Authenticity and Commodification’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28:3 (2001): 565-80.

<sup>13</sup> Dashka Slater, ‘Is Jousting the Next Extreme Sport?’ *New York Times* (8 July 2010). Allred asks: ‘Is there some relish for a test of one’s mettle and stamina in this love of hardship?’ Allred, ‘Catharsis, Revision, Re-enactment’, 6.

<sup>14</sup> SCA website, [<http://www.sca.org/media/>] (9 March 2010).

<sup>15</sup> ‘Many people are active in this field. Historians are by no means in the majority.’ Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006), 9.

<sup>16</sup> Frank Bösch et al., eds. *Public History. Öffentliche Darstellungen des Nationalsozialismus jenseits der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2009). Paul Ashton & Hilda Kean, eds., *People and their Pasts. Public History Today* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

While they are mostly laymen and –women, hobbyist re-enactors are highly passionate about their history. They express strong opinions about the past and its meaning for the present. They do not perform for themselves alone, but address an audience, try to educate and spread their views. They formulate an interpretation of the past and join the public discourse. Their performances revive and popularise selected moments of history. There is a strong commemorative dimension to re-enactment. Stephen Gapps describes re-enactment events as ‘open-air stages of national remembrance’ – but of course national history is only one among many possible re-enactment themes.<sup>17</sup>

Like any other form of historical interpretation, re-enactment may cause controversy and dissent. If re-enactors select contested histories, their performances can become political. This may be fruitful; Randal Allred understood re-enactments of the U.S. Civil War as a form of revision and catharsis.<sup>18</sup> In such reading, re-enactment becomes a method of reconciliation. It is perhaps revealing to note that the phrase ‘trauma re-enactment’ has been used by psychologists since the 1940s to denote the re-playing of traumatic experience.<sup>19</sup>

But re-enactments may also interpret the past in unforgiving and irredentist ways. In the Baltic countries, re-enactors of World War II often reduce the local collaborations with Nazi Germany to patriotic acts of anti-Soviet resistance. Every year in March, veterans and re-enactors of the Latvian Legion Waffen-SS take to the streets of Riga together to spread their view of the past – much to the dismay of anti-fascists and the Russian minority.<sup>20</sup>

### [8.1: Re-enactors of the Latvian Legion Waffen SS in Riga, Latvia]

In some cases, it is not interpretation but the topic itself that is provocative. In October 2010, a Republican candidate for the United States Congress was criticised by the media for being a member of the 5<sup>th</sup> SS Panzer Division Wiking re-enactment group.<sup>21</sup> While he insisted that his masquerade was harmless and non-political fun, the press (and the voters) did not believe him and accused him of supporting Nazi ideology.

### [8.2: U.S. Republican Rich Iott re-enacting Nazi history]

Impersonators of Nazi and slave trade history have to face serious questions about their moral motivations.<sup>22</sup> Are they really just dispassionate collectors of boots and buttons, or political activists, eager to resume the wars of the past? Also, the more recent the history, the more controversial becomes its portrayal in re-enactment. Veterans and their descendants may find re-enactments of ‘their’ wars tasteless and trivial. Not every history is acceptable for performance in the public domain. Some choices need to be justified.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Gapps, ‘Mobile Monuments. A View of Historical Reenactment and Authenticity from inside the Costume Cupboard of History’, *Rethinking History* 13: 3 (2009): 395-409, here: 396.

<sup>18</sup> Allred, ‘Catharsis, Revision, Re-enactment’.

<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., JO Wisdom, ‘A Hypothesis to explain Trauma Re-enactment Dreams’, *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* XXX (1949), 13-20.

<sup>20</sup> They march on 16 March to celebrate Latvian Legion Day (Latviešu leģiona atceres diena).

<sup>21</sup> Joshua Green, ‘Why is this GOP House Candidate dressed as a Nazi?’ *The Atlantic* (8 Oct 2010).

<sup>22</sup> On re-enactments of slavery, see M. Philip, ‘To reenact or not to reenact?’, *Black Issues in Higher Education* 11:18 (1994): 24-8. James Walvin, ‘What should we do about Slavery? Slavery, Abolition and Public History’, in *Historical Reenactment. From Realism to the Affective Turn*, eds. I. McCalman & PA Pickering (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 63-78.

By the end of the twentieth century, re-enactment – ‘the organized recreational imitation of a historical event by hobbyists’ – has evolved into a ubiquitous leisure activity.<sup>23</sup> Many thousands of re-enactment clubs worldwide research, rehearse, and express the past of their choice. While seldom noted by Anglophone scholars, re-enactment is popular far beyond the English-speaking world.<sup>24</sup> A whole industry of weavers, blacksmiths, and sandal-makers produces the material culture so important to the re-creators of the past. Several specialist magazines (*Skirmish* in Britain, *Karfunkel* in Germany) cater to the community’s interests.<sup>25</sup> The internet has much to do with this surge, as it connects even the most arcane interests into vital subcultures.

The world of amateur re-enactment feeds back into the scholarly domain. Staff at ‘living history’ museums increasingly try to bring history alive by wearing costume and re-playing the past. True, the Colonial Williamsburg museum in the United States opened as early as 1926, but still the number of such institutions expanded greatly since the 1960s.<sup>26</sup> As in hobbyist re-enactment, the curators’ idea is that history will be better understood when recreated in the flesh. This idea is also found among academics. Since the 1970s, many historians of science and experimental archaeologists argue that, in order to really understand researchers and craftsmen of the past, one has to ‘re-enact’ their experiments and workshops by employing period equipment and techniques.<sup>27</sup> In a way, they take Collingwood’s instructions literally and ‘become’ the people they research.

## 8.2 The Scottish Genre

In the 1960s and 1970s, most hobbyist re-enactors performed the schoolboy favourites of heroic history: Roman legions, medieval knights, Vikings, pirates, the Wild West, the Napoleonic era, and, in the United States, the American Civil War. But as re-enactment gained renewed popularity in the 1980s and 1990s, battlefields became crowded and enthusiasts began to diversify. A 2010 observer at a large multi-period event in Europe may come across Norman invaders at Hastings in 1066 (from Germany), early American fur traders (from Britain), the Prussian King’s eighteenth-century guard of giant soldiers, or ‘Lange Kerls’ (from Germany), Confederate soldiers (from Slovakia), Republican volunteers in the Spanish Civil War (from Britain), Swiss anti-aircraft troops during World War II (from Britain), SS-Gebirgsjäger during the Winter War (from Finland), and U.S. soldiers in Vietnam (from

<sup>23</sup> During, ‘Mimic Toil’, 313.

<sup>24</sup> Henk Driessen, ‘Mock Battles between Moors and Christians. Playing the Confrontation of Crescent with Cross in Spain’s South’, *Ethnologia Europaea* 15 (1985): 105-15. Daria Radtchenko, ‘Simulating the Past: Reenactment and the Quest for Truth in Russia’, *Rethinking History* 10: 1 (March 2006): 127-148.

<sup>25</sup> The monthly *Skirmish* Living History Magazine was launched in 1999 [<http://www.skirmishmagazine.com/>], *Karfunkel* Magazine for ‘Histotainment’ is published bi-monthly since 1995 [<http://www.karfunkel.de/>].

<sup>26</sup> John Schlebecker, *Living Historical Farms. A Walk to the Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1968). Jay Anderson, ‘Living History. Simulating Everyday Life in Living Museums’, *American Quarterly* 34:3 (1982): 290-306. Stephen Eddy Snow, *Performing the Pilgrims. A Study of Ethnohistorical Role-Playing at Plimoth Plantation* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1993). Beth Goodacre & Gavin Baldwin, *Living the Past. Reconstruction, Recreation, Re-enactment and Education at Museums and Historical Sites* (London: Middlesex UP, 2002). Jan Carstensen et al., eds., *Living History in Museum* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Peter Heering, ‘The Enlightened Microscope. Re-enactment and Analysis of Projections with Eighteenth-Century Solar Microscopes’, *British Journal for the History of Science* 41:3 (September 2008): 345-67.

Poland).<sup>28</sup> Undoubtedly, it is only a question of time before the first Gulf War re-enactors will enter the arena.

Our observer is also likely to come across the Scots, wearing tartan and flying Scottish flags. While no mainstream department, Scottish history became a proper re-enactment genre in the 1990s. When the leading German re-enactment magazine *Karfunkel* published a series of special editions on the most important re-enactment periods, it focused on Vikings, Celts, the Staufer (Hohenstaufen) dynasty, Romans, Germanic tribes, the Gothic period, Templers – and on Scotland.<sup>29</sup>

### [8.3: Scots on the cover of *Skirmish* magazine, 2005]

In 2010, at least 35 re-enactment clubs on the European continent specialised in Scottish history. They were active in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and the Czech Republic. A list of continental re-enactment clubs is included in the appendix. Like Highland Games and pipe bands, Scottish re-enactment remained largely confined to North-Western Europe; no such recreations took place in South-Eastern Europe and in Scandinavia. Scottish history strikes a special chord in Germany, Flanders, and the Netherlands.

To some, the re-enactment of Scottish history is a discovery of local history. The Dutch Gordons Living History portray the 92<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Foote because these Scottish soldiers participated in the doomed Walcheren campaign of 1809, when 30 000 British soldiers landed in Zeeland to attack Napoleon. The Gordon re-enactors are based in North Holland, where the fortress of Kijkduin in Den Helder is a reminder of Napoleon's presence. Similarly, the Mackays of Germany portray Scots who fought on German soil in the Thirty Years' War and who recruited among Germans: 'We try to perform at original locations, in Stralsund and at Lützen, and we are in touch with local archivists who supply us with source materials that we can use in our demonstrations', explains their Captain.<sup>30</sup> For these hobbyists, to re-enact the Scots means to re-enact a piece of their own history.

Much more often, however, re-enactors do not need a connection to the past they portray. There is nothing odd about Viking re-enactments in Brazil or Vietnam War re-enactments in France or Poland.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Scottish history may be re-enacted anywhere in the world, and re-enactors often will not bother to explain their choice but ask back: 'why not?' The majority of 'Scottish' re-enactors do not claim historical links to Scotland.

Re-enactors will not be coy about their appropriation of Scottish history. In a way, they are Collingwoodians in the true sense. To them, the imitation of the past is an issue of technique and open to anyone who has the skills. An 'ethnic' or historical link can make no one a better

<sup>28</sup> Normans: [<http://www.furor-normannicus.de/>]. Fur traders: [<http://mountainmanuk.yuku.com/>]. Lange Kerls: [<http://www.lange-kerls.de/>]. Confederates: [<http://www.gelo.sk/samov/indexsk.htm>]. Spanish Republicans: [<http://www.lacolumna.org.uk/>]. Swiss WWII: [<http://reduitmiluftbernerkompagnie.com/>]. SS-Gebirgsjäger: [<http://www.gaissmair.net/>]. Vietnam: [<http://www.militarni.pl/?lang=1&cat=133>] (15 Oct 2010)

<sup>29</sup> See *Karfunkel Codex* series, Issue No. 5 (Schottland), 2007. [<http://www.karfunkel.de/>] (15 Oct 2010)

<sup>30</sup> 'Wir treten möglichst an Originalschauplätzen auf, in Stralsund oder bei Lützen, diesen Anspruch haben wir. Wir sind auch in Kontakt mit örtlichen Archiven, die uns teilweise mit Quellenmaterial versorgen, das uns bei unseren Darstellungen hilft.' Interview Cpt Nico Baumgärtel, Mackay's Regiment (19 Oct 2010).

<sup>31</sup> For Clan Hednir from São Paolo, see [<http://www.myspace.com/hednirclan>]. For French Vietnam re-enactment, see [<http://grunts.free.fr/>] (15 Oct 2010)

re-enactor, or Scotsman of the past. A contemporary Glaswegian is no competition for a dedicated Flemish Jacobite, according to Wee Jock MacMelville of Clan MacBran:

In our group there's probably a few people who know more about Scottish history than some Scots themselves. We were near Fort William, where they stuck that little tower, in Glenfinnan. And in that visitor centre there was that Scottish family and we heard them commenting: Oh and they had a battle there, and a battle there, and then they went all the way down there to London and had a battle there! And we thought: I'm sorry, but you're talking shite. But then I'm too polite to say: I'm sorry that's not correct. I mean, correcting a Scotsman about their history while you're not a Scotsman, I don't know how they would take it. So okay, I know more about your history than you do yourself, but they might know more about Belgian history than I do myself [laughs].<sup>32</sup>

To the re-enactor, authority comes with knowledge, not with blood or place. The Belgian re-enactor is prepared to defend his Scottish performance against Scottish amateurism, but he is also ready to give away 'his' Belgian history to anyone who knows more about it than he does. It is performance that makes the Scot and the Belgian of the past.

Together, the continental re-enactors cover roughly two millennia of Scottish history. They portray 'Scottish' Celts and Picts, throwing rocks at the Romans at Hadrian's wall. They perform as medieval warriors, fighting the English alongside Wallace and Bruce in Scotland's War of Independence (c. 1296-1328). They are Highland mercenaries in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), Jacobite rebels on their way to defeat at Culloden (1745-1746), British Highland regiments fighting the French in America (1760s) and at Waterloo (c. 1790-1815). In Germany, one group performs as a Scottish Confederate militia, combining kilts and battle flags and echoing the long-standing mythology of the 'Scottish' South.<sup>33</sup> Finally, there are Scottish soldiers of both World Wars, enduring hardship in Flanders and France but ultimately beating the Hun, liberating Europe, parading victoriously.

These many Scottish groups differ greatly in equipment, historical accuracy, and visual effect. However, they all share two essential qualities; they portray Highlanders and they are at war. No Europeans re-enacted Scotland's urban or civilian past in 2010 – Clydeside shipyard workers, for instance, philosophers of the Scottish enlightenment, or Scottish wool merchants in the early modern Low Countries. Just like their commemorator colleagues, the European re-enactors focused on martial Scottish history (see Chapter 7). A closer examination of five re-enactment groups may substantiate this point.

### **Clan Crom (France)**

'Here begins the lands of the Clan Mac Crom', a hand-painted sign announces, somewhat ungrammatically, at the encampment's gate. Two warriors stand guard, their belted plaids are tartan chequered, their faces painted with blue woad. They carry battered shields and halberds, ready for battle and the impending children's show. Terra Crom are a troupe of historical re-enactors from Paris. They specialise in late medieval Scotland, the time between the twelfth and the fifteenth century – the 'Braveheart period', as they happily concede. Clearly, much of the history they re-enact has never happened. They set up their tents at

<sup>32</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009).

<sup>33</sup> On the bizarre but persistent idea that the mentality of the U.S. South is a result of Scottish immigration, see Rowland Berthoff, 'Celtic Mist over the South', *The Journal of Southern History* 52:4 (1986): 523-46.

Scottish and medieval festivals throughout France and provide a range of Scottish entertainment; from Scottish Highland Games to military parades, fire spectacles, and Celtic music. Children get the chance to fight real Scotsmen with fake swords while their parents may sample whisky from a 'Celtic' ceremonial cup. The leader is a banker in the city of Paris.<sup>34</sup>

[8.4: Terra Crom, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, 2009]

### **Mackay's Regiment of Foote (Germany)**

Mackay's Regiment of Foote portray the Scottish Highland mercenaries who fought on German soil during the Thirty Years' War. Their inspiration is a historical regiment raised by Sir Donald Mackay of Far (1591-1649), in 1626. His 3600 men fought for the anti-Habsburg forces, first for Danish King Christian IV and later, from 1630 to 1635, for Gustavus Adolphus and his successors.<sup>35</sup> The German re-enactors originally met at medieval fairs and festivals in Germany and then decided to form their own group, in 2002. Their Captain (born 1964) is an advocate by profession.<sup>36</sup> The Mackays reject the 'Braveheart-Scots' and fantasy Highlanders so popular at re-enactment events in Europe and America. Their mission is to educate their audiences about the 30 Years War and the Scots:

We have ... a large military camp with the necessary equipment, we do historical weapon demonstrations and mock battles, present the armoury of the 30 Years War. And we not only pass on knowledge about the time of the 30 Years War but also about the role the Scots played in this period, their life, dress habits, and weapons.<sup>37</sup>

[8.5: Mackay's Regiment of Foote, Germany, 2009]

### **Clan MacBran (Netherlands/Belgium)**

Clan MacBran, a band of Jacobite rebels from Flanders and the Netherlands, are equally concerned with getting the facts right. They depict Highland civilians who were pressed into military service in the turbulent years of 1745/46. The Clan's 25 members spend much time and money on the acquisition and production of authentic costumes and weaponry. 'Sometimes we make concessions. But only if it's really necessary. We try to keep it close to the real thing', says their leader William MacBran (born 1975), a chemistry teacher in real life. All Clan members have designed their own fictional identities; they are tacksmen, innkeepers, housewives etc, and they carry names like Wee Jock MacMelville or Máiri MacBran. The Clan had more female than male members in 2009.<sup>38</sup>

[8.6: Wee Jock MacMelville & William MacBran, Clan MacBran, Netherlands, 2009]

<sup>34</sup> Interview Fabrice Boulet, Terra Crom (11 July 2009), and [<http://www.terra-crom.org/>] (30 March 2010).

<sup>35</sup> On Mackay's regiment, see Alexa Grosjean, 'Mackay, Donald, first Lord Reay (1591–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004). [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17556>] (13 Oct 2010). Robert Monro, *Monro his expedition with the worthy Scots regiment (called Mac-Keyes regiment) levied in August 1626*, ed. WS Brockington (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999, orig. 1637).

<sup>36</sup> Interview Cpt Nico Baumgärtel, Mackay's Regiment (19 Oct 2010)

<sup>37</sup> Wir betreiben ... ein umfangreiches Lager mit entsprechender Lagerausrüstung, zeigen historische Waffenübungen und Schaukämpfe, führen Kriegsgerät des Dreißigjährigen Krieges vor und vermitteln Wissen nicht nur über die Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, sondern auch über die Rolle der Schotten in dieser Zeit, ihr Leben, ihre Bekleidung und Bewaffnung. [<http://www.regiment-mackay.de/>] (12 March 2010)

<sup>38</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009), and [<http://www.clanmacbran.nl/>] (12 March 2010)

### Montmerie's Highlanders (Czech Republic)

In the Czech Republic, the Montmerie's Highlanders have accepted the Jacobite defeat at Culloden and enlisted in the British colonial Army. The Czech re-enactors portray the 77<sup>th</sup> Highland Regiment of Foot which was raised in 1757 by the 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Eglinton, Archibald Montmerie (1726–1796), and which took part in most campaigns of the French and Indian War between 1757 and 1763.<sup>39</sup> The Montmeries hold their own annual Woodland Battle at Stará Libavá in rural Moravia, and they regularly join the Czech Republic's only Highland Games (established in 2000) at Sychrov Castle, in northern Bohemia. Sometimes, as if in nostalgia, the Highlanders strip their British red coat uniforms and put on the Jacobite rebel costume. As Jacobites, they have participated several times in the Battle of Prestonpans re-enactment near Edinburgh, Scotland, in the last decade.<sup>40</sup>

[8.7: Montmerie's Highlanders, Czech Republic, here at Wartburg, Germany, 2010]

### Gordons Living History (Netherlands)

Gordons Living History [sic] are staunchly British. The Dutch re-enactors portray the 92<sup>nd</sup> Highland Regiment of Foot during the Napoleonic Wars, 1799-1815. The original British infantry regiment was raised in 1794 and rose to fame in 1815, at the battle of Waterloo. The Dutch re-enactors started in 1999, after their founder and commanding officer (born 1963, a civil engineer) abandoned World War II re-enactment to raise a Napoleonic regiment. He chose the 92<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders because they had fought in the Netherlands, and because 'the 92nd was not yet re-enacted elsewhere in the world, which is a shame for such a fine regiment.' In 2010, a Dutch expatriate in Germany established a regimental spin-off in North Rhine-Westphalia.<sup>41</sup>

[8.8: Gordons Living History, Netherlands]

As outlined above, some martial histories may be controversial to re-enact. Scottish warfare is not among them. Without exception, the Scots are re-enacted as the 'good guys', fighting on the right side. To re-enact a Scottish soldier seems a morally safe enterprise. As medieval and Jacobite rebels, the Scots are defenders of local identity, underdogs, opposing a (mythical) English oppression, even colonialism. In the twentieth century, as British and even Canadian soldiers, they are liberators of Western Europe, fighting the Germans in two World Wars – 'good guys' again. Even the Czech Montmeries who portray a British colonial regiment in the French and Indian War consider their Highlanders noble people, not conquerors. Like the Native Americans, they argue, Highlanders are victims of imperial politics, tribal people, forced to fight each other. Such a victim mythology ignores the very active roles the Scots played in the British Empire – just as the Jacobite underdog mythology ignores the significant Scottish contributions to the making of the British Union.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On Montmerie and his regiment, see John D. Grainger, 'Montmerie, Archibald', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004). [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19056>] (13 Oct 2010)

<sup>40</sup> Personal Communication, Montmerie's Highlanders (4 Oct 2010), and [<http://www.scottish.livinghistory.cz/>] (08 March 2010)

<sup>41</sup> Questionnaire Gordons Living History, Netherlands (8 March 2010). Personal communication 92<sup>nd</sup> Rgt, Germany (1 Oct 2010).

<sup>42</sup> See TM Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2004, orig. 2003). TM Devine, ed., *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2008).



There are two reasons for the dominance of warfare in Scottish re-enactment. Firstly, hobbyist re-enactment culture in general is preoccupied with martial themes, and secondly, Scotland's international image is inextricably linked with the Highland soldier.

Heroic warfare is the key topic in *all* genres of historical re-enactment. The hobby originates in battle commemorations and mock tournaments, and it still revolves around guns, swords, and uniforms. Re-enactment is about 'the glitter of the buttons and the wave of the flags', the glamour of warfare.<sup>43</sup> It is true that there has been a shift towards more civilian re-enactments in the past decade, a shift which many re-enactors believe results from the growing number of women who join the hobby (see Chapter 8.3). William MacBran of the Dutch-Flemish Clan MacBran remarks: 'the more female members you have, the more civilian your re-enactment group becomes'.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, recreations of civilian history usually still serve as a mere backdrop to military action – or remain confined to living history museums.

Re-enacted battles are (usually) bloodless. While most re-enactors will be very concerned about the historical accuracy of their boots and bonnets, they will make sure that their guns are loaded with blanks and their bayonets will not cut anyone. Re-enactors play soldiers. This does not necessarily mean that they dream of becoming the real thing. The soft-spoken, bespectacled Wee Jock MacMelville of Dutch Clan MacBran (born 1974, a gardener in real life) explains: 'When you do a charge for the public, that is fun. You can feel the adrenaline going around. But actually fighting somebody? I don't know if I would be in for that.'<sup>45</sup> War re-enactors invoke heroic history, a time when splendidly dressed soldiers, not technocrats and cold computers, decided the outcome of a battle. Like the young pipers in Western Germany who imitated the military pipe bands of the British occupation in the 1970s, re-enactors search for the glamour of warfare, not for its horrors.

Scotland has been associated with military glamour for more than 200 years. As explored in Chapter 3, the making of the Scottish dreamscape in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century was inextricably linked to the rising international prominence of the Highland regiments. The Highland soldier became 'a proud symbol of Scotland's ancient nationhood', as TM Devine points out.<sup>46</sup> The kilted soldier is at the heart of the Scottish dreamscape. This image was exported via the global channels of popular culture and the British military (see Chapter 4).

It is the global dreamscape which inspires re-enactment. Many dedicated hobbyists begin with a Hollywood film or a fantasy novel. A spokesman for the Czech Montgomeries who portray Scottish soldiers in the French and Indian War explains:

None of us have provable Scottish ancestry and different people have different reasons for joining our ranks. Some may have got inspired by the Rob Roy, Braveheart or Highlander movie, some have read the Northwest Passage and the Last of the Mohicans too many times, others joined in as they liked history, culture or music of Gaidhealtachd.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Allred, 'Catharsis, Revision, Re-enactment', 5.

<sup>44</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009).

<sup>45</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009).

<sup>46</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 356.

<sup>47</sup> Personal communication, Montgomerie's Highlanders (4 Oct 2010).

The Czech re-enactors searched for a past that would allow them to combine their favourite films and novels. By selecting the French and Indian War, they found a way of playing both Indians and Highlanders – without violating re-enactment culture's golden rule of authenticity. They were not allowed to make up their own Scottish-Indian history, for that would be fantasy. They needed a historical moment to portray.

### 8.3 The Quest for Authentic Scotland

Historical re-enactors seek to recreate the past *as it really was*. A German re-enactment group portraying the Grenadier Company of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment in the years from 1808 to 1815 states: 'We reconstruct the appearance of the unit, its uniform and equipment as detailed and historically correct as possible.'<sup>48</sup> And the Dutch-Flemish Jacobites of Clan MacBran stress that their goal is to be 'a hundred percent' true to the past. Sometimes they have to make concessions, but only to avoid major damage. Their leader, William MacBran, explains:

We try to get everything as accurate as possible. But you won't reach 100 percent. You would have to starve yourself in certain periods [in order to be authentic]. But when you have children you can't say: we don't eat today.<sup>49</sup>

The acquisition and maintenance of an authentic re-enactment identity is time-consuming and expensive. Rank and file in Gordons Living History (Netherlands) require a Brown Bess flintlock musket, a Scottish dirk, a red British coatee, an overcoat, a kilt of Gordon pattern of 3¼ yards (2.5m), an 'ostrich feather-covered bonnet and hose', a long-sleeved white shirt of unbleached linen, a pair of black shoes with brass buckles, two white leather cross belts ('one for the cartridge box and another for the bayonet'), a bread bag, a round wooden canteen, and a black backpack.<sup>50</sup> A fully dressed Napoleonic re-enactor may carry gear for up to 3000£. Re-enactors produce their own costumes and accessories, even turn craftsmanship into a part of the re-enactment experience. Some may shop at commercial re-enactment suppliers such as 'The Historical Costume Company' in Nottingham (UK), where a British redcoat with 'woollen turn back cuffs, hook back skirts, linen lined cast pewter buttons – trimmed according to regiment' will cost £250. Specialist mail-order boutiques like 'The Highland Brigade' in Colleyville, Texas, offer 'the finest selection of museum quality, reproduction, Victorian Scottish Officer's militaria from the Napoleonic era to WWI'.<sup>51</sup> Historical re-enactment has its own economy and entrepreneurs, and the majority of activists hail from the affluent middle class.

The quest for authenticity does not end with material culture. The German Grenadier Company of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland Regiment states: 'We are not content with wearing the right uniform but also aim to have our performance and equipment set up for a 200 years jump

<sup>48</sup> [[http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/html/42nd\\_royal\\_highland\\_regiment.htm](http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/html/42nd_royal_highland_regiment.htm)] (15 Oct 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009).

<sup>50</sup> [<http://www.gordonslivinghistory.org/>] (15 Oct 2010).

<sup>51</sup> [<http://www.thehcc.co.uk/>]; [<http://www.highlandbrigade.com/aboutus.asp>] (15 Oct 2010).

back in time.<sup>52</sup> And in Clan MacBran, every member has to research his or her own role. 'They need to know about clothing, food, how people lived, provisions, how they grew things, what they used', says Wee Jock MacMelville who has spent weeks poring over books to find out how Jacobite soldiers shaved in the field and whose glasses are held together by a piece of string.<sup>53</sup>

Some re-enactors may become obsessed with accuracy and even call themselves 'authenticity fascists'.<sup>54</sup> They seek to *become* the past, to resemble the chosen period so much that full mimicry is possible. They insist that there are moments when the present fades and the re-enacted period becomes the main reality. This state is known as the 'period rush', the 'authenticity high'.<sup>55</sup> If you do it wrong, on the other hand, you will be called a fake or a *farb*.<sup>56</sup> The Jacobites of Clan MacBran suggest that every researcher studying Scottish re-enactors should dismiss inauthentic performers as 'tablecloth Scots', named after their granny's tablecloth which they allegedly wear as kilts.

'Authenticity fascists' have little sympathy for those who are still at the early stages of the learning process that is re-enactment or who – worse – are not interested in getting the facts right. The German Mackays who portray mercenaries of the Thirty Years War have made a list of all the fake Scots they reject:

What we cannot offer are painted 'Braveheart-Scots'. We do not try to imitate the Hollywood-clichés of the allegedly wild Highlander or to stage a fantasy demonstration à la 'Highlander' with strikingly heroic characters. We cannot satisfy the Gothic/ Live Action Role Play community's desires for kilt wearers with army boots and sword strapped to their backs.<sup>57</sup>

The Mackays make it clear that their Scottish performance is one of higher quality, more authentic than mere fantasy role-play and Hollywood kitsch. To them, re-enactment is competitive. Evidently, the public historians in re-enactment are their own worst critics, and the scene works almost on a peer-reviewed basis.

But every re-enactment has to begin somewhere. Most dedicated hobbyists confess to having been initially attracted to Scottish history by a Hollywood film or a fantasy novel. William MacBran of Clan MacBran states that he watched *Braveheart* '50 or 60 times, I stopped counting'. Clan McConn of Drumfinnan, Jacobites from Germany, recall that their passion for Scotland began in 1978 with a German television series based on RL Stevenson's *Kidnapped*.<sup>58</sup> The Scottish dreamscape is the entrance to Scottish history.

<sup>52</sup> [[http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/html/42nd\\_royal\\_highland\\_regiment.htm](http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/html/42nd_royal_highland_regiment.htm)] (15 Oct 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009).

<sup>54</sup> Gapps, 'Mobile Monuments', 396.

<sup>55</sup> See Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 7. Allred, 'Catharsis, Revision, Re-enactment'.

<sup>56</sup> Re-enactors claim that the derogatory 'farb' is either short for 'far be it from me to tell him that he's wrong', or that it had first been used to denote clumsy German re-enactors who had come to the U.S. to play native Americans with their faces painted red. 'Farbe' is the German word for paint... See Turner, 'Bloodless Battles', 127. Allred, 'Catharsis, Revision, Reenactment', 11-12 (n.2).

<sup>57</sup> Was wir nicht bieten können, sind bemalten [sic] 'Braveheartschotten', wir versuchen nicht, die Hollywood-Klischees vom vermeintlich wilden Highlander nachzuahmen, eine Fantasy- Darstellung a la 'Highlander' mit besonders heroische [sic] Charakteren aufzuziehen oder die Bedürfnisse der Gothics/LARPs nach Kilträgern in Springerstiefeln mit Schwert auf dem Rücken auf zu befriedigen. [<http://www.regiment-mackay.de/>] (12 March 2010)

<sup>58</sup> Interview Clan MacBran (23 May 2009). See *Die Abenteuer des David Balfour*, dir. Jean-Pierre Decourt (Germany/France/Austria/Switzerland, 1978). Interview Clan McConn of Drumfinnan (12 Sept 2009).

The Scottish dreamscape is a problematic topic for re-enactment. It conflicts with the hobbyist culture's authenticity creed. Hollywood films and fantasy novels may inspire to re-enact the past but they only rarely provide useful historical facts. If it did not happen, it cannot be re-enacted. Admittedly, the issue of myth does not so much arise for those re-enactors who specialise in nineteenth and twentieth century Scottish military history. They can wear kilts and tartan without worrying about 'invented traditions', for they target the invented tradition itself, copying the British uniforms which were inspired by Highland dress. They replay a 'naturalised' invented tradition.<sup>59</sup>

All other 'Scottish' re-enactors, however, have to deconstruct the Scottish myths in their heads. Some will give up fairly quickly when they realise that the Scottish history of their favourite movies, novels, comics etc is not congruent with what they find in scholarly books or on the more authoritative websites – that, e.g., William Wallace never wore a modern kilt or blue face paint. They will experience what Daria Radtchenko calls the 'trauma of knowing', deconstructing their beloved myths until nothing is left to play with.

Some may ignore what they find out and remain faithful to 'the Braveheart period', as Clan Crom from France disarmingly put it. But they risk to be shunned by more serious re-enactors, to fail their colleagues' critical review. Dedicated re-enactors try to move beyond the Highlander stereotypes and to discover the grain of historical truth in the fantastical myth. They will, in the words of anthropologist Paul Basu, try to 'refine' their Highlandism and carefully assemble real facts without ruining the beauty of the original image that attracted them.<sup>60</sup> Historical re-enactment may become a journey into the dreamscape's historical foundations, a test of the Scottish myth's historical core.

The Mackay mercenaries of Germany have found what Hugh Trevor-Roper always denied existed; the invented tradition's historical core, the bits and pieces out of which it was made. The re-enactors came across a German translation of an eyewitness report on the original Mackay mercenaries' exploits on the European continent.<sup>61</sup> They are also aware of the woodcuts which depict their regiment at Szczecin in c. 1631, wearing tartan chequered overcoats and belted plaids. From these sources they are able to distil enough Scottishness to satisfy both their critical re-enactors' pledge, their audiences, and their own love for Scotland. The achievement of this compromise was hard work:

At first it was difficult to let go of the Romantic images which had fascinated me for so long. And to convince the fellow combatants to dress in these grey, cheap woollens of the mercenaries, that was exceptionally difficult. They had all looked forward to [wearing] the kilt. But in the end, we did not have to give up Scottishness altogether. We still wear tartan overcoats and belted plaids, and our piper has the full regalia.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hans-Rudolf Wicker, 'Introduction. Theorizing Ethnicity and Nationalism', in *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity. The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*, ed. H. Wicker (Oxford, New York: Berg, 1997), 1-42.

<sup>60</sup> Basu examines 'roots tourists' from North America and Australasia and argues that they do not have to abandon their Highlandist stereotypes altogether, only 'refine' them. Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings. Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 67 and 93.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Monroe, *Kriegserlebnisse eines schottischen Söldnerführers in Deutschland 1626- 1633*, ed. & trans. H. Mahr (Neustadt/Aisch: Schmidt, Philipp, 1995, orig. 1637).

<sup>62</sup> 'Am Anfang war es schwierig, die romantischen Bilder gehen zu lassen, die mich schon so lange fasziniert hatten. Vor allem die Mitstreiter dazu zu bringen, sich in diese grauen Wollsachen zu hüllen, das billigste des Billigen, das war extrem schwierig. Alle hatten sich auf den Kilt gefreut. Aber letztlich mussten wir das Schottische

## [8.9: Woodcut, Mackay's Regiment, Szczecin, 1631]

## [8.10: Re-enactors, Mackay's Regiment, Germany, 2010]

Discussions of 'authentic' Scots also raise the issue of Scots *women*. Where are the female re-enactors in this world of swinging kilts and martial display? Historical re-enactment is a world of profoundly conservative gender roles; the men fight and the women cook. This is true for *all* re-enactment genres.<sup>63</sup> This division of labour is usually made in the name of historical accuracy. Most commanding officers stress that women are welcome to join the group – if they are willing to portray 'authentic' female lives of the re-enacted period. The German 92<sup>nd</sup> Gordon Highlanders state:

Yes, we have women with us, and they are very welcome, because we are not only interested in the military aspects of our period [the Napoleonic Wars], but in the whole way of life; how people lived back then, what did they eat and drink, what were the worries, fears, and joys, the sentiments of the different social classes.<sup>64</sup>

Apparently, women are expected to portray all civilian aspects of life. If we can believe the Captain of the German Mackays, the women are quite content with this arrangement:

We do not have fighting women in our regiment. We did not want this, it would be against historical evidence. However, we have several families following our regiment, and two of our drummers are female. I guess if women would approach us and ask whether they could participate at the front, we would find a way to make this possible. But so far, no one has asked.<sup>65</sup>

And indeed, there seems to be no shortage of women who are willing to recreate the civilian backdrop for their warrior husbands and sons at Scottish re-enactment events.

## [8.11: Female re-enactors]

When interviewed, female re-enactors explained that their Scottish performances provided, above all, the satisfaction of recreating the past correctly, according to the facts. The idea of going to war with their men or of wearing a colourful kilt instead of an ordinary skirt seemed 'absurd' to most, 'a-historical' and 'wrong'.<sup>66</sup> There appeared to be a certain interest in clear-cut gender roles, a nostalgia for a time when men were men and women were women. One recurring statement was that the sight of 'men in skirts' was enjoyable. Female re-enactors stated again and again that 'if you see a man in a kilt, that's manly, and strong, and warlike'.<sup>67</sup> Women also explained that they liked to dress up their men as 'real men', like dolls. And many men on the other hand explained that their interest in Scotland was first

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ja nicht ganz aufgeben. Wir tragen immer noch tartan Mäntel und die belted plaids. Und unser Piper trägt die volle Montur.' Interview Cpt Nico Baumgärtel, Mackay's Regiment (19 Oct 2010).

<sup>63</sup> See Horwitz, *Confederates*.

<sup>64</sup> 'Und ja, es sind auch Frauen bei uns, sehr erwünscht, denn nicht nur der militärische Aspekt der Zeit interessiert uns, sondern das ganze Spektrum oder Lebensbereich: wie lebte man damals, was wurden gegessen und getrunken, was waren die Sorgen, Ängste und Freuden, die Empfindungen der verschiedenen Stände oder sozialen Klassen.' Personal communication, 92nd Regiment, Germany (1 Oct 2010).

<sup>65</sup> 'Frauen kämpfen nicht mit in unserem Regiment. Wir wollten das nicht, das entspräche nicht den historischen Tatsachen. Wir haben aber mehrere Familien, die mit dem Regiment unterwegs sind. Wir haben auch zwei Drummer, die Frauen sind. Wenn jetzt Frauen auf uns zukämen, ob sie an der Front mitmachen könnten, dann fänden wir sicher eine Lösung, die das möglich machte. Ist aber bis jetzt nicht geschehen.' Interview Cpt Nico Baumgärtel, Mackay's Regiment (19 Oct 2010)

<sup>66</sup> Interview Lechfeld Highlanders, Germany (24 July 2009).

<sup>67</sup> Interview Mirjam, Sassenachs War Pipes & Drums, Netherlands (23 May 2009).

aroused by their wives or girlfriends who bought them a kilt. The erotics of the kilted Scotsman – which already fascinated Queen Victoria and Anais Nin (see Chapter 4.5) – seem to be of some importance at re-enactment venues.

There are, of course, exceptions, women who will not be content with cooking for warriors. The medieval *Scottish Marauders* of France are commanded by a Comtesse (and her two large Irish dogs), the vaguely 'Celtic-Scottish' *Sassenachs Warpipes & Drums* from the Netherlands employ a female re-enactor in a belted barbarian plaid. And some women join the ranks of modern Scottish regiments, arguing that there was nothing ahistorical about it. In Scotland, a German-born female linguist serves as the leading 'regimental agitator' in the Earl of Loudoun's Regiment of Foote. As a soldier, she wears uniform and fires muskets, acts as regimental gunner and powder officer, fights alongside her male colleagues, and draws sword if need be. 'I thought that this was more interesting than sewing in a tent', she says. She cannot see anything inauthentic about her performance and stresses that there is 'a load of documents which prove that women fought at the battle frontline in the English Civil War and the 30 Years War'.<sup>68</sup> The female re-enactor rebels by doing her own research.

#### [8.12: Claudia Soergel, Earl of Loudoun's Regiment of Foote, Scotland]

If the search for a usable past is unsuccessful, one may always switch to re-enacting what never happened. This means to alienate fellow re-enactors and to enter the realms of fantasy, live action role play, where one can create alternative histories and bring them to life. Everything is possible if the performance is not limited by fact. The warriors of Clan MacMahon, for instance, are German live action role play hobbyists who have chosen to be a Scottish unit. They have written their own Clan lore after which they hail from a town at the foot of Ben Tee in Scotland but were brutally evicted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – not by the evil landlords or the English, but by Orks, mixing in here Tolkien's Lord of the Rings. At large role play festivals like *Drachenfest* they fight Orks and other monsters, seeking revenge for their forefathers.<sup>69</sup> A good number of the MacMahons are splendidly dressed Scottish amazons.

#### [8.13: Clan MacMahon, Germany]

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<sup>68</sup> Interview Claudia Soergel, Earl of Loudoun's Regiment (11 March 2010). It has been pointed out that the role of women in the Jacobite risings has been underexplored. Lady Anne Mackintosh recruited 600 clansmen for the Jacobites, see Maggie Craig, *Damn' Rebel Bitches. The Women of the '45* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1997).

<sup>69</sup> Website Clan MacMahon, [<http://www.macmahon.de>] (9 Dec 2009).

## **Conclusion Chapter 8**

In 2010, at least 30 re-enactment clubs on the European continent specialised in Scottish history. They portrayed Iron Age Celts, medieval Highland warriors, Scottish soldiers on the European continent (Thirty Years' War, Napoleonic Wars, both World Wars), Scottish Jacobites opposing the British Government (at Culloden), and, occasionally, kilted soldiers in colonial and postcolonial regiments (French and Indian War, U.S. Civil War, Canadian World War II regiments). Without exception, the Scots were re-enacted as morally sound liberators and freedom fighters.

Like commemorators, re-enactors find that not every moment in Scottish history is usable for their performances. The drama of warfare is at the core of Scottish re-enactment. Re-enactors focus on military and heroic history, but hardly ever on urban, civilian, mercantile, or intellectual aspects of the Scottish past. If civilian life is portrayed, it is usually to provide a backdrop for Scottish soldiers – or to allow female re-enactors to participate in the Scottish game. In the name of historical 'authenticity', women only rarely join the men in the portrayal of Scottish soldiers.

Scottish re-enactors are not alone with their focus on martial history; all re-enactment genres at the beginning of the twenty first century had a disproportionate interest in soldiers, uniforms, and warfare. Historical re-enactment is a symptom of the late-twentieth century memory boom which is so profoundly interested in heroic history. The Scottish soldier – so theatrical, so familiar, so distinctive – has become a perfect role in re-enactment.

Most re-enactors first became interested in Scottish history via Hollywood films, fantasy novels, and other manifestations of the Scottish dreamscape. This proved a difficult start for many. As re-enactment culture demands that history is recreated according to the facts, 'as it really happened', the re-enactment of Scottish history involved painful deconstructions. To many re-enactors, their hobby became a search for the Scottish dreamscape's historical core.

Historical re-enactors consciously play someone else. While the commemorators, athletes, and musicians examined in earlier chapters present mythologies of kinship or historical links to make their Scottish performances meaningful, re-enactors are much less interested in such explanations. More than all other Scottish playactors, re-enactors confidently claim that it is skill and knowledge rather than blood or residency which make a successful Scotsman of the past. To the re-enactor, a contemporary Glaswegian will make no better Jacobite than a dedicated Dutch re-enactor. As is examined in Chapter 9, this insight is increasingly adopted by Scottish Clan chiefs as well.

## Chapter 9

### HOMEcomings: FINDING NEVERLAND

The previous chapters examined the four main forms of Scottish masquerade in Europe. The Scots of Europe are musicians in military-inspired pipe and drum bands, athletes at Highland Games strength competitions, commemorators at festivals of remembrance, and historical re-enactors who reproduce their favourite historical periods and characters.

In all this activity, the playactors cherish a Scotland of the past. They participate in what they claim to be ancient musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions, commemorate historical links between Scotland and Europe, and re-stage moments from the Scottish past (or myths thereof). Their favourite history is *heroic* history; re-enactors replay battles, commemorators recall them, athletes invoke a warrior mythology, and pipe bands imitate the military glamour of the Highland Regiments.

The Scots of Europe cherish a Scotland which looks remarkably different than everyday life in modern Scotland. Their romantic fantasy of swinging kilts, warlike Celts, droning pipes, and military splendour is hardly congruent with the reality of Scotland, the place on the map.

This said, it is one of the Scottish dreamscape's greatest assets in the global market of heroic counter-worlds that it is not entirely fictional. The dreamscape is not 'The Shire' from Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, but a real location in the world. The Scots of Europe are aware that there exists a place to which their Highland Games, bagpipe tunes, and Clan tartans belong. Scottish myths and images are firmly rooted in Scotland. Even though *Braveheart* (1995) was written by an American, directed by an Australian, and largely filmed in Ireland (for tax reasons), the film's European premier was held in Stirling, Scotland, where the real William Wallace (1270-1305) fought and won.<sup>1</sup> Scotland exists, and this adds to the Scottish dreamscape's credibility and success.

The world of Scottish playacting does not necessarily connect with Scotland. Many of the most dedicated Scots of Europe (and, for that matter, of North America and Australasia) have never visited Scotland. Some cannot afford the journey, others sense that modern Scotland would be of little relevance to their performances as Highland warriors. Indeed, when playactors *do* travel to Scotland, they often fail to find the place they love and know.

Chapter 9 investigates how Scotland deals with the Scots of Europe. It first examines the Scottish approach towards international fans of Scotland, and in particular the Scottish Government's recent efforts to connect with the Scottish 'diaspora'. It explores the 2009 *Homecoming Scotland* campaign and the new rhetoric of 'Affinity Scots'. The chapter then turns to Clanship as a zone of contact and interaction. It emerges that there are zones of 'real' Highlandism in Scotland, places where playactors may authenticate their Scottish fantasies in Scotland. Finally, Chapter 9 focuses on *The Gathering*, the *Homecoming* campaign's centrepiece festival which took place in Edinburgh in 2009. It follows a Dutch pipe band on their journey to Scotland, the place on the map.

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<sup>1</sup> Colin McArthur, 'Braveheart and the Scottish Aesthetic Dilemma', in *Screening the Past. Film and the Representation of History*, ed. T. Barta (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 167-87.



## 9.1 Homecoming Scotland: Looking for 'Affinity Scots'

'Playing Scotsmen' is a global phenomenon, and Scotland has started to notice this. During the first decade of the twenty first century, the Scottish Government sought to connect actively with what is increasingly called the Scottish 'diaspora', the many millions around the world who consider themselves Scottish or of Scottish descent and who actively celebrate Scotland's history and culture.<sup>2</sup> This effort was partly inspired by the Irish experience – foreign direct investment from Irish expatriates and their descendants had helped to launch the Celtic Tiger boom years in the 1990s. While today it emerges that this period may have been short-lived, many Scottish politicians at the turn to the twenty first century deplored Scotland's failure to attract comparable economic support.<sup>3</sup> Scottish state efforts to unlock the diaspora's economic potential included the creation of business and social networks ('Global Scots'), the establishment of genealogical web portals ('Ancestral Scotland'), and the *Homecoming Scotland* campaign of 2009 (see below). A 'Diaspora Engagement Plan' was presented in 2010 in which the Scottish Government confirmed its intent to reach out to 'Scotland's international family', and in 2011, the Government decided to support academic research on Scotland's diaspora through the University of Edinburgh's Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies (est. 2008).<sup>4</sup>

To be sure, the Scots of Europe were not the reason for this Scottish effort. In 2010, most people in Scotland (including officials at the national tourist board *VisitScotland*) were not yet aware of the widespread European interest in Scottish history and performance. The Scottish diaspora campaigns mainly target North America and try to make use and profit from what has been called 'America's growing obsession with its Scottish connections'.<sup>5</sup> The growth of this obsession is substantial; in the past four decades, North American celebrations of Scotland have multiplied and increased greatly in size.<sup>6</sup> Events like Tartan Week in New York (established 2002), the Grandfather Mountain Games in North Carolina (1956), or the Glengarry Games in Ontario, Canada (1942) draw crowds of more than twenty thousand people.<sup>7</sup> Celebrations of Scotland have become a hobby for the masses, and to some extent

<sup>2</sup> The phrase 'Scottish Diaspora' is increasingly popular, see Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings. Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2007). Duncan Sim & Ian McIntosh, 'Connecting with the Scottish Diaspora', *Scottish Affairs* 58 (2007): 78-95. On 'diaspora' and its recent semantic shifts, see Ruth Mayer, *Diaspora. Eine kritische Begriffsbestimmung* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> See the Government-commissioned report *The Scottish Diaspora and Diaspora Strategy: Insights and Lessons from Ireland* (2009), accessed via [www.scotland.gov.uk/socialresearch] (2 Dec 2010).

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.globalscot.com/]; [www.friendsofscotland.gov.uk/]; [http://www.ancestralscotland.com/]; [http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/]. The Government's *Diaspora Engagement Plan: Reaching Out to Scotland's International Family* was published in September 2010 [http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications] (2 Dec 2010). See also Sim & McIntosh, 'Connecting with the Scottish Diaspora'.

<sup>5</sup> James Hunter, 'How should we treat America's growing obsession with its Scottish connections?', *Scotland on Sunday* (11 May 1997), 17.

<sup>6</sup> See *Association of Scottish Games and Festivals* (est. 1981) for listings, [http://www.asgf.org/] (6 Dec 2010). Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Euan Hague, 'The Scottish Diaspora. Tartan Day and the Appropriation of Scottish Identities in the United States', in *Celtic Geographies. Old Cultures, New Times*, eds. DC Harvey et al. (London: Routledge, 2002), 139-156. Grant Jarvie, 'The North American Emigré, Highland Games, and Social Capital in International Communities', in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. C. Ray (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 198-214. Courtney W. Mason, 'Rethinking the Revival of the Glengarry Highland Games. Modernity, Identity, and Tourism in Rural Canada', *Sport History Review* 36:2 (2005): 130-153.

<sup>7</sup> On Highland Games *before* the boom, see Tanja Buelmann, 'Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability. Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand to 1910', in *Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, eds. T. Buelmann, A. Hinson, G. Morton (Guelph: CSS, 2009), 167-84.

the same is true for New Zealand and Australia.<sup>8</sup> With the 'diaspora strategy', Scotland tries to tap into this growing field of international enthusiasm.

Unlike in Europe, most Scotland enthusiasts in North America and Australasia claim to express their 'ethnic' identities by wearing kilts and playing bagpipes (see Chapter 2). Their enthusiasm is part of a larger roots phenomenon, an affluent interest in ancestors and ancestral homelands. Scotland is one of several places that attempts to engage with this interest and to bring home the dispersed tribes as tourists and investors. Ghana has a permanent *Homecoming* office, and South Africa's *Homecoming Revolution* encourages temporary and permanent returns.<sup>9</sup> In Switzerland, the year 2007 was declared a year of Mennonites ('Täuferjahr') to further tourism from North America's large Anabaptist communities, often of Swiss descent.<sup>10</sup> Diaspora campaigns make use of a wealthy (and mostly North American) interest in roots. Evidently, these campaigns are no act of solidarity, no call for refugees to return and find shelter, but an invitation to tourists, investors, and sometimes skilled labour.

### Issues of congruency

Scotland faces two problems when addressing her 'diaspora'. The first one is the issue of congruency. Scotland the place and the Scotland the dream do not look alike. The Scotland of global imagination is a neverland of Celts and Clans, kilts and swords, empty landscapes and pre-modern heroism. It is 'Walter Scott-land', the Scottish dreamscape. Such images are difficult to authenticate in situ. Modern Scotland's inhabitants live largely urban lives, are mainly employed in post-industrial services and the public sector, and rather more concerned about the future of the British Welfare State than the second coming of the Clans.<sup>11</sup> Residents of Scotland often have a troubled relationship with Highland kitsch, will shudder at the 'tartan monster', and often consider the global world of Scottish celebration 'embarrassing' and regressive.<sup>12</sup>

Place and dream have been difficult to unite for many decades. When Hollywood producer Arthur Freed famously scouted for locations in Scotland to shoot his musical *Brigadoon* (1954, see Chapter 4.4), he eventually returned to America, declaring that '[Scotland] just doesn't look Scotch enough.' He had to re-build the place in a U.S. studio.<sup>13</sup> Scottish playactors and fans of the Scottish dreamscape risk similar frustration when travelling to Scotland. The German re-enactor Helmut 'MacHuck' Huck, a specialist in eighteenth century Jacobite rebellions, thought he had come to the wrong place when he first arrived: 'I landed in Edinburgh and wondered: why am I the only one here wearing a kilt? Have I come to the

<sup>8</sup> Lorraine Brown & Shirley Chappel, 'Celebrating Robbie Burns Down Under', in *Festivals and Events. Culture and Identity in Leisure, Sport and Tourism*, eds. C. Aitchison et al. (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2007), 135-50.

<sup>9</sup> [<http://www.ghanahomecoming.org/>], [<http://www.homecomingrevolution.co.za/>] (25 July 2010).

<sup>10</sup> [<http://www.taeuferjahr2007.ch/>] (25 July 2010)

<sup>11</sup> On modern Scotland, see David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland. The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Sim, 'Connecting with the Diaspora', 79.

<sup>13</sup> The anecdote is told by Forsyth Hardy, *Scotland in Film* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1990), 1.

wrong country?’<sup>14</sup> He did not recognise Scotland. Many enthusiasts also think that Scotland does not take good care of her heritage. René van Iterson of the Scots Heritage Association in the Netherlands explains: ‘It is quite astonishing to notice that, in Scotland, Scottish traditions are being replaced with American line-dancing etc, while we [the Dutch] are more Scottish than the Scots themselves!’<sup>15</sup>

A rift separates Scotland the dream from Scotland the place. In a recent study, Richard Zumkhawala-Cook suggests that this rift is unbridgeable. The ‘real’ Scotland, he argues, is an altogether different country than the place cherished by the ‘Scottish heritage movement’. And as there is no actual homeland that looks like Walter Scott-land, he argues, there can be no ‘diaspora’ of such a place. There is no ‘homeland’ to return to.<sup>16</sup> Scottish playactors have no place to go home.

In 2009, Scotland built a home for all dreamers. *Homecoming Scotland* was a year-long marketing campaign that aimed at furthering tourism. It was funded by the Scottish Government and invited expatriates, their descendants, and everyone who felt a Scot at heart to visit.

### **The *Homecoming Scotland* campaign**

The idea for *Homecoming Scotland* originated from discussions about an official Scottish participation in the worldwide celebration of Robert Burns’ 250<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>17</sup> The Scottish poet (1759-1796) enjoys the status of a national hero both at home and internationally, and Burns Suppers are an established way of celebrating Scotland abroad since practically the poet’s death.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of the twenty first century, many thousands of Scottish societies and associations around the world hosted Burns nights and suppers. It was rightly estimated that the anniversary year 2009 would see an unprecedented number of events. *Homecoming Scotland* meant to tap into these celebrations of Scotland. In January 2008, the campaign’s PR people contacted some 2400 ‘diaspora organisations’ about joining *Homecoming*.<sup>19</sup> A special website was set up to provide a platform for more than 3600 Burns Suppers around the world.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> ‘Ich bin in Edinburg gelandet und hab mich gewundert, warum ich da der einzige mit einem Kilt war. Bin ich jetzt im falschen Land, oder was?’ Interview Clan MacConn of Drumfinnan, Germany (12 Sept 2009)

<sup>15</sup> Personal Communication René van Iterson, Scots Heritage Association, Netherlands (9 March 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, *Scotland as we know it. Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 110.

<sup>17</sup> This and the following after: Interview Leon Thompson, EventScotland (15 May 2009), Interview Michael Jarvis, VisitScotland (8 April 2009).

<sup>18</sup> On the Burns Supper ritual, see Nancy Marshall, *Burns Supper Companion* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007). On its importance in the diaspora, see Tanja Buelmann, ‘The Image of Scotland which We Cherish in Our Hearts. Burns Anniversary Celebrations as a Site of Memory in Colonial Otago’, in *Scots Abroad. The New Zealand Scots in International Perspective*, eds. JM MacKenzie et al. (forthcoming). Brown & Chappel, ‘Celebrating Robbie Burns Down Under’. See also David McCrone, ‘Scotland Days. Evolving Nation and Icons’, in *National Days. Constructing and Mobilizing National Identity*, eds. D. McCrone & G. McPherson (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2009), 26-40.

<sup>19</sup> *Homecoming Scotland 2009 – The Story* (EventScotland, 2010), 3, accessed via [<http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com>] (25 July 2010).

<sup>20</sup> The website listed 3673 Burns Suppers for 2009 in December 2009. The majority of events was found in Britain and North America. See [<http://www.burnssupper2009.com>] (9 December 2009).

In the course of things, however, the Burns theme was found to be too narrow and therefore broadened with four additional reasons for celebration, namely Whisky, Golf, 'Great Minds and Innovations', and 'Scottish Clans and Ancestry'.<sup>21</sup> The theme was widened in order to attract as many 'Homecomers' as possible. Consequently, *Homecoming* became an umbrella campaign for a great variety of attractions. In Scotland, more than 400 events were associated with *Homecoming* and carried the logo in 2009. Organisers could apply for promotional and financial support from the Homecoming budget. Centrepiece event was *The Gathering* – a two day Clan festival inspired by North America's Clan Gatherings (see below).

Plans for *Homecoming* were first formulated in 2002 or 2003 by members of the Labour/ Liberal Democrats coalition which formed the Scottish Executive, as the Scottish Government was then called. After the 2007 elections, the Scottish National Party took over. In November 2007, the national events agency *EventScotland* was tasked with delivering the campaign. Marketing went through the channels of the national tourist board, *VisitScotland*. The campaign's core budget was £5.5m, the target for additional revenue set at £44m; a return of 8 to 1.

The *Homecoming* campaign was designed to establish a lasting bond between Scotland and her diaspora as well as to heighten Scotland's international profile. *EventScotland*, the state-funded events agency tasked with delivering *Homecoming*, formulated the following goals:

1. To deliver additional tourism visits and revenue for Scotland
2. To engage and mobilise the Scottish Diaspora
3. To promote pride in Scots at home and abroad
4. To celebrate Scotland's outstanding contributions to the world<sup>22</sup>

Straightforwardly, the economic mission came at the top. Tourism is a vital branch of the Scottish economy, generating 4.1 billion GBP in 2009 and contributing 11 percent of the Scottish service sector economy (compared to 8 to 9 percent for the UK as a whole).<sup>23</sup> Roots tourism was considered a growing niche by the Scottish Government already in 1999.<sup>24</sup> Point number two stresses the need to bring together all international enthusiasm for Scotland, to connect the scattered Scots of the 'diaspora'. Scotland offers her services as a motherland and common base. The other two campaign objectives concern Scotland's worldwide visibility. *Homecoming Scotland* was as much an image campaign as a promotion of tourism. It aimed at telling the world about the Scots, their travels and exploits. Unsurprisingly, it focused on the sunny side of the story. *Homecoming* was no place for critical discussions of Scottish 'contributions' to colonialism and the slave trade, but a celebration of Scottish triumphs, from philosophy to golf and whisky.<sup>25</sup> Scottish intellectuals were met with harsh reactions from the Scottish National Party's Government when they criticised the *Homecoming* campaign for ignoring the Scottish colonial past and its legacy in the Caribbean and South-East Asia. Historian Geoff Palmer asked a journalist: 'This event [*Homecoming Scotland*] is being marketed in Canada, New Zealand, Australia. Why are they not inviting

<sup>21</sup> *Homecoming Scotland 2009 – The Story*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Homecoming Scotland 2009 – Evaluation Report* (EventScotland, 2009), accessed via [<http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com>] (25 July 2010).

<sup>23</sup> *Tourism in Scotland 2009 Report*, published by VisitScotland (August 2010), accessed via [[http://www.visitscotland.org/research\\_and\\_statistics/](http://www.visitscotland.org/research_and_statistics/)] (10 Nov 2010).

<sup>24</sup> In 1999, the newly established Scottish Parliament identified roots tourism as one of three key niche markets to be targeted in its *New Strategy for Scottish Tourism*. See Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, 2.

<sup>25</sup> On the Scottish colonial effort, see TM Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2003).

people from Jamaica with Scottish names?<sup>26</sup> Without commenting upon it, the organisers then adjusted the campaign's main advertisement by digitally inserting a young man with a dark complexion into what was until then a blindingly white crowd of homecomers...

### [9.1: *Homecoming Scotland* advertisements – before and after, 2009]

*Homecoming Scotland* was a state-venture into the diaspora's economic potential: 'In today's global village, Scotland is not just a country of 5 million people. It is a community of 40 million people. Sell me a plan which brings them together for their mutual benefit', demanded a speaker at the *Scottish Diaspora Forum*, a brainstorming conference held at the Scottish Parliament in July 2009.<sup>27</sup>

According to the organisers, *Homecoming 2009* was a success. The evaluation report commissioned by *VisitScotland* states that the campaign's economic goals were reached and even surpassed, that £53.7m of additional revenue were generated and 'more than 95 000 visitors to Scotland were influenced to travel in 2009 as a result of the marketing campaigns in support of Homecoming'.<sup>28</sup> Even if the £53.7m figure is contested<sup>29</sup>, it appears that the campaign has helped to bite back the 2009 recession. So happy was the Scottish Government with the outcome that First Minister Alex Salmond announced to repeat *Homecoming Scotland* in 2014, the year that Scotland will host the Commonwealth Games and the Ryder Golf Cup.<sup>30</sup> 2014 also is the 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn.

### Issues of entitlement

The second problem in Scottish diaspora marketing is the issue of entitlement. Every invitation to 'come home' raises the issue of entitlement, as was (and still is) the case with the state of Israel.<sup>31</sup> Who is invited, who can call him- or herself a member of the diaspora? In the case of *Homecoming Scotland*, the answer was simple: anyone. While 'real' return migrants seeking a work permit (and possibly social benefits) would be treated unsentimentally and according to their passports by British (not Scottish) authorities, tourists and investors could declare themselves 'Scottish' on whatever grounds they liked. No DNA samples or family tree drawings were required to participate in *Homecoming Scotland 2009*.

The campaign organisers recognised at an early stage that there might be something impractical and even unpleasant about an 'ethnically' exclusive *Homecoming*. 'For Scots only' is not a good label in marketing – unless, of course, you can make everyone a Scot. To make it clear that everyone was invited to the Homecoming, the PR people introduced a label for

<sup>26</sup> Jackie Kemp, 'Tartan and Home Truths' *The Guardian* (25 Nov 2008), n.p. See also TM Devine, 'Did Slavery Make Scotland Great?' Paper given at the Edinburgh Book Festival (18 August 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Conference Programme – Scottish Diaspora Forum, [<http://scottishdiasporaforum.org/>] (25 July 2010)

<sup>28</sup> *Homecoming Scotland 2009 – A Year of Celebration* (EventScotland, May 2010), 4-5, accessed via [<http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com>] (25 July 2010).

<sup>29</sup> In 2010, the Scottish Government's Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee decided to hire an independent consultant, Dr Geoff Riddington of Grid Economics, to re-evaluate *VisitScotland's* legacy report and the research which was conducted by the independent UK consultancy Ekos. His verdict: Ekos's economic modelling was 'out-of-date and incorrect and substantially overestimates the actual impact'. See 'Homecoming Jobs boost was overestimated', *Edinburgh Evening News* (8 Sept 2010).

<sup>30</sup> *Homecoming Scotland 2009 – A Year of Celebration*, 2-3.

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., Tudor Parfitt & Yulia Egorova, 'Genetics, History and Identity. The Case of the Bene-Israel and of the Lemba', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 29 (2005): 193-224.

'Scots' without ancestral affiliation – Affinity Scots. Leon Thompson, a corporate affairs manager with *EventScotland*, explains why rootless homecomers needed a name:

What about the other people out there who are really interested in Scotland, maybe very passionate, but don't happen to be Scots and don't have any Scottish ancestry at all? The idea of these Affinity Scots then came into play. These being people who are interested in Scotland and all Scottish things. We didn't want them, this important group, to feel that they were being excluded from Homecoming because it was just for people who were Scots or had an ancestral tie to the country. It was very much about making sure that everybody was invited to the party.<sup>32</sup>

*Homecoming* was a party, and everyone (who had the necessary funds) was invited. 'Come and celebrate with us', was one of the main campaign slogans. The *Homecoming* organisers opened up the diaspora in order to get as many visitors as possible during 2009. Thomson: 'It's – from a marketing point of view – very powerful to actually be able to say: Look, this is for everybody.'<sup>33</sup>

Again, most of the *Homecoming* organisers seemed unaware of the large-scale European interest in Scottish performances. Their creation of the 'Affinity Scots' label was in no way a reaction to the phenomenon described in this study. The 'Affinity Scots' they had in mind were based in North America and Australasia, the 'key diaspora countries' in which *Homecoming Scotland* was almost exclusively promoted.<sup>34</sup> By creating 'Affinity Scots', the marketing people acknowledged that many overseas 'Scots' have no ancestral ties to Scotland – and perhaps even that it does not matter much whether they do or do not.

## 9.2 Take me to your Chief: The Clans as real Highlandism

*Homecoming Scotland's* centrepiece event was *The Gathering*, a two-day celebration of Clanship in the middle of Edinburgh. The two-day-festival attempted to increase congruency between Scotland and her global dreamscape. The Clans of Scotland are dear to most Scotland enthusiasts in North America, Australasia, and mainland Europe. In the Scottish dreamscape, Scotland is a land of Clans, and many playactors (whether they have roots in Scotland or not) hope to associate themselves with the remnants of the Clan system.

The Gaelic word 'clann' means children.<sup>35</sup> The word has been imported into the English language in the fifteenth century and subsequently into a great number of other languages, most notably Italian, in which it now refers to the families of the Camorra and other mafia groups. In the Scottish Highlands, the Clans were 'tribal' communities and the dominant form of social organisation before the seventeenth century. Clans carried the names of (real and mythical) progenitors; Clan Donald was named after Domhnall/Donald, Clan Mackenzie after

<sup>32</sup> Interview Leon Thompson, *EventScotland* (15 May 2009).

<sup>33</sup> Interview Leon Thompson, *EventScotland* (15 May 2009).

<sup>34</sup> *EventScotland* on promoting Scotland in Europe: 'We are promoting Highland culture but not necessarily in a way that is saying: You're a Scot, you may have some ancestral connection you don't know about.' Interview Leon Thomson, *EventScotland* (15 May 2009).

<sup>35</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the Gaelic 'clann' is not Celtic in origin but a derivation from the Latin *planta*, for sprout, shoot.

Coinneach/Kenneth and so on. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, new trading structures, emigration, industrialisation and the political integration of the Highlands into Scotland and Great Britain weakened and finally destroyed the Clan system (see Chapter 3). But with its physical decline came romantic enchantment. Following the Jacobite rebellions and the decisive Hanoverian victory at Culloden in 1746, the Highland Clans became a much discussed topic from Edinburgh to London. For poets and ethnographers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the vanishing Clans stood for an old order, a pre-modern society of Celtic warriors which had had to be left behind by the modernising British nation but which still deserved a farewell song. The Highland Clans also came to stand for the Scottish past as a whole, a key ingredient of Highlandism.

To commemorate and celebrate the ancient Clans, 'Clan societies' were set up in the nineteenth century – both in Scotland and abroad. These societies had mostly charitable and cultural aims and consisted of genealogists and associated dilettantes.<sup>36</sup> To this day, Clan societies are hobbyist communities in which members pay an annual fee, receive a Clan certificate, share genealogical activity, go on excursions, and discuss history and heraldic matters. In Scotland, Clan societies were and are the domain of the landed gentry. Not so in the 'diaspora', where Clan societies were set up as open expatriate clubs and joined by Scottish-Americans of all backgrounds – even by those whose roots lead to the Lowlands, where the Clans historically never played a significant role.<sup>37</sup> In the last decades of the twentieth century, the number of North American Clan societies grew rapidly. Today, there are more Clansmen and –women active in North America than in all Scotland.<sup>38</sup>

## Gathering the Clans

*The Gathering* took place in Edinburgh, the Scottish capital city, on 24 and 25 July 2009. The festival was held in the fenced-off Holyrood Park, next to the Royal Palace and the Scottish Parliament. It featured Highland Games competitions and pipe & drum band parades, Highland Dancing, a 'Celtic' folk music stage (where the Red Hot Chilli Pipers performed), a Scottish market and produce fair, whisky tasting opportunities, a re-enactment group which portrayed life in a 'medieval Clan', a book signing tent where the U.S. fantasy author Diane Gabaldon caused excitement, an exhibition on 'genetic genealogy' hosted by the Texas-based commercial company Family Tree DNA, and, most importantly, the Clan Village, a camp of more than 100 white tents in which the Clans of Scotland presented themselves to current and future members. On the evening of July 24, several thousand Clansmen and –women marched in a 'Clan Parade' up the Royal Mile.<sup>39</sup>

[9.2: The Gathering, Edinburgh, July 2009: Clan Village, Holyrood Park.]

[9.3: The Gathering, Advertisement, 2009.]

<sup>36</sup> RW Munro, 'Clan Societies', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 92-3.

<sup>37</sup> Ray, *Highland Heritage*, Chapter 3.

<sup>38</sup> The U.S. American Council of Scottish Clans and Associations COSCA (established 1974) claims to represent 60 000 active clansmen and –women, see [<http://www.cosca.net/>] (27 Dec 2010).

<sup>39</sup> See *The Gathering Festival Programme*, leaflet published by The Gathering Ltd. (July 2009).

The Clan societies had rented tents of different sizes, depending on their budgets.<sup>40</sup> In these tents, the Clans could be visited. Volunteers presented Clan history, the family's international spread, its tartans and crests. Interested members of the public could sign up and become Clan members, fortunate spectators got to see their Clan chief, wearing three feathers in his (or her) cap. *The Gathering* claimed to be the largest assembly of Scottish Clan chiefs in recorded history. More than 100 more or less officially recognised chiefs came together in Edinburgh to meet their international followers, to discuss the future of Clanship at a 'Clan Convention' held at the Scottish Parliament<sup>41</sup>, and to shake hands with His Royal Highness The Prince Charles, Duke of Rothesay, who acted as Patron to *The Gathering* and who was hailed 'chief of chiefs' by the event's organiser, the Lord Jamie Sempill.<sup>42</sup> *The Gathering 2009* was no neo-Jacobite call to arms against Queen and Government, but a celebration of the British aristocracy.

*The Gathering* was designed to attract and satisfy the roots enthusiasts of North America, Australia, and New Zealand. It aimed to increase congruency, to make sure that for once, Scotland the place would look 'Scotch enough' to the eyes of those coming home from the diaspora. 'That's maybe not how we are living our lives here, but this is actually what sells Scotland abroad. You have to give the people what they want', explains Leon Thompson of *EventScotland*.<sup>43</sup> To increase the chance for recognition, *The Gathering* was modelled after the great Clan Gatherings of North America, not Scotland. It imitated an American festive tradition. *The Gatherings*' co-director, the Lord Sempill, explains how he conceived the idea:

When I heard of the Homecoming and when I heard that the Homecoming [organisers] were looking to have an ancestral pillar, I knew enough then to say, well, what they need to fill that gap is a Clan Gathering. ... I was aware of the scale of some of the Clan Gatherings in the United States. And I was also very well aware of the lack of scale of such events in Scotland. So I thought to myself: what we want to do is to take something of the scale of Grandfather Mountain Games in North Carolina and put it in the middle of the Royal Park.<sup>44</sup>

Lord Sempill, who was born in London and has a background in marketing alcohol and tobacco brands, points out that Scottish Clan Gatherings and Highland Games (the two usually fuse<sup>45</sup>) in North America are bigger and more attractive than Games and Gatherings in Scotland. The diaspora, he argues, has the better product than the homeland:

Nearly all of their Games [in America] will draw audiences from very large distances. It's not uncommon to attend Games in America and hear people talking about driving five, six hours. In Scotland, nearly all of the Games – bar, again, less than ten – are totally reliant on the local community. And if your community has 2000 people, that's the maximum you'll get at the games. I may be exaggerating a bit but you certainly will be pushed to get double that. So most Scottish Games are very small in scale, because nearly all of them tend to be in the Highlands, in very small communities.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Some of the smaller Clan societies complained that the cost for renting a tent ranged from £235 to £587.50.

<sup>41</sup> The 'Clan Convention' was held on 24 July 2009 and chaired by Alex Fergusson, MSP and Presiding Officer.

<sup>42</sup> Charlotte Chambers, 'Edinburgh sees the largest Gathering of Clan Chiefs', *The Independent* (26 July 2009).

<sup>43</sup> Interview Leon Thompson, *EventScotland* (15 May 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Interview Jamie Sempill, *The Gathering Ltd.* (19 May 2009).

<sup>45</sup> Ray, *Highland Heritage*, 100.

<sup>46</sup> Interview Jamie Sempill, *The Gathering Ltd.* (19 May 2009).



The PR expert modelled *The Gathering* after the expatriate version of a Clan Gathering. He sensed that the 'real' thing, the surviving bits of the Victorian Highland Games culture in Scotland (inconveniently located in the Highlands), would disappoint both homecomers and *Homecoming* entrepreneurs.

The privately managed *The Gathering* was no economic success. Even though the event attracted some 47 000 visitors over the weekend and is said to have contributed several million pounds to the Edinburgh economy<sup>47</sup>, Lord Sempill's company folded with losses of £516,000 and debts of more than £675,000 – much to the dismay of the Scottish taxpayer who was asked to pick up the bills.<sup>48</sup> A legal enquiry was launched to establish how an event that received considerable sums of public funding was able to fail so spectacularly.<sup>49</sup> After all, each adult visitor had paid £15 per day to enter the festival grounds, and several thousands of Clansmen and –women had bought passports for up to £110 each to be allowed to march in the Clan Parade on the Royal Mile (notably a public street).<sup>50</sup>

The 2009 Clan Gathering was not the first event of its kind in Scotland. In 1977, the Scottish Tourist Board (now *VisitScotland*) held an 'International Clan Gathering' from 30 April to 14 May. The event series began with a ceremony at Meadowbank Stadium and ended with a Highland Ball at the Assembly Rooms; Highland Games and pipe band competitions were among the main attractions.<sup>51</sup> The 1977 Gathering did well in attracting the diaspora – even if Clan chief Struan Robertson from Jamaica had failed to show up, 'possibly to avoid the risk of meeting the Duke of Montrose, a Rhodesian ultra – and, it turned out, a prohibited immigrant – who might have started a new clan feud confronted with a chieftain more Roots than hoots'.<sup>52</sup> The Scottish public, however, reportedly found it difficult to embrace the event. A journalist with *The Spectator* called the Gathering a 'highly contentious charade', especially the haggis-tossing competition which 'patronised the Scots, wasted food, and removed all remaining connection between the gathering and reality'.<sup>53</sup>

A much larger celebration than the 1977 Gathering was held in 1951, when Edinburgh's main contribution to the year-long patriotic Festival of Britain consisted of a three-day-event called 'The Gathering of the Clans' (16 to 19 August). The event seems to have drawn close to 50 000 attendants, and activities included a 'grand Ceilidh' at Usher Hall, a Highland Ball, and a march of massed pipe and drum bands down Princes Street towards Murrayfield Stadium. The 1951 Gathering also featured several Clan tents, and it has been argued that the 'tented field' so popular at Clan Gatherings in North America has its origins in Edinburgh, not the U.S.<sup>54</sup> The 1951 event had a clear international focus and aimed at bringing together 'clansmen from all parts of the world'.<sup>55</sup> Referring to the Edinburgh Tattoo and the 1951 Gathering, the Highland newspaper *Clarion of Skye* reported: 'There have been great

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<sup>47</sup> *The Gathering: Economic Impact Report*, published Ekos Ltd., Glasgow (September 2010).

<sup>48</sup> David Leask, 'Clan Gathering Firm collapses as Taxpayer Rescue is ruled out', *The Scotsman* (28 January 2010). Brian Ferguson, 'Taxpayers left facing huge bill for Gathering compensation claims', *The Scotsman* (26 June 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Brian Ferguson, 'Inquiry into how Taxpayers' Money was swallowed by Clan Gathering', *The Scotsman* (27 October 2009). Christopher Mackie, 'Call for Gathering's Debts Inquiry', *The Scotsman* (30 March 2010)

<sup>50</sup> Adults paid £15 per day or £27 for the two days at Holyrood Park. Concession tickets cost £10 or £18.

<sup>51</sup> *International Gathering of the Clans Souvenir Brochure* (1977), held at the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>52</sup> Colin Bell, 'White Knees Week', *The Spectator* (21 May 1977): 13.

<sup>53</sup> Bell, 'White Knees Week', 13.

<sup>54</sup> Munro, 'Clan Societies', 93.

<sup>55</sup> *The Gathering of the Clans*, leaflet (1951), held at the National Library of Scotland.

Highland stirrings in the Capital lately ... the Highlands are taking a firmer grip than ever on the imagination, not only of Edinburgh people, but also of their many visitors from abroad.<sup>56</sup>

#### [9.4: Poster: The Gathering of the Clans, Edinburgh, 1951]

The Clan Gatherings of 1951, 1977, and 2009 turned Edinburgh into a Highland place. The Scottish dreamscape – complete with bagpipes, kilts, Clans, and Highland Games – came alive in designated, fenced-off areas of the Scottish capital. Expectations were met with a ‘staging’ of Highland fantasies<sup>57</sup>, a simulation of Scotland the dream in Scotland the place. The organisers of the 2009 Gathering ‘played Highlander’ for an international audience and set up a ‘hyperreal’ Scotland, a Potemkin Scotland.<sup>58</sup> Such simulations have been undertaken in Scotland at least since Sir Walter Scott hosted the Edinburgh reception of King George IV in 1822 (see Chapter 3).<sup>59</sup> There is a tradition of self-enchantment in Scotland.

### The reality of Clanship

Scotland is in no way unique in catering to touristic expectations. Playing yourself for the tourists is an established economic strategy. In Bali, performing for tourists is a major economic sector.<sup>60</sup> In Russia, impersonators of Lenin and Stalin earn their living by looking like Russia’s cliché on Moscow’s Red Square, while vendors (usually from Central Asia) sell felt hats with larger than life red communist stars more than 20 years after the fall of the Soviet Union. In Switzerland, the Zurich airport train which takes passengers from the gates to the high tech arrival lounges goes past a digital alpine landscape while the sound of cowbells and yodelling comes through hidden speakers. Such adaptation to the international stereotype has been called ‘self-orientalism’ (after Edward Said’s Orientalism).<sup>61</sup>

This said, the 2009 *Gathering* in Edinburgh was more than a mere simulation of the Highland myth. Amongst other things, the event was an assembly of ‘real’ Scottish Clan chiefs. It was officially supported by the Standing Council of Scottish Clan Chiefs, which is no fantastical re-enactment club but an Edinburgh-based association of hereditary title holders (of which the

<sup>56</sup> A.B.G.D., ‘Notes from Edinburgh’ *The Clarion of Skye* 9 (October 1951), 6.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Staged authenticity’ is an expression coined by Dean MacCannell who uses Erving Goffman’s division of social space into ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions to interpret the touristic experience. The front region is where locals meet their guests, while the back region is where they lead their everyday lives. If authenticity is ‘staged’, tourists are made to believe that they experience ‘authentic’ life in the back region – while actually the locals perform for them. Dean MacCannell, ‘Staged Authenticity. Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings’, *American Journal of Sociology* 79.3 (1973): 589-603.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Hyperreality’ denotes real-life simulations of myth and fiction. The concept was popularised in the 1970s by Umberto Eco who observed how fictional characters come ‘alive’ as wax figures in North American museums. ‘Hyperreal’ simulations have also been discussed by Jacques Baudrillard who defined them as ‘models of a real without origin or reality’. Hyperreal simulations thus may be understood to appear ‘more real’ than the originals ever were. Umberto Eco, *Travels In Hyperreality*, trans. W. Weaver (New York: Harcourt, 1986, orig. 1975), 35-99. Jacques Baudrillard, ‘Simulacra and Simulations’, in his *Selected Writings*, ed. M. Poster (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988, orig. 1981), 166-184.

<sup>59</sup> Cairns Craig, ‘Scott’s Staging of the Nation’, *Studies in Romanticism* 40:1 (Spring 2001): 13-29. David McCrone et al., *Scotland – the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995), 51f.

<sup>60</sup> Shiva Rijal, *Performing for Tourists. Redefining Performances, Performers and Audiences* (Delhi: D.K. Print, 2010). John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage: 1994).

<sup>61</sup> See Kader Konuk, ‘Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’, *Criticism* 46:3 (Summer 2004): 393ff.

Lord Sempill is a member).<sup>62</sup> The Clans exist. Whoever came to Edinburgh in July 2009 to witness the 'real' Clans of Scotland could not have been disappointed.

The original Highland Clans have ceased to be vital social systems in the eighteenth century. Their rightful chiefs, however, are still around. The Lord Lyon, King of Arms of Scotland and appointed by her Majesty the Queen, holds the Lyon Court in Edinburgh to decide over claims for chiefdom and all heraldic matters. The title of a Clan chief is bestowed to descendants of the last known Clan chief, and decisions are made on the basis of genealogical documentation. In the past decades, the Lord Lyon has been very busy. The international interest in Scottish Clans and Clan chiefs has made more claimants seek his recognition. The Lord Lyon writes: 'The revival of interest in Scottish ancestry over the last 50 years has encouraged many clans and families, who had not previously done so, to look for a leader.'<sup>63</sup> By 2010, the hereditary title of a Clan chief has been granted to about 160 men (and a handful of women), not all of them resident in Scotland.

#### [9.5: Lord Lyon and officers, Lyon Court, Edinburgh, 2009]

Many chiefs now ponder what their responsibilities might be in the twenty first century. Lorne Gillean Iain Maclaine, chief of Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie and a PR-entrepreneur in Natal, South Africa, says:

I ask myself as a Clan chief: what is my function? ... It's a willingness, I think, to foster kinship amongst individuals of multiple nationalities who love knowing who their great-great-granddad was and what their history was. I wish somebody had published a book of behaviour for Clan chiefs because it would make life an awful lot easier. But they haven't. So you freewheel and you do your best possible thing for a group of people who are on holiday, who get to see their Clan, and go home and say to their friends, brothers, cousins and uncles: we had a great time.<sup>64</sup>

The MacDonalds of Sleat held a symposium on the Isle of Skye in 2009 to discuss the relevance of Clanship today with selected members of the public.<sup>65</sup> But no matter what the results of such discussions, few Clan chiefs doubt that their main following is located outwith Scotland. 'Like many of the Clan societies we find our real strength is America, Australia, New Zealand', said the Earl of Erroll, chief of the Clan Hay at *The Gathering* in 2009.<sup>66</sup>

In Scotland, many people see the chiefs not as authoritative father figures but as an irritating survival from a feudal age, posh landowners with educated accents who still own half the country due to the lack of land reform. They are also still scorned for the Highland Clearances, the eviction of crofters and kinsmen from the Clan lands in the nineteenth century by which their ancestors made room for more lucrative sheep.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The Standing Council of Scottish Clan Chiefs was established on 25 March 1952, only months after the 1951 Edinburgh Clan Gathering. See [<http://www.clanchiefs.org/>] (27 Dec 2010).

<sup>63</sup> [<http://www.lyon-court.com/>] (2 Dec 2010).

<sup>64</sup> Interview L.G.I. Maclaine, Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie, Scotland (25 July 2009).

<sup>65</sup> *Clan Conversations – Comhraidhean Chlann Domhnaill*, workshop hosted by Clan Donald of Sleat, Armadale Castle, Skye, Scotland (October 2009).

<sup>66</sup> The Earl of Erroll to Scotland.tv (July 2009), accessed via [<http://scotland.stv.tv/the-gathering/>] (27 Dec 2010).

<sup>67</sup> On the Highland Clearances, see Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, 188-200. TM Devine, 'The Highland Clearances', in *New Directions in Economic and Social History*, eds. A. Digby & C. Feinstein (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 35-48. Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances. Peoples, Landlords, and Rural Turmoil*

In the 'diaspora', however, the Clan chiefs are venerated as tribal leaders. Self-professed Scots on both sides of the Atlantic embrace Clanship as a zone of living Highlandism. In the Clans, their vision of heroic Scottish history becomes alive. Among the Scots of Europe, many playactors try to connect with the Scottish Clan societies. They make their choice by creating intricate mythologies of kinship. Mr Albrecht Kurbjuhn, a hotel manager from Mecklenburg in North-Eastern Germany, contacted Clan MacLeod in Scotland because he felt there were heraldic and tribal links between the Western Isles and Eastern Germany:

We went to Scotland and travelled the country ... [And then we] found out that there exists one specific Clan whose symbols are very similar to those of Mecklenburg, with the bull's head and the colours as found in the tartan of the MacLeods of Harris. That is how we decided to get in touch with Clan MacLeod in order to be able to move deeper into Scottish society [Gesellschaft]. ... That's what made us pack a Mecklenburg flag and travel to the seat of the MacLeods at Dunvegan castle, to tell them about us and to present them with a perhaps daring theory, namely that the same Nordic tribes which had settled in North-Western Scotland had also travelled onwards into the South-East and settled in Mecklenburg and brought their symbols to both areas. And as the MacLeods saw the Mecklenburg flag at Dunvegan, they somehow felt instantly related [verbunden] to us, and that feeling was mutual. Even if at that point no one of our little group had any, let us say, known familial relationship to Clan MacLeod.<sup>68</sup>

In the past years, the 'Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland' has become a strong German Clan society whose members joined *Homecoming Scotland* in July 2009, attended the official Clan dinner in Edinburgh, and marched in the Clan Parade.

[9.6: Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland, Clan Parade, Edinburgh, 2009]

## European Clansmen

The MacLeods of Germany are one of at least 20 Scottish Clan societies on the European continent. There are organisations in France representing Clan Maclean, Clan Mackenzie, and Clan MacLeod.<sup>69</sup> There are 'officially recognised' branches of Clan Donald, Clan Mackenzie, Clan Gregor, Clan Maclaren, Clan Mackay, and Clan MacLeod in Germany.<sup>70</sup> In Sweden, one

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(Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000). Michael Fry, *Wild Scots. Four Hundred Years of Highland History* (London: John Murray, 2005).

<sup>68</sup> 'Wir sind nach Schottland gefahren und haben dieses Land bereist. ... [Und dann haben wir] herausgefunden, dass es einen spezifischen Clan gibt, dessen Symbolik der Mecklenburgs sehr ähnlich ist, mit dem Ochsenkopf und den Farben, die im Tartan der MacLeods of Harris wiederzufinden sind. So war die Idee geboren, um tiefer in die schottische Gesellschaft einsteigen zu können, den Kontakt mit diesem Clan MacLeod aufzunehmen. ... [Das] hat uns dazu bewogen, eine Mecklenburgern Flagge einzupacken und an den Sitz der MacLeods zu reisen nach Schloss Dunvegan, um ihnen von uns zu erzählen und eine vielleicht verwegene Vermutung ihnen gegenüber auszusprechen, nämlich dass die gleichen nordischen Stämme einerseits Nordwest-Schottland besiedelt haben und andererseits Richtung Südosten nach Mecklenburg gefahren sind und ihre Symbolik in beide Bereiche mitgenommen haben. Und als die MacLeods unsere Mecklenburger Flagge auf Dunvegan sahen, fühlten sie sich sofort irgendwie mit uns verbunden, und das beruhte auf Gegenseitigkeit. Obwohl in dem Moment keiner von dieser kleinen Gruppe bewusst eine, ich sag mal, familiäre Beziehung zu Clan MacLeod hatte.' Interview Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland (24 July 2009).

<sup>69</sup> [<http://mackenziefrance.site.voila.fr/>]; [<http://www.maclean.org/maclean-associations/>]; [<http://www.clanMacLeod.org/national-link/france>] (10 Oct 2010)

<sup>70</sup> [<http://www.clandonaldeurope.org/>]; [<http://www.clan-mackenzie.de/>]; [[www.clan-gregor-germany.de](http://www.clan-gregor-germany.de/)]; [<http://www.clanmaclaren.de/>]; [<http://www.clanmackay-germany.de/>]; [[www.clan-MacLeod.de](http://www.clan-MacLeod.de)] (10 Oct 2010).

may find Clan Murray and Clan Stuart, while in Finland, there is an official Clan Ramsay.<sup>71</sup> In the Netherlands, branches of Clan Hay, Clan Donald, Clan Ross, Clan Sutherland, and Clan Ferguson regularly appear at local Highland Games and pipe band competitions.<sup>72</sup> These continental 'Scottish' Clan societies do attract hobby genealogists who do have an actual family relation to Scotland – however, the majority of their members appear to be self-declared Scots, friends of Scotland, 'Affinity Scots'. Unsurprisingly, the lack of roots does not diminish their enthusiasm: 'These people are sometimes more Clan-minded than the real family', explains Tom Hye, the Flemish president of Clan Hay Europe.<sup>73</sup> Among the MacLeods of Germany, only 4 out of their 100 members claim ancestral links to Scotland.

The European interest in the Scottish Clans feeds back into Scotland. Scottish Clan chiefs are confronted with requests for recognition, even with visiting delegations who demand to see their chief. At the Gathering of Clan Mackenzie in Strathpeffer, Scotland, for instance, Europeans were present in substantial numbers in 2010. Delegations hailed from the U.S. and Canada, from Australia and New Zealand, from England – but also from France, Norway, Germany, and Austria. Only a handful of the c. 120 attendants were Scots who lived in Scotland. Many were no Scots at all, at least not by birth, descent, or residence. The French delegation, for example, was led by a kilted Parisian antiques dealer who entertained the vague idea that his ancestors were genealogically linked to Scottish nobility. Among the Australians there were several female tourists from Tasmania who were not of Scottish ancestry but avid readers of the American fantasy writer Diane Gabaldon's 'Scottish' novels. The Austrian Clan society was fronted by Mr Rudolf Hundsbichler, a solidly Tyrolean restaurant owner and expert in Malt Whisky who organises his own Highland Games in Leutasch. Even the long-time president of the Clan Mackenzie Society in the Americas, Mr Donald McKenzie from Pinehurst, North Carolina, conceded that among his people might be some who were Mackenzie by heart rather than root: 'For 25\$ a year, we'll make anyone a Mackenzie', he said, referring to the U.S. Clan society's annual membership fee.

### [9.7: Clan March, Strathpeffer Highland Games, August 2010]

At the Clan Gathering, hearts were just as good as roots. To be a Mackenzie was no issue of blood, but of commitment. Ancestral and self-declared Mackenzies became indistinguishable in their joint performance of Scottish Clanship. Both had chosen to celebrate Scotland instead of other possible ancestral lines or mythical nations. Both cherished a deeply Romantic image of Scotland; the Highland myth of pre-modern tribalism and warrior ethos. And both were keen to express this interest by donning a costume, singing songs, by *performing* heritage. Passion and Performance unified their Scottish playacting. John Ruaridh Grant Mackenzie, the Earl of Cromartie and chief or 'Caberfeidh' of Clan Mackenzie (a geologist in real life), was fully aware of this. The Europeans found his support:

I think it's great that there are societies in Europe. I really do. And the more the merrier. ... The Europeans have been very strong. And what's so interesting is they're not just retired people. They're actually active working people, and often they're quite young, in their 40s and 50s – and sometimes a lot younger, which is great.

<sup>71</sup> [<http://www.murrayska.se>]; [<http://www.stuartska.släktföreningen.se>]; [<http://www.geocities.com/maramsay/>] (10 Oct 2010)

<sup>72</sup> [<http://www.clandonaldeurope.org/>]; [<http://www.clan-ross.nl>]; [<http://home.hccnet.nl/m.sutherland/>]; [<http://home.planet.nl/~fergmare/>]; [<http://www.clanhay.net/europe/index.php>] (10 Oct 2010)

<sup>73</sup> Interview Tom Hye, Clan Hay, Belgium (25 July 2009).

The chief had no trouble whatsoever about the fact that dozens among his Clansmen and women were not blood-related relatives:

Do remember that, in the past, people could take the name of the Clan if they lived in the area. It is a totally flexible thing. A Clan is very much a social organisation. ... It was normal for people living in our neighbourhood to take on our name. It is not something set by blood. The nineteenth century was a very false period for the Scottish Highlands.<sup>74</sup>

Many Scottish Clan chiefs put some distance between them and the idea that it is bloodlines which hold a Clan together. Clan, they argue, is a matter of passion and commitment, and this has not been different in the Middle Ages. Lorne Gillean Iain Maclaine, chief of Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie and a PR-entrepreneur in Natal, South Africa, says:

Depending on where you lived, you associated yourself with the Clan that's up the glen. And you either liked the chief or liked the family – or you denied the family.<sup>75</sup>

The Clan chiefs deconstruct themselves. They stress that the original Clans were less kin-centred than the race-obsessed Victorian poets and ethnographers thought they were. They point out that it was nineteenth century thinking which reduced Clanship to biology. And indeed, recent scholarship has shown that kinship was but one dimension, and non-biological alliances were common.<sup>76</sup> To have a Clan bound by common interests rather than blood is no breach with tradition. The Clans may be a home for roleplayers and genealogists. All Clansmen and –women must show affinity in order to become active members.

Aspects of the Scottish dreamscape do exist in Scotland. They have entered Scottish national culture and everyday life. Scotland today has zones of living Highlandism, ranging from the Edinburgh Military Tattoo (established 1947) to the Scottish Tartan Authority (1996), and from the kilt-wearing men at Scottish weddings to the Highland Games at Braemar (1832). Leon Thompson of *EventScotland* insists that Highlandism does exist in Scotland, that tourists may actually find their neverland: '[the tourists] can come to Scotland and they can experience that [kilts, tartan, bagpipes], because it does exist to some extent ....'<sup>77</sup> The anthropologist Paul Basu suggests that Highlandism does not need to be abandoned by tourists, only 'refined', so that it can become a more 'authentic' Highlandism which is more congruent with reality.<sup>78</sup> If these traditions were 'invented' at some point, they have since been 'naturalised'.<sup>79</sup>

These zones hold authority over international imitations. A bagpipe competition in Flanders will gain in respectability if it is judged by a Scottish referee from the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Society. People register their home-made tartans not anywhere in the world, but with

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<sup>74</sup> Interview Earl of Cromartie, Clan Mackenzie (28 January 2010).

<sup>75</sup> Interview L.G.I. Maclaine, Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie (25 July 2009).

<sup>76</sup> 'Clann might also be used in a wider and looser sense to embrace individuals and groups who were affiliated to the kindred, although not of blood...' Martin MacGregor, 'Clans of the Highlands and Islands: to 1609', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 94. '... while clearly important, kinship was but one element within what was a multifaceted form of social organization.' Andrew MacKillop, 'Clans of the Highlands and Islands: 1610 and onwards', in *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, 95.

<sup>77</sup> Interview Leon Thompson, *EventScotland* (15 May 2009)

<sup>78</sup> Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, 69-71.

<sup>79</sup> Hans-Rudolf Wicker, 'Introduction. Theorizing Ethnicity and Nationalism', in *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity. The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*, ed. H. Wicker (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 1-42.

the Scottish Tartan's Authority in Crieff or one of its Scottish competitors.<sup>80</sup> The organisers of the Grandfather Mountain Games applied for a crest of arms with the Lord Lyon, heraldic officer to her majesty in Scotland. And Clan MacBubba from North Carolina and Clan MacDuibhne from Bavaria, two kilted fantasy Clans which never existed historically, decided to travel to Edinburgh for the year of *Homecoming*, in 2009. The fact that Scotland *exists* gives the Scottish dreamscape much of its weight. It means to opt into a heritage and tradition that is rooted in real time and place.

In their happiest moments then, imitators of Scotland are mistaken for 'real' Scots by the Scots themselves, for representatives of Scotland's living Highlandism. After his initial disappointment, re-enactor Helmut Huck of Germany was a happy man when a 'real' Scotsman at the tourist information desk mistook him for a true Highlander:

Then I asked the steward at the Tourist Information. He had given me strange looks for some time. And I thought, what's the matter, is it because I wear the kilt? And so I just went and asked him. And he said, well, they wear the kilt as well, but only for special occasions. He asked where I was from, and I told him: Kempen, Germany. And he said: Before you started to speak I thought that you were a tourist from the north, because there they really do walk around [dressed] like that.<sup>81</sup>

### 9.3 The Gathering of the Clans

When the Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums marched into the Clan Village, they caused excitement. The musicians' bright red and green tartans made many clansmen and –women look down at their own kilts or sashes and consider a change of Clan. The band members also wore khaki military jackets instead of standard black kilt jackets, which gave them an even more explicit martial air. The 13 players, 2 of them female, marched with great precision and drill to the small tent of Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie. There, chief Lorne Gillean Iain Maclaine and his son, Angus, the Tanist or 'the younger Maclaine', welcomed their band.

#### [9.8: The Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums, The Gathering, 2009]

The Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums were founded in September 1990 in the Dutch town of Rijswijk. None of the members have any Scottish roots whatsoever. The group's founder was a Dutchman named Marc Huiberts who had played with the *Hoogse Highlanders*, the Highlanders of The Hague, in the 1980s and then wanted his own band. The *Hoogse Highlanders* were one of the first 'Scottish' pipe bands in Holland, that they started

<sup>80</sup> See the competing *Scottish Tartan Authority* and *Scottish Tartans World Register*, [<http://www.tartansauthority.com/>] and [<http://www.scottish-tartans-world-register.com/>]. In February 2009, the National Archives of Scotland introduced their own register, The Scottish Register of Tartans [<http://www.tartanregister.gov.uk/index.aspx>] (26 Dec 2010).

<sup>81</sup> 'Dann hab ich an der Tourist Information den Steward da gefragt – der hatte mich die ganze Zeit schon so komisch angesehen. Und ich hab gedacht, was ist den jetzt, liegt das daran, dass ich den Kilt trage? Und da hab ich ihn einfach mal gefragt. Und dann hat er gemeint, tja, sie tragen den Kilt auch, aber nur zu speziellen Anlässen und so. Hat gefragt, wo ich denn herkäme, und ich gemeint Kempen, Germany. Und dann sagt er: Bevor du den Mund aufgemacht hast, hätt ich eigentlich gedacht Du bist ein Tourist aus dem Norden, weil da laufen sie wieder so rum.' Interview Clan MacConn of Drumfinnan, Germany (12 Sept 2010).

as a youth orchestra in the 1950s, very much under the impression of World War II and the Scottish soldiers which had liberated many Dutch towns from the Nazis.<sup>82</sup>

A Dutch band was never discussed – simply because there was no Dutch culture to play with. Consider the statement of Onno Huiberts, the Red Rose's current pipe major:

Question: Were you ever interested in Dutch folklore, in having a Dutch band?

Reply: You know, this country [the Netherlands] was formed by water and mud which came together over the centuries and swept people from everywhere together. There is no such thing as a Dutch national culture.<sup>83</sup>

Because there is no such thing as Dutch national culture, he had to adopt Scottish culture. When Marc and Onno Huiberts, two men in their late 20s, founded The Red Rose of Lochbuie, they needed kilts. They came across some second hand, Dutch-made items which, according to Onno Huiberts, were more like tartan skirts. The tartan pattern was that of the Maclaines of Lochbuie. The musicians found that out by consulting books, this being years before the internet. When they replaced the skirts with proper kilts ordered from Scotland some two years into their career, they had become 'attached' to the tartan. They decided to ask the Clan chief for permission to continue using it. Here is what Onno Huiberts, a funeral director in real life, recalls about his search for the Clan chief:

We felt that we should get permission by the Clan chief, so I began to track the man down. I did not know too much about Clans and the chief then, but I thought of him as an authority, someone far away, someone high up. I still think of him as an authority. In 1992 I received information that the chief was based in South Africa. I then found him with an advertisement placed in a newspaper. We wrote a letter stating that we are a pipe band from the Netherlands. We asked quite simply whether he would mind us wearing his tartan. We waited for several weeks, then the reply came. The chief wrote that although technically only members of the Clan were entitled to wear the colours, he realised that history is changing and that we can be part of that history by wearing this tartan. So we wore his tartan ever since.<sup>84</sup>

Notably, the Scottish Clan chief is a figure of authority for these Dutch kilt wearers and bagpipers. The musicians care about the chief's opinion and blessing. Since 1997, the Red Rose can call themselves 'the officially recognised Pipe Band of Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie'. Because Scotland the place has zones of living Highlandism it retains some authority over the Scottish dreamscape. In this case, however, the man of authority does not reside in a Scottish castle overlooking the sound of Mull, but in Natal, South Africa – interestingly a place which has its very own historical connections to the Netherlands, the home of the bagpipers. The authoritative 'real' Scotland may be as global an affair as the performative enthusiasm that seeks its blessing.

The Clan chief demonstrates a progressive understanding of Clan and kinship with his insight that 'history is changing' and that Clan tradition may be shared. Here is what the chief himself remembers of the early transcontinental communication with his Dutch pipers:

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<sup>82</sup> See also Mats d' Hermansson, *From Icon to Identity. Scottish Piping and Drumming in Scandinavia* (Göteborg: Göteborg UP, 2003).

<sup>83</sup> Interview Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums, Netherlands (4 March 2010).

<sup>84</sup> Interview Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums (4 March 2010).



Then back some 30 odd years I got a letter, saying: May we use your tartan? To which I asked: Who are you, what are you about. And they came back, and... maybe I was a soft touch but I said fine, that's a great idea. And they then have built themselves up into a proficient band.<sup>85</sup>

In the Clan chief's memory, the moment of first contact lies further back than is actually the case; the band was founded in 1990. The chief stresses that it was the right decision to give a Dutch band his Clan colours as the Red Rose have now become a proficient band. Their appearance at *The Gathering* certainly confirms that the Red Rose are by no means amateurs. The chief seems to see passion and commitment (rather than bloodlines and genealogies) as the criteria for being good Clansmen and –women.

### [9.9: The Red Rose of Lochbuie and their chief, *The Gathering*, 2009]

For the Dutch musicians, their identification with the Scottish dreamscape made a *Homecoming* possible. The Red Rose of Lochbuie's trip to Edinburgh was a great success. They had gone abroad for the first time in their career. 18 years after the first letters were exchanged, the Dutch pipers met their South African chief. Passionate performers of Scotland both, the pipe major and his chief shook hands in Edinburgh's Holyrood Park. The meeting was emotional. Mr Huiberts reports:

The Clan Parade is probably the strongest memory. We played walking up the Royal Mile, leading our Clan chief up to Edinburgh Castle. I guess we all had a feeling of pride. Maybe that's silly.

But it was not silly at all. The pride of his pipe band humbled the chief, as he walked tall and happy up the Royal Mile. He explains:

They are not playing for an audience, they're playing for a Clan. And I think that's what they're doing. I am humbled. That's the only word that suits for the guys. I am deeply, deeply humbled by what they do.<sup>86</sup>

The patriotic *Homecoming* motto – 'to create pride in the Scots' – seems to have been significantly improved: 'let Scotland make you proud' – whoever you may be.

## Conclusion Chapter 9

Scotland exists. Unlike other pseudo-historical counter-worlds, the Scottish dreamscape claims to be a real nation's culture and identity. To play Scotsmen is not just an exercise in carnival. This heightens Scotland's attraction.

At the beginning of the twenty first century, Scotland the place takes an active interest in the many thousands of men and women who engage in Scottish activity throughout the world. The Scottish Government attempts to profit from the Scottish 'diaspora'. The *Homecoming Scotland* campaign of 2009 was one of several efforts which invite the 'diaspora' to return home, temporarily, as tourists and investors. However, Scottish diaspora marketers face

<sup>85</sup> Interview L.G.I. Maclaine, Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie (25 July 2009).

<sup>86</sup> Interview L.G.I. Maclaine, Clan Maclaine of Lochbuie (25 July 2009).

issues of entitlement and congruency when addressing the worldwide wannabe Scots. To solve the first problem, Scottish marketing experts introduced a new concept for enthusiasts *without* documented roots in Scotland; 'Affinity Scots'. The creation of this concept indicates that the official Scotland has begun to realise that much of the international Scottish activity is not a result of Scottish emigration but one of enthusiasm for kilts, Clans, and bagpipes. This is the second problem; modern Scotland does not resemble the Highland mythology which the diaspora (roots or not) cherishes. To increase congruency, Scotland simulates the Scottish dreamscape. There is a tradition of catering to Highland expectations in Scotland, of building Potemkin Scotlands, which may be traced back to the early nineteenth century. Often, such simulations take the form of Clan gatherings. *The Gathering* (2009), the *Homecoming Scotland* campaign's centrepiece event in Edinburgh, had several precursors.

This said, Clanship is not a mere invention. The Clans – although extinct as a form of political and social organisation – have been revived in Scotland throughout the past 200 years. The world of Clanship exists. The invented tradition has been naturalised. Clan chiefs do hold titles and represent their Clans. With their Scottish performances, they become figures of authority and cardinal interest to the international scene of Scottish playactors. Many Clan chiefs are approached by the Scots of Europe, and some of these encounters change the ways they see Clanship and Scottishness.



## Chapter 10

### WHO'S LIKE US? SCOTLAND AS A SITE OF MEMORY

The previous chapters examined the many ways in which adult Europeans celebrate and impersonate the Scots. It emerged that many of them hope that via Scotland, they can re-connect with their own lost history. Chapter 10 examines the reasons for the Scottish dreamscape's resonance in Northern and Western Europe. Why do the continental history enthusiasts direct their playful energy towards the Scottish dreamscape, and not to any other pseudo-historical fantasy? Why Scotland?

One reason, to be sure, is the Scottish dreamscape's remarkable global spread which was examined in Chapter 4. Few European images are as globally rehearsed and familiar as that of the kilted Scotsman. Continental memory enthusiasts found a readily available European mythology in the Scottish dreamscape. And yet, there is more to Scotland's success in the European memory boom. This chapter argues that the Scotland of popular imagination is 'charged' with four recurring themes. These themes have a particular resonance in Northern and Western Europe at the beginning of the twenty first century. They are themes of tradition, resistance, victimhood, and masculinity.

#### 10.1 Northern Soul: Ersatz Ancestors

As examined in Chapter 2, European proponents of the memory boom face several problems when attempting to root their identities in local history. It may emerge that their past and its traditions are either lost, unknown, not taught at school, or that they are boring, lacking the songs, legends, and costumes which would make their celebration exciting. Many Scots of Europe have tried to embrace their more obvious roots but were disappointed:

The problem with Dutch old music is that it is a little boring. It is dull, it does not have the spirit and the melody of the Scottish folk songs. (Mirjam, Sassenachs Warpipes & Drums, Netherlands)

Either we are blind or it is gone. There are old buildings, but...The Dutch have a snack bar in every old castle (Jan & Marjke, Leersum, Netherlands)

You know, this country [the Netherlands] was formed by water and mud which came together over the centuries and swept people from everywhere together. There is no such thing as a Dutch national culture. (Onno, Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes and Drums, Netherlands)

People want a bit of action – nothing that the Germans could offer them. We don't have anything comparable. (Klaus, Rhine Area Pipe Band, Germany)<sup>1</sup>

#### [10.1: Jan & Marjke, Netherlands]

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<sup>1</sup> Interview Sassenachs Pipes & Drums (9 May 2009). Interview Onno Huiberts, Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums (4 March 2010). Fieldwork Keltfest (May 2009). 'Die Leute wollten ein bisschen Action haben – was die Deutschen nicht bieten können. Wir haben nichts Vergleichliches.' Interview Klaus Glocksins, Rhine Area Pipe Band (14 August 2010).

The Scots, on the other hand, offer an exciting past. There seems to be some agreement among the Scots of Europe as to how an old European people with a distinctive 'national culture' should look like, how their tunes should sound, and how their historical sites should be preserved and presented. Apparently, the Scots do it right.

Thankfully, this is no reason for envy, but for adoption. The Scots are appropriated as *ersatz* ancestors. The Scots of Europe create elaborate mythologies of kinship by which they turn the Scots into relatives. They are convinced that some of their ancestors' Celtic, Nordic, and even mountain traditions have survived in Scotland, beyond Hadrian's Wall. They believe they recognise something of their own lost heritage in the musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions of Scotland – a world that used to be theirs, too. They regard the Scots as guardians of a European past, a past that became lost, cleaned up, or complicated elsewhere. By imitating the Scots they hope to be able to tap into their own lost history:

We have this feeling, this connection with the music. We feel that the same blood runs in our veins. We know that the Dutch music which *did* survive somehow was almost the same kind of music as Irish and Scottish music, the same rhythms, the same kind of melodies, and the same feeling to it. But it died out somehow, you have to dig it up again. (Maceál, founding member kilted folk band Rapalje (Rascals), established 1995, Netherlands)

To me it is a Celtic feeling I carried all my life. The first foot I placed in Scotland gave me the answer for what I was feeling all the time. (François, Spirit of Scotland, mobile exhibition and information centre, est. 2005, Flanders, Belgium)

Many people don't know this, but our traditional carnival marches brim with Celtic melodies. (Gerard, founding member Pipes & Drums of Basel, est. 1978, Switzerland)<sup>2</sup>

Scotland preserved what was lost elsewhere. The Europeans hear the bagpipes of their own ancestral shepherds and mercenaries in the drone of the Great Highland Bagpipe, and they detect their forebears' raw feats of strength in the caber toss and stone throw at Scottish Highland Games. The Scots of Europe use Scotland to revive a half-remembered and half-imagined past. Albrecht Kurbjuhn, president of the Clan MacLeod Society Germany, explains during the 2009 Gathering in Edinburgh that through his Scottish activity he hopes to recover a tribal past:

The Germanic peoples had tribes (*Stämme*) as well ... And it [the Clan system] is still very much alive here in Scotland. Whereas in Germany, and perhaps there are specific reasons for that, the Clan system has been lost. So perhaps one searches for a substitute (*Ersatz*) now, pleased that the Scottish Clans welcome us as German friends.<sup>3</sup>

The German MacLeods have set up a Scottish clan because the Germans apparently lost their own tribes – perhaps for 'specific reasons', as the informant notes. Another problem faced by some Europeans when searching for roots is that their national or regional memory is claimed by the wrong people. They may live in an area of Europe where the celebration of local heritage is a political statement. Their history and legends may have been tarnished in the past by political misuse. Germanic mythology and symbolism are still widely associated with Nazi terror in Germany and therefore unacceptable for play in most contexts. Germanic

<sup>2</sup> Interview Maceál, Rapalje (9 May 2009). Questionnaire Spirit of Scotland, *The Scots of Europe Survey* (2009/2010). Interview Gerard Götti, ex-PDBS and Basel Pipefest (18 July 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Interview Albrecht Kurbjuhn, Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland (25 July 2009)

runes are linked to the Waffen-SS, and their display will cause comment and sometimes legal action. This complicates the search for memory. Donnie Munro, former lead-singer of the Scottish folk rock band Runrig which was hugely successful in Western Germany in the 1980s, thinks that the German response to his Gaelic songs could have something to do with the unavailability of German history and folklore:

People in Germany appreciated to hear something modern that built upon something authentic and old. I had this confirmed by many members of the audience, who told me that they could identify with our music, and our authentic pride in our own culture. There was a time, and I hope this time is now over, when young Germans could not take pride in their own identity. This because of recent political history, of the way the Nazis had claimed the German past. It was difficult for young Germans to celebrate who they were themselves. They sensed that we played original music, they had deep passion for our sense of culture.<sup>4</sup>

The Scottish 'pride' in their culture (however 'authentic') is attractive to those who would be eager to celebrate their past but cannot retrieve it. In Munro's reading, the blocked audience recognises the sentiment, the pride, and it also recognises Scottish culture as a related genre, one that reminds of the native culture but is not laden with the same historical guilt. To have a 'Germanic tribe' would be inappropriate, says Albrecht Kurbjuhn of Clan MacLeod Germany, but to have a Scottish Clan is harmless, innocent:

Question: A Germanic 'Clan' would not have interested you?

Reply: No, the idea did not even occur to me. Because there are some unpleasant associations in our history. That was before my time, but in Nazi-Germany they started all that with Wotan and Walhalla, to rediscover the archaic roots. Here in Scotland that's no problem. But with us there is a disruption (*Bruch*) in our history which makes it very difficult for us to look for a re-connection.<sup>5</sup>

The Scots offer meaningful *ersatz*, an alternative heritage, unblemished, innocent, not cut-off by political 'disruptions'. The Scots serve as a power cell, a site of memory from which continental 'pride' may be reconstructed without guilt.

The interest in Scottish *ersatz* ancestors is particularly urgent in North-Western Europe. As has emerged in the previous chapters, the Scots of Europe are at home north of the Alps and west of the German-Polish border. No Scots are found in Southern and South-Eastern Europe, namely in Spain, Portugal, most of Italy, the Balkans, Greece, and Turkey. It appears that the German-speaking countries may encounter the most difficulties when setting out to rediscover heroic local history. But what about the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland?

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<sup>4</sup> Interview Donnie Munro, ex-Runrig (12 March 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Interview Albrecht Kurbjuhn, Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland (25 July 2010).

## 10.2 Rebel Code: Difference and resistance

According to the well-rehearsed narratives of the Scottish dreamscape, the Scots have retained what most Europeans have lost in the civilising process, during Reformation, urbanisation, and the establishment of consumer capitalism. The Scots are wild folk. Many continental playactors embrace the Scots as guardians of a savage freedom.

In terms of the dreamscape, the Scots are *tribal* people. They never walk alone, are linked to each other by Clan name and lore. They guard ancestral knowledge, their forebears' names and deeds. And they are loyal to their kin, still following their leaders in the old way, even if they serve in the British Army. Furthermore, the Scots understand the land. They are at home under the open sky, have a name for every crag and loch, know the animals which cross their path. They live with the seasons, listen to the rain. They have magic and gods, their world was not disenchanting by science and secularism. And the Scots are untamed. Norbert Elias never made them wear trousers. They retained that 'peculiar hardihood which is supposed to dispense with the most essential part of modern clothing'.<sup>6</sup> They resisted the modernist cleanse, held on to their old Gaelic tongue. They will not listen to health and safety advisers but drink too much and laugh too loud and lift their kilts whenever they feel like it. The Scots have fun. They are not politically correct. To many continental playactors, the Scots are handsome rednecks, indigenous primitives who may remind the world what life was like before Weight Watchers and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders. The Scot may serve as an example to all those who had their edges polished by the forces of modernity. In South Africa, the Fort Nottingham Highland Games in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands encouraged participants in 2010 to 'discover your inner Scotsman.'<sup>7</sup>

Thankfully, the Scots themselves invite everyone to join them. At every continental festival the author attended, he asked the Scots of Europe to characterise the Scots in a few words. 'Hospitable' was among the top three adjectives, next to 'strong' and 'traditional':

Warm-hearted and friendly. You will come as a stranger – you will go as a friend! (Markus, Clan Mackenzie Society, Germany)

The people there are open, not closed like here. (Erik, Coevorden, Netherlands)

To have a Scottish friend is unique. We in Switzerland have forgotten what hospitality means. We send our guests to the next hotel. But in Scotland they will really empty their house for you. It's impressive. (Gerard, ex- Pipes & Drums of Basel, Switzerland)

A friendly people, very hospitable. This is something we want to present [in our re-enactment camp], we are an open camp, everyone is welcome. I guess that this acted display of the gruff Highlander may be some kind of protective shield to protect the soft core of the Scot. (McCandy, Clans of Caledonia, Germany)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "The City of Bruges" – we are not quoting...', *The Times* (21 Sept 1855): 6.

<sup>7</sup> [<http://www.fortnottinghamhighlandgames.com/>] (20 March 2011)

<sup>8</sup> Questionnaire Clan Mackenzie Society Germany. Fieldwork Keltfest, Netherlands (May 2009). 'Wenn man wirklich mal eine schottische Freundschaft pflegt, das ist einmalig. Wir in der Schweiz haben vergessen, was Gastfreundschaft ist, schicken die Leute ins Hotel. In Schottland räumen sie einem wirklich das Haus aus. Beeindruckend.' Interview Gerard Götti, ex-PDBS (18 July 2009). 'Ein herzliches Volk, sehr gastfreundlich. Was wir auch unbedingt darstellen wollen, wir sind ein gastfreundliches Lager, da ist jeder willkommen. Ich denk mal,

The Scots are amiable, friendly, soft and warm underneath the warrior skin. They agree to be a home and example to anyone who has lost his own traditions. 'Homecoming Scotland' needed no Government invention, it was already an established mythology.

Thanks to their resistance to the forces of modernisation, the Scots allegedly retained their distinctiveness, their original identity. A Scots-authored guidebook to Scotland and its people notes that the Scots are 'different. Not better than anyone else, certainly not worse, but definitely not to be confused with any other nation.'<sup>9</sup> This view is shared by the Scots of Europe. The continental playactors often argue that it is the high degree of Scottish difference and nonconformity which inspires them to imitate the Scots. Paradoxically, some Europeans even claim to dress up as Scots to underscore their own uniqueness and difference. At the 2009 Keltfest in Dordrecht, Netherlands, the author asked some 50 playactors to explain why it was Scotland and not someplace else that inspired them. More than half replied that the Scots were close to their heart because they were non-mainstream, a bit crazy, different – just like themselves:

I use the kilt to express myself. It shows that I don't care what other people say about me. It stands for my freedom. (John, Osterhout)

Being a little different is okay. (Margreth, near Rotterdam)

I put the Scottish dress on when I am in a crazy mood. (Jules, near Amsterdam)

My friends think I am mad to walk around in a kilt. I like it because it is tough looking, and not every guy can get away with wearing a kilt. (Rob, near Dordrecht)

It suits me. I am a Dutch lunatic. (Cor, Rotterdam)

### [10.2: Cor de Jong & family, Netherlands]

Apparently, being a Scot is not something one acquires by birth or legal documents, but a state of mind. The Scottish masquerade underscores an inner difference, and it conveys a license to follow its call, to forget the restraints of modern society and to let the inner Highlander loose:

It is the only environment where it is completely accepted to wear a 'skirt' as a man and nobody complains about the 110dB+ of your beloved musical instrument. (John, The 48th Highlanders of Holland Pipes & Drums, Netherlands)<sup>10</sup>

Unmistakably, Scottish masquerade offers a way of relaxation, a safety valve, a place to escape from social pressure and critical observation and to let off steam and noise. As examined in Chapter 2, this is one of the prime functions of carnival and celebration. Quite clearly, the masquerade is a temporary outburst and essentially harmless; the piper quoted above insinuates that it would trouble him should his behaviour be judged unacceptable.

Scottish playacting – as sociable as it is, as much governed by bands, clans, teams, and regiments – is an activity for individualists. Never would the Scots of Europe consider their

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dass die gespielte Darstellung des rauen Highlanders auch so eine Art Schutzschale ist um den weichen Kern der Schotten.' Interview McCandy, Clans of Caledonia (19 Sept 2009).

<sup>9</sup> David Ross, *The Xenophobe's Guide to the Scots* (London: Oval, 1999), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Questionnaire John Fundter, The 48th Highlanders of Holland.



hobby a mainstream activity. The more dedicated playacting veterans observe the Scottish boom of the past two decades with the scepticism of all true aficionados. No one wants the bloody stamp collectors to turn up in kilts as well.

It has been observed that we live in highly individualist times in which the presentation of the self constitutes a life-long task and responsibility.<sup>11</sup> In curriculum vitae, fashion choices, and social network profiles, we create an image of ourselves and strive for its originality and recognition value. Being different is an essential asset in this competitive individuality. It appears that the Scotsman with his instantly recognisable cultural symbols and his alleged tradition of armed distinctiveness can become a marker of individuality. Playing Scotsmen is not just a flight from the dullness and social constraint of everyday life, but also a strategy of originality. With his untamed distinctiveness, the Scotsman (like the Native American before him) also appeals to the pioneers of individualism, the representatives of a once rebellious but now mainstream-absorbed counterculture; the motor bikers and heavy metal rockers. Following their decade-old tradition of adopting primitive aesthetics in opposition to the establishment, rockers in the past decades increasingly combined their leather gear with kilts and saltires.<sup>12</sup> As self-styled barbarians, they understand the iconography of the Highlander instantly. Chris Boltendahl, lead-singer of the German heavy metal band Grave Digger, has recorded two albums with a Scottish theme and played the world's biggest heavy metal festival in Wacken with a full-fledged kilted pipe band (Baul Muluy from Hamburg). He sees Scotland and Heavy Metal as related:

The [Scottish] urge for freedom and independence is similarly important in heavy metal. Heavy metal is a marginal group, in the underground, a subculture. So that fits very well. (Chris, lead-singer Grave Digger, Germany)<sup>13</sup>

### [10.3: Heavy Metal Scots: Grave Digger]

The idea of Scottish victimhood and marginality will be examined in the next section. But it is clear that Scottish distinctiveness had to defend itself, again and again; that the Scots retained their original identity *despite* attempts to break them. There is a narrative of resistance and survival in the Scottish dreamscape which strikes a special chord with many contemporary Europeans:

[The Scots were] able to survive even 1000 years neighbourhood to England and Ireland. There is some truth in it, we Luxemburgers are sensitive about that. (Georges, Beltaine Festival Neihaisgen, Luxembourg)

They fight for independence. We have such people too in Holland, in Friesland, they want independence, too. I like this kind of people who fight for something. (Charles, Alblasserdam, Netherlands)

<sup>11</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self* (London: Penguin, 1990, orig. 1959). Alberto Melucci, *The Playing Self. Person and Meaning in the Planetary Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996). Wolfgang Kraus, 'Das Leben als Erzählung', *Psychologie Heute* (January 1998): 36-41.

<sup>12</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. The Hidden Transcript of Subordinate Groups* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992, orig. 1990). Manfred Schneider, *Der Barbar. Endzeitstimmung und Kulturrecycling* (München: Hanser, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> 'Dieser Drang nach Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit ist auch im Heavy Metal wichtig. Heavy Metal ist ja auch eine Randgruppe, im Untergrund, eine Subkultur. Und das passt natürlich ganz gut zusammen.' Interview Chris Boltendahl, Grave Digger (9 August 2010). See also Keith Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal. Music and Culture on the Edge* (Oxford: Berg, 2007). Suzanne McDonald-Walker, *Bikers. Culture, Politics, and Power* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

Scotland and Flanders have many things in common. The struggle for freedom, independence. We feel the same in Flanders. (Frank, Team Madness, Flanders, Belgium)

South Tyrol is a logical location for Highland Games. South Tyrol in Italy, that's very much like Scotland and England. There is a distinctive pride in both places. The Scots are a free mountain people [Bergvolk], but they are not free. (South Tyrol, Italy)

These playactors don folk costumes and revive rituals to formulate political dissent. They oppose a nation state or society which they feel does not acknowledge and represent their historical difference. Their Scottish performances appear to be a form of stealth patriotism. They appear to be playing, but in fact they make political statements. In Flanders, Highland Games teams call themselves 'Clan Flemingheart', in South Tyrol, they will be 'Red-White Wings', after the eagle and the colours of the Tyrolean flag. The innocently named Tyrolean 'Wiesenwichtel' (field gnomes) from Innsbruck in Austria consider themselves on a patriotic mission when attending the South Tyrolean Highland Games across the Italian border:

I think we chose Scotland because they fought their wars for freedom (*Freiheitskämpfe*). These were battles like we, the Tyroleans, once fought. ... Patriotism is strong in both places. We are proud of our homeland, but we are no right-wingers. Patriotism should not automatically mean something political. You do not have to be politically right if you love your country.

When asked whether their patriotism is more Tyrolean or Austrian, the answer comes right away: 'Tyrol is where we are from. We don't feel strongly about Austria.' Then why did they not form a Tyrolean club, with all the rich Tyrolean culture, music, and dress around them? 'There are so many already. And we did not want to limit ourselves. We don't have to be just one thing. We can take the best from both worlds and do our own thing.' Patriotism and an interest in the defence of local culture must not mean that its proponents cannot embrace an international, multi-optional consumer lifestyle. Why choose one thing when you can have it all? It must be possible to feel deeply about a homeland, a place where one is rooted, while at the same time feeling attached to other things.

Many continental Highland Games teams and self-professed Clans also state that their own cultures and homelands are 'a bit Scottish' in their age-old difference. Athletes and musicians use Scottish symbols to infuse and boost their own living local musical and athletic customs. They enhance their heritage with the Scottish dreamscape. In the Alps, Scottish and indigenous symbols are often combined; Tyrolean hats, Bavarian Lederhosen, Austrian wrestling, and Swiss stone throwing contests fuse with Scottish kilts, bagpipes, and Highland Games. The amalgamation imbues the existing tradition with the rebellious, heroic energy of the Scottish dreamscape. The Bavarian re-enactors of Clan McDohl reply, when asked to describe the Scots:

[The Scots are ] Like the Bavarians here in Germany: when they speak nobody else understands, when they drink nobody else can keep it up, and when they start a fight, no one will survive!<sup>14</sup>

Who's like us? Damn few and they're all dead. Except the Scots who are masters of uniqueness and who have told the world again and again that they are different and will

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<sup>14</sup> Questionnaire Clan MacDohl, Germany.

remain so. Distinctiveness is a market value among the identity archaeologists of the memory boom. They dig and dig to find that no one is like them, that they have always been different. According to the president of Schottenclique carnival club, founded 1947 in Basel, Switzerland: 'To be a Scot, with Schotteclique, is something different than being with just any carnival band. To be with Schotteclique is something special.'<sup>15</sup> To be a Scot is to be different.

#### [10.4: Scottish-Styrian Wedding, Austria, 2008]

In Brittany, several associations and festivals have sprung up at in the past years which seek to strengthen Breton difference via the import of Scottish symbols. As examined in Chapter 5, this practice has a long pedigree. Today, the *France Celtic Tartan Day* is held annually on the Breton coast since 2002, the kilted *Brittany National Pipe Band* was set up in 2004. The 'Tartan National Breton' and a number of auxiliary versions were registered in the same years, and the association *Breizhlanders* (Breton Highlanders) was founded in 2002 to foster Celtic friendship, cultural exchange, and the wearing of the kilt in Brittany.<sup>16</sup> As Richard Duclos, tartan creator and *Breizhlander*, explains:

You can wear the kilt for all the reasons you want, but the essential reason is the will to express the cultural difference of Brittany and to bring her still closer to the other Celtic nations, to protect the Celtic people of a certain kind of globalisation, and to support the inter-Celtic pole.<sup>17</sup>

#### [10.5: Breizhlanders, France]

The statement suggests that globalisation may be prevented by the import of Scottish tartans and kilts to Brittany. The narrative inscribed into the Scottish dreamscape – local (Celtic) defence and difference – has a global resonance. Its appropriation is not seen as an act of globalisation, but as a protective measure against it.

Twenty years ago, Stuart Hall wrote that globalisation – contrary to popular belief – does not try to obliterate local differences and cultures. Rather, he argued, global capitalism has recognised that difference will sell. Globalisation sucks up images of local difference and sells them back to consumers in a commodified form. However, the differences are endowed with Hollywood narratives, and their original local meanings rendered meaningless.<sup>18</sup> This is what happens with the symbols of Scotland. They are taken up by global forces, imbued with a Hollywood story of heroic resistance and rebellious individuality, and then sold throughout the world and appropriated as standardised markers of uniqueness. The Scots of Europe (and their cousins in North America, too) gather to express their individuality and distinctiveness in times of the memory boom. The fact that they all wear the same kilts does

<sup>15</sup> 'Schotte sein, bei der Schottenclique, das ist ganz etwas anderes als wenn Du "nur" bei einer Guggenmusik bist. Bei der Schottenclique zu sein ist etwas Spezielles.' Interview Roland Bacher, Schotteclique (18 July 2009).

<sup>16</sup> See [<http://tartanday.free.fr/>], [<http://www.tartanbreton.com/>], [<http://www.brittanypipeband.fr/>], [<http://breizhlanders.blog4ever.com>] (20 March 2011)

<sup>17</sup> '... on peut porter le kilt pour toutes les raisons que l'on veut, mais la raison essentielle, c'est la volonté d'inscrire la Bretagne dans sa différence culturelle, et de la rapprocher encore plus des autres nations celtes. Détacher le peuple Breton d'une certaine forme de mondialisation, et soutenir le pôle inter celtique.' Questionnaire Pierre Kerloch, Breizhlanders, *The Scots of Europe Survey* (2009/2010).

<sup>18</sup> Stuart Hall, 'The Local and the Global. Globalization and Ethnicity', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System. Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. AD King (Houndmills: MacMillan, 1991), 19-39.

not concern them. That their 'Scotland' is a global fantasy of a local identity – a 'glocal' dreamscape, perhaps<sup>19</sup> – does not present a problem. That many playactors will buy their outfits online and with mainstream credit cards from international manufacturers does not make them feel less dedicated to the defence of local identities against the global forces of modernity. This is no longer Jihad against McWorld, it is McJihad, and it sells. In their defence of local identities, the Scots of Europe use a global Scottish rebel code.

### 10.3 Wounds: The marginal Scot

To many Scotland enthusiasts, the defence of Scottish difference is more than fun and games. They see their performances as an act of solidarity with Scottish culture which they believe was pushed to the margins and threatened by assimilation in past and present – a fate, they argue, that is shared by many other European peoples.

The Scots have had some lousy times. According to the dreamscape's mythology, the Scots lost their political independence with the British Union of 1707 and their final battle against the English and the industrial age in 1746 at Culloden, the place 'where the Clans died'.<sup>20</sup> Scotland was then occupied, the defeated rebels hunted down and almost exterminated. Traditional music and dress were banned, many fled into exile. In the nineteenth century, tens of thousands followed them in the times of the Highland Clearances, when capitalist entrepreneurs pushed smallhold farmers from the land to make room for more profitable sheep. Those who stayed behind had to face and resist bad weather and the steady cultural assimilation by the English. They gave away their sons to the British military and lost them in the colonies and two World Wars. After the end of Empire, the Scots were tricked out of their North Sea Oil and economically crippled by deindustrialisation and Thatcherism.

This is Scotland's history according to the dreamscape. Notions of defeat and victimhood are deeply inscribed, not least thanks to the work of John Prebble (1915-2001), a Canadian writer whose bestselling emotional interpretations of Culloden and the Clearances continue to fascinate American and Australian audiences.<sup>21</sup> But for once, the idea that the Scots have suffered in the past is not held exclusively in the 'diaspora', but in Scotland, too. The Highland historian James Hunter dedicated a book on emigration and encounters with Native Americans bitterly to 'all those peoples, right across the world, who are grappling with the consequences of having got in the way of what history's winners invariably call progress'.<sup>22</sup> Even the new braggadocio rhetoric in Scottish history, a celebratory stance focused on the Enlightenment, requires that the Scots have 'created our world and everything in it' *after* having been 'Western Europe's poorest nation'.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Roland Robertson, 'Glocalization. Time-Space and Homegeneity-Heterogeneity', in *Global Modernities*, eds. M. Featherstone et al. (London: Sage, 1995), 25-44.

<sup>20</sup> This is how emigrant literature remembers Culloden. Alistair MacLeod, *No Great Mischief* (Toronto: M&S, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> John Prebble, *Culloden* (London: Penguin, 1961). John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London: Penguin, 1963).

<sup>22</sup> James Hunter, *Glencoe and the Indians* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1996), dedication, n.p.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Herman, *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: Crown, 2001).

Much of this victim mythology goes against the grain of historical scholarship. The battle of Culloden was no conflict between 'the English' and 'the Scots', but one between the Hanoverian government and supporters of the Royal House of Stuart. Several Scottish regiments fought the Jacobite rebels on the government side.<sup>24</sup> Public memory of the Highland Clearances tends to ignore that many emigrants left freely and with a hope for economic gain. In certain places, Clearances are remembered where none took place.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the active role of Scottish elites in the making of the British Union in 1707 and in overall British politics is well established.<sup>26</sup> The view of Scotland as an English colony is erroneous, as it ignores the deep reaching participation of Scottish politicians, bankers, merchants, soldiers, and slave-traders 'at the cutting edge of British global expansion'.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, the notion of Scottish victimhood persists. The Scottish Highlanders (and *all* Scots are Highlanders in the dreamscape) are victims of history; victims of modernisation, occupation, eviction, imperial politics, and cultural assimilation. By becoming Scots, some of the European playactors make a statement that they themselves were wronged as well, by politics, modernity, and what 'history's winners invariably call progress'. They have had their traditions eradicated by the forces of Reformation and Puritanism. They have lost their warm communities in an age of urbanisation and anonymity. And they often claim to have suffered at the hands of powerful neighbours or rulers. The Scottish dreamscape's narrative of resistance is embraced enthusiastically by those who feel that they themselves were pushed to the margins in past or present.

Strikingly, the European playactors share their interest for Scottish victim history with their American and Australasian cousins. As the anthropologist Paul Basu notes in his remarkable study on American and Australasian roots tourists in Scotland, many amateur genealogists and diaspora dreamers are convinced that their Scottish ancestors have suffered in the past.<sup>28</sup> The dubious rhetoric of genocide, eviction, forced migration, even of a 'Highland Holocaust' is strong in the 'diaspora' – itself a marker of exile and tragedy.<sup>29</sup> Until the late 1970s, the term has been used almost exclusively in the Jewish context. Postcolonial writers then applied it to descendants of African slaves around the world<sup>30</sup>, later to other emigrant communities such as the Irish, Armenians, Roma, Basque, and Chinese. In the past decade, the term has been used for so many groups that it is questionable whether it will survive as

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<sup>24</sup> Murray G. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans. The Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2009, revised edition, orig. 1995). John R. Gold & Margaret Gold, 'Representing Culloden. Social Memory, Battlefield Heritage and Landscapes of Regret', in *Mapping Tourism*, eds. SP Hanna & VJ Del Casino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 108-131.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances. Peoples, Landlords, and Rural Turmoil* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000). TM Devine, *Clearance and Improvement. Land, Power, and People in Scotland, 1700-1900* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> TM Devine, ed., *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> TM Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2004, orig. 2003), 360. A more nuanced colonial argument was presented by Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966* (London: Routledge, 1975).

<sup>28</sup> Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings. Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2007), 194-98.

<sup>29</sup> Phil Cohen, 'Welcome to the Diasporama', *New Ethnicities* 3 (1998): 3-10. Rogers Brubaker, 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28.1 (2005): 1-19.

<sup>30</sup> Martin L. Kilson et al., eds., *The African Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1976). EP Skinner, 'The Dialectics between Diasporas and Homelands', in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. JE Harris (Washington DC: Howard UP, 1982), 11-40. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993).

a meaningful analytical concept.<sup>31</sup> While academic writers tried to re-define diaspora and to create new categories such as 'imperial' and 'entrepreneurial' diaspora<sup>32</sup>, the term retains a subtext of exile and victimhood, especially in popular discourse. To claim membership in a *diaspora* is not the same thing as to belong to an *expatriate community*; diaspora – with its century-long usage in the Jewish context – implies suffering and a need for recognition.<sup>33</sup> It may be used to increase a community's 'ethnic' status.

As examined in Chapter 2, the memory boom is particularly interested in painful pasts, and ancestors are often summoned as martyrs. Stuart Hall has argued: 'Paradoxically in our world, marginality has become a powerful space.'<sup>34</sup> The post-1960s empowerment of long-disenfranchised groups has led to a complication of plain white identity in North America and arguably Europe, too. To many, whiteness came to be associated with colonial sins and racism.<sup>35</sup> In a strategy of dissociation with the former monolithically white elites, white North Americans began to look for 'ethnic' identities which would provide them with a narrative of their own marginality. Mary Waters found in her study on ethnic options that many white Americans like their ancestries downtrodden; the more 'ethnic' and 'persecuted' the better.<sup>36</sup>

Some scholars have interpreted this strong and global interest in painful history with sympathy. Paul Basu recognises the popular interest in white underdog history as 'the desire to maintain a positive or moral self-image' in the post-colonial discourse, as a way to signal that one has suffered, too, and not made others suffer in the colonial enterprise.<sup>37</sup> He also thinks it expresses a genuine suffering of the white middle classes, a sense of uprootedness, displacement, unhappiness, loneliness, a 'complication of belonging' in the modern age. Less sympathetically, the interest in wounds may also be seen as a defence strategy, as the former white elites' rearguard action. Richard Zumkhawala-Cook for instance suspects that white Americans who attend Highland Games and invoke the hardships of Scottish history are 'white settler nations' trying to preserve their old elite-status against new immigrants and claims of indigenous autochthony. In such a reading, the search for roots is not an expression of a pitiable collective identity crisis, but a campaign of defence.

In Europe, the memory boom may take on a similarly defensive tone. Soaring right-wing parties prophesy the marginalisation of the European people through non-European immigration and EU-bureaucracy. On the left side, anti-globalisation movements engage in a rhetoric of defence and resistance. The invocation of threatened but valiantly distinctive little cultures is an everyday reality in Europe. The Scottish dreamscape – with its narrative of

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<sup>31</sup> See e.g. Junko Sakai, *Japanese Bankers in the City of London. Language, Culture and Identity in the Japanese Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2000). Catherine Jurca, *White Diaspora. The Suburb and the Twentieth-Century American Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001). On the problem, see Rogers Brubaker, 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28.1 (2005): 1-19.

<sup>32</sup> William Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Society. Myths of Homeland and Return', *Diaspora* 1:1 (1991): 83-99. James Clifford, 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology* 9:3 (1994): 302-38. Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008, revised edition, orig. 1997)

<sup>33</sup> Paul Basu notes: '... outside the close readings of academic discourse, it goes without saying that "diaspora" means victimisation, enforced exile and all the other associations of the Jewish paradigm.' Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, 193.

<sup>34</sup> Hall, 'The Local and the Global', 34.

<sup>35</sup> Jack Hitt, 'The Newest Indians', *New York Times Magazine* (21 August 2005): n.p. Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters. The Social Constructions of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 150-5.

<sup>37</sup> Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, 199.

heroic defence in the advent of powerful adversaries – has been instrumentalised in this context. When Umberto Bossi campaigned with his Lega Nord for an independent Padania in the 1990s, he did so by repeatedly comparing Northern Italy to the Scotland of William Wallace.<sup>38</sup> To be a Scot may mean to become a defender of old Europe. A Flemish Clansman who visited Edinburgh for *The Gathering* in 2009 gave the following statement after he made the author turn off the tape recorder:

Identity and culture. You know, we had it. But we lost it. And I think no wonder with all the Muslims and Arabs coming to us. I have absolutely nothing against immigration – if people come to work, if they have a job. But please, not just to receive money from our government. And I don't see why we should have to pray like the Muslims. We had our own culture. It is time we rediscover it, and show our children where they come from. We are protecting European culture.

His words are echoed by another Belgian Scot, this time a senior bagpiper from the French speaking part of the country (Wallonie) interviewed at *Schotse Weekend* in Alden Biesen, Flanders. He muses about the growing numbers of pipe bands in Belgium and states:

The people like it. It has something original. And then I think... you see Celtic culture feels perhaps more serious now, with all the African culture here (laughs). I do not have anything against these people, but still we are closer to Scotland than to the Arabs. We look for something old. And you know, the Walloon, he was a Celt.<sup>39</sup>

The informant creates a link between his Walloon ancestors and the Scots. By celebrating the Scots he wishes to strengthen his indigenous culture. Interestingly, the same works for his Flemish counterparts. The *Vlaams Caledonische Society's* website opens with an image of Flemish patriot Jacob van Artevelde (c.1290-1345) – dressed in a kilt.

In their defence of European culture, these Europeans choose a Scottish costume. It has the antiquity and tradition they require, and the martial varnish to defend it. To be sure, such exclusivist and martial tones do not represent the scene as a whole. For most Scottish playactors, the journey into Scottish history and the discovery of their own antiquity in the mists of the Scottish dreamscape is about hospitality, respect for other people's distinctiveness, and unrestricted international travel. But for some, the discovery of their inner Scot means to invoke a European *Leitkultur*.

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<sup>38</sup> 'The MacBossi, Laird of Lombardy', *The Economist* (30 March 1996): 51.

<sup>39</sup> 'Ça plait aux gens. Ça quelque chose original. Et puis je pense que.. voilà la culture Celtique c'est sérieux maintenant avec toute la culture Africaine (laughs) J'ai pas quelque chose contre ces gens là, mais on est quand même plus proche de l'Écosse que des Arabes. On cherche quelque chose du vieux, quoi. T'as vu, le Wallon, c'était un Celte.' Interview conducted at Alden Biesen (11 September 2009).

## 10.4 Men: Real Men wear Kilts

It has been argued (both by men and women) that if anyone has had a rough time in the four decades since 1970 it was the white male.<sup>40</sup> In the rich countries of the West, men have lost their patriarchal power positions in both professional and domestic life. The labour market no longer requires their 'traditional' strength and aggressiveness but calls for allegedly female communication and administrative skills. Schools ban boyish behaviour and encourage discussion and empathy. If adult men attempt to flirt like Sean Connery in the 1960s James Bond movies, they risk a lawsuit for sexual harassment, and when it comes to a divorce, they have little or no rights to their children. Brushing over the fact that men still have higher salaries than women in the same professions, there exists a solid discourse of male disempowerment. This discourse is not the domain of the paranoid few but firmly embedded in the mainstream, debated on prime time television and in bestselling nonfiction books. If we believe this discourse, the late twentieth century not only saw a crisis of rootedness but also a crisis of masculinity.

How easy then to recognise the Scots of Europe as defenders of traditional manhood in the costumes of the heroic Scottish soldier and the feral Highland barbarian. In this reading, the tossing of the caber becomes a phallic imitation of primal masculinity, and the military step and ardour of the marching bands an invocation of chivalrous ideals. The commemorative festivals could be seen as memorial services for a lost manliness, and re-enactments as its reproduction. The kilted Scotsman serves as a model for masculinity, a site of memory – as he did before, in nineteenth-century Britain, when the increasingly sedentary middle class feared effeminacy and went deer stalking in the Highlands.<sup>41</sup> At Scottish festivals, primal manhood is recreated – temporarily, in the fenced-off carnival-zone of inversion.

And yet, the Scots of Europe do not meet our expectations. At the Highland Games and Scottish spectacles of Europe, women are always present. They perform as men, Highland amazons, or Scottish damsels, and they have men perform in kilts for their pleasure and entertainment. Both men and women share an ironic awareness of the outdated nature of their 'traditional' Scottish gender roles. And while ironic distance has been identified as the unnerving signum of a soulless postmodernity (*nothing is for real, everything a game*), the author still would like to argue that it gives the manly games of Europe a refreshing twist. Scottish playacting on the continent is not motivated by macho revisionism and misogyny, but by a playful curiosity about gender roles and the men's interest to please their women.

As examined in Chapter 4.5, the Scottish dreamscape leaves little room for women. In Scottish playacting, all the traditional roles and costumes are masculine, and at Scottish festivals, the kilted male occupies the central stage. It is he who is remembered as a heroic soldier and re-enacted in the same capacity. Pipe bands were inspired by all-male military marching bands, and Highland Games have long been an exclusively male domain. The Scottish dreamscape is gendered, and it is male.

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<sup>40</sup> Susan Faludi, *Stiffed. The Betrayal of American Men* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999). Sally Robinson, *Marked Men. White Masculinity in Crisis* (New York: Columbia UP, 2000).

<sup>41</sup> Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot. Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009).



This said, many women do participate in Scottish playacting. Some will impersonate men, dress up as male Scots with kilt and sporran. They toss cabers and throw hammers, lead pipe and drum bands (Sct Alban Pipe Band, Odense, Denmark), preside Clan societies (Clan Macgregor, Germany), organise Highland Games (Mainland Games Rüsselsheim, Germany), and serve in re-enactment regiments (Earl of Loudoun's Regiment of Foote) and live action role-playing ranks (Clan MacMahon). These female Scotsmen remain a minority; for most, playing Scots is a male activity. Still, the author found them at every event he visited.

[10.6: Women dressing up as men: Keltfest, Dordrecht, Netherlands, May 2009]

[10.7: Women dressing up as men: The Gathering, Edinburgh, July 2009]

When the Scottish skirt is 'reclaimed' by females, the ultra-male attire of the Scotsman becomes unisex. In these moments, women dress up as men in skirts. Who is cross-dressing in this masquerade? The kilt can certainly become a complicated garment, as some men do not instantly recognise its male identity. 'Normally we don't wear skirts', apologised one young Highlander at the Highland Games of South Tyrol, and another one recounted how difficult it had been for him when he first wore the kilt: 'Last year [2008], the grand parade was at nine in the morning, and we walked in, completely sober, in our kilts. And it felt so embarrassing, gay somehow, and I told my colleague, come on, let's just keep walking, back to the car, fuck the registration fee, let's get out of here.' Perhaps we must see the high levels of alcohol consumption at the European Highland Games in a completely new light, as a form of Dutch courage for men who lose their trousers! Interestingly, one scholar recently interpreted the mooning scene in *Braveheart*, when the men in Wallace's army lift their kilts and present their bare behinds to the English, as a strategy of masculine reassurance, a way of demonstrating that there were really men under those skirts. The author suggested that this may have been important to director and starring actor Mel Gibson, a macho man who has more than once voiced his deep fear of being mistaken for a homosexual.<sup>42</sup>

While men flirt with Scottish skirts, women watch. Most women at the festivals will remain in the background while the men perform. True, some will invent their own roles and costumes and become Scottish princesses and amazons in extravagant tartan dresses and Celtic veils. Most, however, seem content to leave the stage to men and watch their boyfriends and husbands compete and parade. They may have been sewing kilts before, designing tartans, organising the finances for festivals, driving children to bagpipe lessons. But now they step back. Celeste Ray observes the same phenomenon at Scottish festivals in the U.S., where women are 'sitting around with other women commenting on how men looked in their kilts, or laughing at those who wear them too short'.<sup>43</sup> The situation in Europe is not different. Women generally form the audience. Scottish warrior masculinity is put on display – for 'both the male and the female gaze'.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Michael D. Sharp, 'Remaking Medieval Heroism. Nationalism and Sexuality in *Braveheart*', *Florilegium* 15 (1998): 251-66, here: 258. On Mel Gibson's homophobia, see 'Sissy of the Year', *The Advocate Magazine* 606:30 (June 1992): 37-39.

<sup>43</sup> Celeste Ray, 'Bravehearts and Patriarchs. Masculinity on the Pedestal in Southern Scottish Heritage Celebration', in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. C. Ray (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 232-62, here: 237.

<sup>44</sup> Ray, 'Bravehearts and Patriarchs', 233.

The female gaze, as explored in Chapter 4.5, may take some pleasure in the kilted male. The erotics of the Highlander are an enduring topic in the Scottish dreamscape and a vital theme at the continental festivals. Many women seem to actively dress up their men in Highland attire for their entertainment. At the 2009 Keltfest in Dordrecht, Netherlands, the author questioned some 50 male Scottish playactors about their first interests in Scotland. A third of them stated that it was their partner's idea, and sometimes, the partner spoke for them:

My wife has made this costume. She is a hobby Victorian dressmaker. She started with dolls and then decided to do real costumes. (Erik, Coevorden)

My girlfriend introduced me to this world. (Charles, Alblasserdam)

I like him wearing a kilt. It makes him look military, tough. (Iris, Utrecht)

If there is nostalgia for traditional masculinity, it is shared by men and women on the Scottish festival grounds of Europe. Most men become Scots not to protest against female dominance, but to please their ladies, to get their excited reaction. A German Clansman explains happily:

Ladies find gentlemen in kilts very interesting. When I once walked in my kilt through the old town of Stralsund [Germany], young women whistled after me, for the first time in my life (laughs). That felt quite alright.<sup>45</sup>

For the first time in their lives, many male Scottish playactors will also worry about fashion and accessories. They invest much time and money in the improvement of their costume and weaponry, and they will not only parade but discuss their gear with like-minded men. The Scots of Europe compliment each other, compare things they bought, turn around in their new outfits in front of other men, and help each other adjusting sporrans and bonnets. Some of the more dedicated carry cases with different costumes for different occasions and spend hours in front of mirrors adjusting the details.<sup>46</sup> They develop deep passions for costume - usually without any worry about compromising their heterosexual appearance. Interestingly, the gay community has taken some interest in Scottish playacting as well. Talking to a male couple in their sixties at the 2009 Schotse Weekend in Flanders, one man dressed in an elaborate Scottish uniform and armed with a crooked Harry Lauder walking stick pointed out: 'It is so amazing, all these really big guys with their thick necks and arms discussing fashion, kilt lengths, and colours.'

[10.8: Scottish peacocks: Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009]

[10.9: Scottish peacocks: Keltfest, Netherlands, May 2009]

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<sup>45</sup> 'Die Geschlechter spricht das einfach gleichermassen an. Damen finden Herren in Kilts sehr interessant. Als ich mal in Stralsund in der Altstadt zugange war im Kilt, zum ersten Mal in meinem Leben haben mir junge Frauen hinterher gepfiffen (lacht). Das tut richtig gut.' Interview Albrecht Kurbjuhn, Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland (25 July 2009).

<sup>46</sup> Again, Celeste Ray notices a similar phenomenon in the U.S. She thinks that Scottish-American festivals are 'some of the only venues where one will regularly see heterosexual men freely adjust one another's apparel and endlessly discuss fashion'. Ray, 'Bravehearts and Patriarchs', 242. It must be said though that male interest in attire and its discussion/adjustment is a feature of *all* historical re-enactment. On his first expeditions, Tony Horwitz suspected the U.S. Civil War re-enactors to be a 'a curious gay subculture', so dominant were discussions of 'grooming, sewing, hip size, honed biceps'. See Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic. Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1999, orig. 1998), 12.

The question of what is *under* the kilt is of profound interest at the Scottish festivals and asked at every Clan tent and in every row of spectators as the pipers and drummers march by. The correct answer is, of course: nothing. Real men wear no underwear under their kilts. This practice is known as 'going regimental'. Highland dancers and Highland Games athletes are exempt from this rule for reasons of practicality. The issue is slightly less clear with pipe and drum bands, especially with its female members.

To eliminate the last doubt, men's kilts are often lifted, both by women and by men, and again this seems perfectly acceptable at Scottish festivals. The revealing of underwear will cause the greater scandal than the revealing of bare skin. This is the license which only celebration and masquerade can create; things are dared which would cause rupture in everyday context. The Scot is granted the freedom of non-restrictive clothing and a bit of exhibitionism. Moonings even take place on stage. At the Schotse Weekend in Flanders, the representative of Guinness had a bet going with the festival organisers. He said he would go on stage and lift his kilt if the crowds drank more than 120 kegs of Guinness. On the second day of the three-day festival, somewhere during the show of folk band Coila, the moment had come, and the band read out a message from a beer mat which announced that drinking had amounted to 135 kegs. The representative walked up, turned his back to thousands of cheering spectators and lifted his kilt.

[10.10: Under the kilt: Scottish-Styrian wedding, Austria, 2008]

There is widespread awareness that Scottish festivals create a zone of special license and behaviour. The awareness that their performance is a game, a masquerade with perhaps clownish dimensions, prevailed at all the festivals the author attended. The kilted men shout and beat their breast – and then search for the eye of their partner and wink. Ironic distance is a dominant mood among the Scots of Europe, and this not only in regard to gender roles. In the United States, Celeste Ray reports that women refer to their warrior husbands as 'cute', 'sweet', 'attention-hungry', and 'pompous', while the men themselves use words like 'warrior', 'honor', 'loyalty', 'soldier', and 'clansman' to describe their doings.<sup>47</sup> The author has found no such dichotomy in Europe. Both sides seemed to be playing. This may either indicate a difference between the European and the American approach to the Scottish dreamscape or suggest that a male researcher will receive different answers than a female one. Either way, I would like to argue that in Europe both men and women usually see the act in their performance and play their 'traditional' gender roles tongue in cheek.

[10.11: Timelkamer Highlanders, Austria]

Scottish festivals then are not revivalist parties of chauvinism and misogyny, but ironic plays with gender roles. The camp fire atmosphere at many continental gatherings may be about male bonding, but the author never witnessed anything that would remind of the aggressive masculinity cult which proved so decisive for fascist ideology.<sup>48</sup> True Scotsmen, the author was assured, live for their ladies and were born to slay dragons for them. Yes, 'traditional' masculinity is performed at Scottish festivals, but women are the main audience, the addressees, and sometimes the inspiration.

<sup>47</sup> Ray, 'Bravehearts and Patriarchs', 38.

<sup>48</sup> Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien. Freikorpsliteratur. Vom deutschen Nachkrieg 1918-1923* (Frankfurt/ Main: Roter Stern, 1977-8). Umberto Eco, 'Ur-Fascism', *New York Review of Books* (22 June 1995): 12-5.

## Conclusion Chapter 10

The Scots of Europe approach Scotland as a site of memory. They interpret the Scots as survivors from a European pre-modernity and use their musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions to re-imagine their own lost past. Via Scotland, they hope to reclaim a sense of what life must have been like in a tribal community, as an untamed strongman in a village strength contest, or as a piper or drummer marching into battle. They make their own performances meaningful with mythologies of kinship and turn the imaginary Scots into *ersatz* ancestors. They hear their own 'Celtic' melodies in Scottish tunes and detect their own mountain sports in Highland Games. The need for Scottish *ersatz* ancestors seems to be particularly pressing in the German-speaking nations, where local heroic history has been rendered difficult by political misuse in the past – but also in the Protestant areas of Western Europe, where much folklore and communal ritual has disappeared with the Reformation. Scottish *ersatz* ancestors provide both an innocent and a colourful replacement.

As a witness of the heroic past, the imaginary Scot helps to remember how life could have been before the restricting effect of modernisation. Scots serve as model rebels, a fantasy of untamed nonconformity. To most playactors, the rediscovery of an 'inner Scot' will lead to uninhibited dancing, happy self-intoxication, the lifting of kilts, cross-dressing, and generally a good time. The Scots with their noisy pipes and flamboyant costumes are remedies against civilisational boredom.

Some, however, will stress that the Scots had to defend their freedom, that their customs and identity have been under threat by colonial regimes, evil capitalists, and the forces of progress. With its time-honoured narratives of marginality and resistance, the Scots can become brothers in arms to many angry white males and females, fellow rebels against globalisation, central governments, and even non-European immigration. As self-professed Scottish freedom fighters, the playactors set out to defend and re-invent their own distinctiveness in the clothes of the Scots. This is not without irony, as the Scotland they cherish is the product of profoundly global and commercial processes. It is a global fantasy of a local identity, a Hollywood-version of European difference.

The Scottish dreamscape also helps to recall 'traditional' notions of masculinity. At the Scottish festivals of Europe, male and female playactors are interested in recreating and re-enacting 'real men'. Interestingly, women have a lot of agency in this and often actively dress up their husbands and boyfriends as Scots for their own pleasure. Both men and women retain an ironical distance to the ultra-male Scottish performances. They see through the masquerade and maintain a clownish element. In the carnival zone that is the world of Scottish playacting, the kilted warriors do not rehearse for a real rebellion. They play with what they know are outdated images. They are prepared to return to the office and to normality on Monday. Scottish playacting is game, and the Scots of Europe know it.



## Chapter 11

### CONCLUSION: WARRIOR DREAMS

At the beginning of the new millennium, thousands of Europeans are searching for their past. In response to the social, economic, and technological changes which characterise the second half of the twentieth century, they attempt to protect and remember a history which they feel vanishes too quickly. They are concerned about traditions and 'heritage' – the past that defines them. They revive long-forgotten songs and customs, research their family trees and local histories, commemorate graves and battles, set up memorials and museums, even re-enact the past theatrically, wearing costume and wielding swords, exploring what life in the past could have felt like. They have a strong suspicion that it felt better than their present – more exciting, less constrained, less lonely. As Johan Huizinga wrote in his classic *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919):

Always and everywhere, daily life [in the late Middle Ages] offered unlimited space for glowing passion and childlike fantasy. ... Life had in many ways still the colour of a fairytale.<sup>1</sup>

This study documents the search for 'glowing passions' and 'childlike fantasies' in North-Western Europe after 1945. It looks at a public effort for history and its preservation.

As the previous chapters demonstrate, a substantial number of the European history enthusiasts find their past in Scotland – or rather, in a bundle of myths and images which we have called the Scottish dreamscape. The Scots of Europe toss cabers at Highland Games strength competitions, play soldiers in marching pipe and drum bands, commemorate Scottish heroes, and simulate kilted combat in historical re-enactment clubs. They justify their Scottish performances with often elaborate mythologies of kinship: By impersonating Scots they *hope to recover something of their own lost past*. They understand Scotland as a site of European memory, a reservoir of shared history. They employ the Scottish dreamscape to remember and re-imagine who they were themselves.

Why Scotland? Why does Scotland, of all places, satisfy a popular desire for history in Northern and Western Europe? What is it that makes Scotland meaningful to non-Scots – more meaningful than other continental mythologies?

This study presents three hypotheses for Scotland's remarkable success in what may be called the international market of historical counter-worlds. First, the Scottish dreamscape is *familiar*. European thinkers have imagined Scotland as a land of living history from the very beginnings of European Romanticism. The notion of Scotland as Europe's last wilderness was spread via the channels of the British Empire and American popular culture and established internationally. Secondly, the dreamscape promises *pleasure*. Its sartorial, musical, and athletic assets allow for satisfying performances. The popular search for history after 1945 has a strong focus on physical sensation, and Scottish history – with its bagpipes, kilts, and swords – makes the better weekend history than other histories. Finally, the Scottish dreamscape is charged with ideas of *heroism and martial valour*. To play Scotsmen means to

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<sup>1</sup> 'Er was in het dagelijks leven voortdurend een onbegrensde ruimte voor gloeiende hartstocht en kinderlijke fantasie. ... Het leven had in menig opzicht nog de kleur van het sprookje' Johan Huizinga, *Herfstij der middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Contact, 1997, orig. 1919), 18, 19.

play soldiers. Scottish dreams are warrior dreams. This martial charge appears to resonate with many of today's history enthusiasts in North-Western Europe (see below).

There may be another reason for Scotland's popularity. The European heritage enthusiasts portrayed here are eager to protect and rediscover traditions and identities which have their origins in an earlier phase of Scottish enthusiasm. There appears to be a Scottish constant in the making and the maintenance of modern European national histories.

Most scholars of European Romanticism agree that the work of James Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) shaped the way modern Europeans think about history and the nation state. Sir Walter's novels, according to Robert Crawford, 'have shaped the European mind', as 'his fiction fuelled the formation of modern European nations and national literatures'.<sup>2</sup> Cairns Craig writes that 'Scott's works, like the poems of Ossian whose fame they followed across Europe, were directly instrumental in stimulating very effective real nationalisms'.<sup>3</sup> While Scott did not (and never intended to) trigger a vital political nationalism in nineteenth-century Scotland, his literary vision of Scotland and Scottish history helped a range of European thinkers to formulate their own histories, their own nations. Leopold Ranke (1795-1886), for example, declared that it was Walter Scott who made him a historian.<sup>4</sup>

As is examined in Chapter 2, the present memory boom may be understood as a reaction to the crumbling of established nineteenth-century national identities and their comforting certainties. Jay Winter writes that the term 'memory' has become 'a metaphor for ways of casting about in the ruins of earlier identities'.<sup>5</sup> It emerges that both the nineteenth-century creation of national histories and their twenty-first-century defence or re-invention feature a degree of Scottish mimesis. *Ossian* and Scott served poets and historians as literary templates, and their legacy – the Scottish dreamscape – now helps to re-imagine European roots today. Walter Scott 'enabled readers to imagine in detail a pre-modern way of life – the life of their ancestors'.<sup>6</sup> Today, the Scottish dreamscape continues to assist such historical imagination.

To be sure, Romanticism was no Scottish invention; Sir Walter began his career by translating and imitating German writers.<sup>7</sup> Also, Scotland was but one of many influences which inspired the Romantic period; when Oblomov dreamt of places more wild and

<sup>2</sup> Robert Crawford, 'Walter Scott and European union', *Studies in Romanticism* 40:1 (Spring 2001): 137f.

<sup>3</sup> Cairns Craig, 'Scott's Staging of the Nation', *Studies in Romanticism* 40:1 (Spring 2001): 13f. See also Ernest J. Simmons, 'Walter Scott and the Russian Romantic Movement', in his *English Literature and Culture in Russia, 1553-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1935). JH Alexander & David Hewitt, eds., *Scott and his Influence* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 1983). Hartmut Steinecke, 'Der "reichste, gewandteste, berühmteste Erzähler seines Jahrhunderts"'. Walter Scott und der Roman in Deutschland', in *Deutsche Schottlandbilder*, eds. W. Siebers & U. Zagratzki (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1998), 49-58. Jeanne Cannizzo, *O Caledonia! Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Catalogue/CDR, 2000). Angus Calder, *Scotlands of the Mind* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2002). Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands. Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005). Murray G. Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006). Michael Alexander, *Medievalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2007), 30-49.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke also noted that Scott's historical inaccuracies offended him. Cit. in John O. Hayden, ed., *Scott: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1970), 305, 308.

<sup>5</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander, *Medievalism*, 102.

<sup>7</sup> Frauke Reitemeier, *Deutsch-englische Literaturbeziehungen: Der historische Roman Sir Walter Scotts und seine deutschen Vorläufer* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001).

animated than his bedroom, he dreamt of Scott's Scotland *and* of Schiller's Switzerland.<sup>8</sup> Still, we may safely say that dreams of Scotland have accompanied and shaped the writing of and the yearning for European history during the past 250 years.

A central focus of this study then is the Scottish dreamscape's longevity. While the original texts of James Macpherson and Walter Scott are no longer read outside the close confines of literary scholarship, the aesthetic world they celebrate continues to inspire. When Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* came to movie theatres worldwide in 1995, the film resonated with more than two centuries of tartan-chequered literature, opera, theatre, comedy, film, whisky marketing, and tourism. It did not create a Scottish fashion, it revitalised it. Back in 1823, Goethe explained that Scott's novels worked so well in Germany because German history was dull compared to Scott's material:

Scott's magic ... rests also on the beauty of the three British kingdoms and the inexhaustible diversity of their history, while in Germany the novelist may find no fertile field between the forest of Thuringia and the sand deserts of Mecklenburg.<sup>9</sup>

Who would have thought that, in 2010, thousands of Europeans would still prefer a magic Scott-land to their own forests and deserts, usually without ever having read a single line of Scott? Scotland – as a pre-modern counter-world – occupies a central position in European modernity.

Having noted the Scottish dreamscape's historical depth, it must be stressed that the playacting phenomenon examined in this study is a thoroughly recent one. The 'Scots of Europe' do not predate World War II. Their impersonations of kilted Scotsmen were inspired by the kilted regiments which fought on the continent or were stationed there after 1945. The first playactors imitated British (and Canadian) soldiers and their military pipe bands. Their numbers grew substantially during the European folk music revival of the late 1960s and 1970s, and they further expanded with successful Hollywood films such as *Highlander* (1986) and *Braveheart* (1995) and with fantasy novels such as *Outlander* (1991). Most of the larger Scottish clubs and festivals on the Europeans continent were established in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty first century.

The bands, clubs, and festivals examined in this study may be short-lived. People become bored, run out of money, get married, find new hobbies, switch to other exciting histories and mythologies, or simply find accommodation with the dull present. The author would be not at all surprised if by the year 2025, Highland Games and kilted pipe bands would have ceased to be a popular pastime on the European mainland. And yet, the Scottish

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<sup>8</sup> 'They would never have succeeded in seeing an evening in the Swiss or Scottish style, when the whole of nature – the woods, the river, the cottage walls, and the sandy hills – is suffused by the red glow of the sunset, against which is set off a cavalcade of gentlemen, riding on a twisting, sandy road after having escorted a lady on a trip to some gloomy ruin and now returning at a smart pace to a strong castle, where an ancient native would tell them a story about the Wars of the Roses [sic!] and where, after a supper of wild goat's meat, a young girl would sing them a ballad to the accompaniment of a lute – scenes with which the pen of Walter Scott has so richly filled our imagination. No, there is nothing like that in our part of the country.' Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov*, transl. D. Magarshack (London: Penguin, 1954, orig. 1859), 106. See also Hans Utz, *Schotten und Schweizer: Brother Mountaineers. Europa entdeckt die beiden Völker im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: P. Lang, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> 'Scotts Zauber ... ruht auch auf der Herrlichkeit der drei britischen Königreiche und der unerschöpflichen Mannigfaltigkeit ihrer Geschichte, während in Deutschland sich nirgends zwischen dem Thüringer Wald und Mecklenburgs Sandwüsten ein fruchtbares Feld für den Romanschreiber findet.' JW Goethe, letter to Kanzler Müller (17 September 1823), in his *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, ed. E. Beutler (Zürich: Artemis, 1948-1960), vol. 23, 295. Cit. from Steinecke, 'Walter Scott und der Roman in Deutschland', 55.



dreamscape's longevity suggests that the images and ideas which inspire today's playacting are unlikely to just disappear in the near future. The Scottish dreamscape has proved an extraordinarily enduring fantasy, and the history of its international impact has hardly reached its end.

In the course of research, it emerged that at least some of the contemporary continental interest in Scottish history and tradition is outspokenly conservative. In the interviews conducted for this study, many self-professed Scots explained how deeply they cared for tradition and old values, that they preferred established gender roles and family structures to post-modern insecurities, and that they were keen to promote patriotism and to defend their culture against the effects of globalisation and sometimes non-European immigration. How political then are the Scottish warrior dreams? Does this study offer insights into a right-wing subculture, a European dimension of the Scottish 'Neo-Confederates' and white supremacists described by Euan Hague and others in the U.S. South?<sup>10</sup> Is the 'Scottish heritage movement', as Richard Zumkhawala-Cook argues, a white rearguard action, a covert defence of white racial privilege with 'dark fantasies' of Scottish pride and heroism?<sup>11</sup>

For two reasons, this study finds that there is no need for alarm. Firstly, the Scots of Europe are introverted. They do not engage with the outside world and never march in political demonstrations. They often distance themselves explicitly from all ideological and political opinion and confine their performances to designated play zones. Their swords are made of papier mâché. The Scots of Europe do not rehearse for a real-life rebellion but let off steam as weekend warriors. They escape a reality and return to it refreshed. True, a charismatic leader-figure might be able to energise or instrumentalise the European Highlanders and drive their Clans into more worldly battles. As it stands, however, the Scots of Europe are a bustling, self-organising, and introspective crowd.

Secondly, Scottish playacting is inclusive. Anyone can wear the kilt and play the pipes. In the Scottish world, belonging comes with skills and knowledge, not with with blood and origin. Interestingly, not all playactors reflect and acknowledge this; in the Netherlands, for example, the author came across a piper who formulated xenophobe statements ('we play Scots because we are not Arabs') even though his band featured 'Scots' of Asian background. Ralf Dahrendorf warned that in times of insecurity and anomy, there impends a 'tribal relapse': Room for difference and tolerance shrinks, communities are homogenised.<sup>12</sup> Here, the Scottish masquerade provides a counter-moment: anyone can wear the Scotsman's mask.

Scottish playacting is, above all, a social activity. The kilts may be invented, the swords may be props, but the Clans are real. Musicians and athletes regularly meet to practice in their free time, ambitious bands and re-enactors spend every second weekend together, travelling endless miles in crammed buses and sharing tents on festival grounds. Volunteers invest thousands of unpaid hours in bagpipe lessons and the making of costumes. At the Scottish

<sup>10</sup> Euan Hague & Benito Giordano, Edward H. Sebesta, 'Asserting Celtic Roots. The Use of Celtic Culture in the Nationalist Campaigns of the Lega Nord and the League of the South', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 31:1-2 (2004): 23-36. Edward H. Sebesta, 'The Confederate Memorial Tartan', *Scottish Affairs* 31 (2000): 55-84. For a critique, see Celeste Ray, 'Comment on "The Confederate Tartan".' *Scottish Affairs* 35 (2001): 133-9.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, *Scotland as we know it. Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 110, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Ralf Dahrendorf, *Der moderne soziale Konflikt* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1992), 77

festivals, Europeans of all ages and social background come together in play. There is a need for sociability and shared ritual in modern Europe, and Scottish playacting appears to sate some of it. The historian may scorn the sometimes ahistorical costumes, and the anthropologist may frown upon the artificial nature of the rituals. Still, the trick seems to work. The Scots of Europe create social experience – usually without financial support and governmental guidance. John Ruaridh Grant Mackenzie, the Earl of Cromartie and chief of Clan Mackenzie in Scotland, has come to the insight that it is his task as a Clan chief to foster sociability among his followers, be they Scottish or not:

Clans are places to be social, to meet other people in an increasingly amorphous and isolated world. ... I think Clanship is a unifying force, and that cannot be but good in a world of shifting values.<sup>13</sup>

If they could, would the Scots of Europe swap with the wild Scots of the past? Would they exchange their present for the (imaginary) past? Some would. One may spot them right away when attending a Highland Games or re-enactment event. They are too large, too loud, too weird – they just do not fit in with the modern world, and one seriously wonders where they will go to when the music is over and the Scots go home. Most kilted warriors, however, state, in the interviews conducted for this study, that they have no desire to serve in a real army, to starve themselves or their children, to wash only once a week, and to face the general insecurities and discomforts of the past. The Scottish remedy is a temporary injection. The warrior dreams are dreams. Like all masquerades, they must have an end.

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<sup>13</sup> Interview Earl of Cromartie, Clan Mackenzie, Scotland (28 January 2010).



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 Questionnaire John Fundter, The 48th Highlanders of Holland.  
 Questionnaire Julian Hutchings, Alliance France Ecosse, France.  
 Questionnaire Kathrin Kuhne, Schottisches Weidefest Prießnitz, Germany.  
 Questionnaire Klaus Schmitt, Rasenkraftsport Neu-Isenburg, Germany.  
 Questionnaire Manfred Raemy, Swiss Highland Games.  
 Questionnaire Mario Steder, Harz Highlanders, Germany.  
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 Questionnaire Trond Nilsen, Snefjord Highland Games, Norway.

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*Bonnie Scotland* (aka *Heroes of the Regiment*) (US 1935). Dir. James W. Horne.  
*Braveheart* (US 1995). Dir. Mel Gibson.  
*Brazil* (UK 1985). Dir. Terry Gilliam.  
*Brigadoon* (US 1954). Dir. Vincente Minelli.  
*Conan the Barbarian* (US 1982). Dir. John Milius.  
*Dances with Wolves* (1990) Dir. Kevin Costner.



- Die Abenteuer des David Balfour* (Germany/France/Austria/Switzerland, 1978). Dir. Jean-Pierre Decourt.
- Die Deutschen*. ZDF TV series (Ger 2008-2010). Dir. Guido Knopp.
- Falling Down* (US 1993). Dir. Joel Schumacher.
- First Blood* (US 1982). Dir. Ted Kotcheff.
- Four Weddings and a Funeral* (UK 1994). Dir. Mike Newell.
- Ghost Goes West* (US 1935). Dir. René Clair.
- Gregory's Girl* (UK 1981). Dir. Bill Forsyth.
- Greystoke – The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes* (US 1984). Dir. Hugh Hudson.
- Hallam Foe* (UK 2007). Dir. David Mackenzie
- Highlander* (US 1986). Dir. Russell Mulcahy
- Kidnapped* (US 1960). Dir. Robert Stevenson [sic]
- Local Hero* (UK 1983). Dir. Bill Forsyth.
- Morvern Callar* (UK 2002). Dir. Lynne Ramsay.
- My Name is Joe* (UK 1998). Dir. Ken Loach.
- Orphans* (UK 1998). Dir. Peter Mullan.
- Quentin Durward* (US 1955). Dir. Richard Thorpe.
- Ratcatcher* (UK 1999). Dir. Lynne Ramsay.
- Red Road* (UK 2006). Dir. Andrea Arnold.
- Rob Roy* (US 1995). Dir. Michael Caton-Jones.
- Rob Roy, the Highland Rogue* (US 1953). Dir. Harold French.
- Second City Television* series (Canada 1976-1984).
- Sette Donne per i MacGregor* (IT 1967). Dir. Franco Giraldi.
- Sette Pistole per i MacGregor* (IT 1966). Dir. Franco Giraldi.
- Shallow Grave* (UK 1994). Dir. Danny Boyle.
- Sound of Music* (US 1965). Dir. Robert Wise.
- Starship Troopers* (US 1997). Dir. Paul Verhoeven.
- Taxi Driver* (US 1976). Dir. Martin Scorsese.
- The 39 Steps* (UK 1935). Dir. Alfred Hitchcock.
- The Last Emperor* (Italy/China 1987). Dir. Bernardo Bertolucci.
- The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) Dir. Michael Mann.
- The Master of Ballantrae* (US 1953). Dir. William Keighley.
- The Mummy* (US 1999). Dir. Stephen Sommers.
- The Patriot* (2000). Dir. Roland Emmerich.
- The Simpsons* cartoon series (US 1989-)
- Trainspotting* (UK 1996). Dir. Danny Boyle.
- Tunes of Glory* (UK 1960). Dir. Ronald Neame.
- Whisky Galore!* (UK 1948). Dir. Alexander Mackendrick.
- White Heather Club*, BBC-show (1958-1968)
- Willow* (UK 1988). Dir. Ron Howard.
- Young Adam* (UK 2003). Dir. David Mackenzie.

## THE SCOTS OF EUROPE: LISTS

The Scots of Europe are no stable phenomenon. Their numbers fluctuate, their activities change. Festivals disappear due to mismanagement, dwindling crowds, or the re-location of a key organiser. Other events grow and move to larger venues. New festivals are set up every summer, new pipe bands set up or split from existing ones. The Scots of Europe are a highly unregulated crowd. Some enthusiasts have set up governing bodies and national associations, but their success varies, their authority is questioned. It is very difficult to count the Scots of Europe.

The following list of groups and events serve as an illustration of the Scottish playacting phenomenon's size and spread. The lists are bound to be incomplete. They were compiled by the author with the help of the activists themselves. Only groups and festivals active in the years 2009 and 2010 were considered.

### A.1 Scottish Pipe Bands , Europe

#### Austria (6)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
First Leiblach Valley Pipes and Drums	Leiblach, Vorarlberg	1991	<a href="http://www.dudelsackgruppe.com">http://www.dudelsackgruppe.com</a>
Vienna Pipes and Drums	Vienna	1996	<a href="http://www.viennapipes.com/">http://www.viennapipes.com/</a>
MacLaut's Pipes and Drums	Hörbranz, Vorarlberg	1998	<a href="http://mac-lauts.at/">http://mac-lauts.at/</a>
1 <sup>st</sup> Carinthian Pipes and Drums	Bad St. Leonhard, Carinthia	2005	<a href="http://www.pipesanddrums.at/">http://www.pipesanddrums.at/</a>
Red Eagle Tyrolean Pipe Band	Innsbruck, Tyrol	2006	<a href="http://www.pipeband.at/">http://www.pipeband.at/</a>
Pillersee Pipers	Pillersee, Tyrol	2005 (?)	<a href="http://www.pillersee-pipers.at/">http://www.pillersee-pipers.at/</a>

#### Belgium (20)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Antwerp & District Pipeband	Antwerp	1978	<a href="http://www.adpb.be">http://www.adpb.be</a>
Belgian Blend Pipeband	Turnhout	2008	<a href="http://www.bbpbe.be/">http://www.bbpbe.be/</a>
Belgian Voluntary Pipe Band	national	?	<a href="http://bvpbe.yolasite.com/">http://bvpbe.yolasite.com/</a>
Blue Stone Pipes & Drums	Silly	2007	<a href="http://users.skynet.be/BSPD/">http://users.skynet.be/BSPD/</a>
Borderline Pipeband	Brasschaat	2007 (?)	<a href="http://www.borderlinepb.be/">http://www.borderlinepb.be/</a>
Caber Feidh Pipeband	Mons	1993	<a href="http://www.caberfeidhpipebandmons.com/">http://www.caberfeidhpipebandmons.com/</a>
Clan Hay Pipeband	Brussels	2006	<a href="http://www.clanhaypipeband.be">http://www.clanhaypipeband.be</a>
Claymore Pipe Band	Ottignies	1990	<a href="http://www.claymore-pipeband.be/">http://www.claymore-pipeband.be/</a>
Dun Deagh Music Band	Sint-Niklaas	?	<a href="http://www.doedelzak.be/">http://www.doedelzak.be/</a>
Flanders Memorial Pipe Band	Poperinge	2006	<a href="http://www.flandersmemorialpipeband.be/">http://www.flandersmemorialpipeband.be/</a>
Flaumandrum Pipeband	Ghent	2002	<a href="http://www.flaumandrum.be/">http://www.flaumandrum.be/</a>
Fleming Pipe Band	Zonnebeke	2002	<a href="http://www.passchendaele1917.be/">http://www.passchendaele1917.be/</a>

Flemish Caledonian Pipes & Drums	Ghent	1989	<a href="http://www.fcpd.be/">http://www.fcpd.be/</a>
Ghent District Highlanders	Ghent	1980	<a href="http://www.ghentdistricthighlanders.be/">http://www.ghentdistricthighlanders.be/</a>
Red Hackle Pipeband	Antwerp	1967	<a href="http://www.redhackle.be">http://www.redhackle.be</a>
Red Lion Pipeband	Maldegem	2004	<a href="http://users.skynet.be/fa599390/RLPB/">http://users.skynet.be/fa599390/RLPB/</a>
The Lowland Pipers	Turnhout	1963	<a href="http://lowlandpipers.be">http://lowlandpipers.be</a>
Wallace Pipeband	Oevel-Westerlo	1998	<a href="http://www.wallacepipeband.be/">http://www.wallacepipeband.be/</a>
West-Coast Pipeband	Koksijde	2005	<a href="http://users.telenet.be/doedelzak.westkust/">http://users.telenet.be/doedelzak.westkust/</a>
Ypres-Surrey Pipes & Drums	Ieper	2007	<a href="http://www.yspd.be/">http://www.yspd.be/</a>

### Czech Republic (2)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
First Czech Pipes & Drums	Prague	1999	<a href="http://skotsko.net/dudy/">http://skotsko.net/dudy/</a>
Rebel Pipers	Prague	2004	<a href="http://www.rebelpiper.cz">http://www.rebelpiper.cz</a>

### Denmark (13)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Aarhus Pipes & Drums	Aarhus	1988	<a href="http://www.aapd.dk/">http://www.aapd.dk/</a>
Clan Rose Pipes & Drums	Slagelse	1982	<a href="http://www.clanrose.dk/">http://www.clanrose.dk/</a>
Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band	Copenhagen	1968	<a href="http://www.ccpb.dk/">http://www.ccpb.dk/</a>
Dungillie Pipe Band	Svendborg	1980	<a href="http://www.dungillie.dk/">http://www.dungillie.dk/</a>
Fanø Pipes & Drums	Fanø	1983	<a href="http://www.fpad.dk/">http://www.fpad.dk/</a>
Fredrikshavn FDF Pipe Band	Fredrikshavn	1972	<a href="http://fdf.dk/fredrikshavn2/pipeband.htm">http://fdf.dk/fredrikshavn2/pipeband.htm</a>
Gordon Pipes & Drums	Copenhagen	1986	<a href="http://www.gordonpd.dk/">http://www.gordonpd.dk/</a>
Heather Pipes & Drums	Copenhagen	1969	<a href="http://www.heather.dk/">http://www.heather.dk/</a>
Holbæk Pipes & Drums	Holbæk	1986	<a href="http://www.hpb.dk/">http://www.hpb.dk/</a>
Northern Pipes & Drums	Aalborg	2003	<a href="http://www.northernpd.dk/">http://www.northernpd.dk/</a>
Roskilde Pipes & Drums	Roskilde	1997	<a href="http://www.rpad.dk/">http://www.rpad.dk/</a>
Sønderborg Pipes & Drums	Sønderborg	2003	<a href="http://www.spad.dk/">http://www.spad.dk/</a>
St. Alban Pipe Band of Odense	Odense	1979	<a href="http://www.sct-alban-pipeband.dk/">http://www.sct-alban-pipeband.dk/</a>

### Finland (1)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Helsinki Pipes & Drums	Helsinki	1991	<a href="http://www.bagpipe.fi/">http://www.bagpipe.fi/</a>

### France (8)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
68th Highlanders of Alsace	Hausgauen, Haut-Rhin, Alsace	2008	<a href="http://www.hausgauentattoo.fr/68th-highlanders/">http://www.hausgauentattoo.fr/68th-highlanders/</a>

Askol Ha Brug	Saint-Herblain, Loire-Atlantique (Brittany)	1977	<a href="http://www.askolhabrugpipeband.fr/">http://www.askolhabrugpipeband.fr/</a>
Brittany National Pipe Band	Gourin, Morbihan (Brittany)	2004	<a href="http://bnpb.gwalarn.org/presentation.html">http://bnpb.gwalarn.org/presentation.html</a>
Normandy Highlanders	Perriers-Sur-Andelle, Eure (Normandy)	2001	<a href="http://www.nh-pipeband.org/">http://www.nh-pipeband.org/</a>
Paris & District Pipe Band	Paris	1989	<a href="http://www.pipeband-paris.fr/">http://www.pipeband-paris.fr/</a>
Pipe Band Aubigny Auld Alliance	Aubigny-sur-Nère, Cher (Berry)	1990	-
Sant Brieg & District Pipe Band	Saint- Briec, Côtes d'Armor (Brittany)	1994	<a href="http://www.st-briec-pipe-band.com/">http://www.st-briec-pipe-band.com/</a>
Somme Battlefield Pipe Band	Péronne, Somme (Picardy)	1989	<a href="http://sommebattlefieldpipeband.fr/">http://sommebattlefieldpipeband.fr/</a>

### Germany (101)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
1st Illertal Bagpipers	Kirchberg, Baden-Württemberg	1989	<a href="http://www.musikverein-kirchberg.eu/chronik/">http://www.musikverein-kirchberg.eu/chronik/</a>
1st Sauerland Pipes & Drums	Iserlohn, North Rhine Westphalia	1992	<a href="http://www.sauerland-piper.de">http://www.sauerland-piper.de</a>
1st Saxon Highlanders	Zwickau, Saxony	2002	<a href="http://www.1st-saxon-highlanders.de">http://www.1st-saxon-highlanders.de</a>
1st Thistle Highland Drums and Pipes	Weilerswist, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.drumsandpipes.de/">http://www.drumsandpipes.de/</a>
38th District Pipes and Drums	Königslutter am Elm, Lower Saxony	2008	<a href="http://www.38th-district.de/">http://www.38th-district.de/</a>
56th District Pipe Band	Koblenz, Rheinland-Pfalz	2001	<a href="http://www.56th-district-pipe-band.de/">http://www.56th-district-pipe-band.de/</a>
58er Schottengarde	Grefrath, North Rhine Westphalia	2000	<a href="http://www.58er-schottengarde.de/">http://www.58er-schottengarde.de/</a>
58th Scottish Volunteers Pipes & Drums	Iserlohn, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.scottish-volunteers.de/">http://www.scottish-volunteers.de/</a>
Alba Pipe Band	Hildesheim, Lower Saxony	1999	<a href="http://www.alba-pipe-band.de/">http://www.alba-pipe-band.de/</a>
Alzey & District Pipe Band	Flomborn, Rheinland-Pfalz	?	-
Bagpipe Association of Konstanz	Konstanz, Baden-Württemberg	1989	<a href="http://www.pipes-of-konstanz.de/">http://www.pipes-of-konstanz.de/</a>
Baul Muluy Pipes & Drums	Elmshorn, Hamburg	1995	<a href="http://www.bmpd.de/">http://www.bmpd.de/</a>
Bavarian Pipers	Regensburg, Bavaria	?	<a href="http://www.bavarian-highlandpiper.de/">http://www.bavarian-highlandpiper.de/</a>

Ben Donar Pipes & Drums	Altleiningen, Rheinland Pfalz	2002 (?)	<a href="http://www.bendonar.de/">http://www.bendonar.de/</a>
Ben Heegen Highlanders	Witzenhausen, Hesse	2004 (?)	<a href="http://www.ben-heegen-highlanders.de/">http://www.ben-heegen-highlanders.de/</a>
Berlin Pipe Company	Berlin	1983	<a href="http://www.tbpc.de/">http://www.tbpc.de/</a>
Berlin Thistle Pipes & Drums	Berlin	?	<a href="http://www.berlin-pipeband.de/">http://www.berlin-pipeband.de/</a>
Bielefeld Pipes & Drums	Bielefeld, North Rhine Westphalia	1982	<a href="http://www.bielefeld-pipes-and-drums.de/">http://www.bielefeld-pipes-and-drums.de/</a>
Black Kilts Berlin Pipes and Drums	Berlin	2008	<a href="http://www.black-kilts.de">http://www.black-kilts.de</a>
Caverhill Guardians Pipes & Drums e.V.	Hardt, Baden Württemberg	1987	<a href="http://www.caverhill-guardians.de/">http://www.caverhill-guardians.de/</a>
Cheerful Highlanders	Völklingen, Saarland	?	<a href="http://www.saarland-bagpipes.de/">http://www.saarland-bagpipes.de/</a>
City of Baden-Baden Pipes & Drums	Baden Baden, Baden Württemberg	?	<a href="http://www.cobbpad.de/">http://www.cobbpad.de/</a>
City of Nordhorn Pipe Band	Nordhorn, Lower Saxony	2005	<a href="http://www.con-pad.de/">http://www.con-pad.de/</a>
City of Nürnberg Pipes & Drums	Nuremberg, Bavaria	2000	<a href="http://www.city-of-nuernberg-pipes-and-drums.de/">http://www.city-of-nuernberg-pipes-and-drums.de/</a>
Claidhmhor Pipers	Bramsche, Lower Saxony	2000	<a href="http://www.claidhmhor-pipers.de/">http://www.claidhmhor-pipers.de/</a>
Clan MacLanborough Pipes & Drums	Kladrum, Mecklenburg	2001	<a href="http://www.pipeband.info/">http://www.pipeband.info/</a>
Clan Pipers Frankfurt	Frankfurt/Main, Hesse	1974	<a href="http://www.clanpipers.de/">http://www.clanpipers.de/</a>
Claymore Pipes & Drums München/Augsburg (formerly Munich Civilian Pipe band)	Munich, Bavaria	1976	<a href="http://www.c-p-d.de/">http://www.c-p-d.de/</a>
Count Zeppelin Highland Pipes & Drums	Friedrichshafen, Baden Württemberg	2002	<a href="http://www.count-zeppelin.de">http://www.count-zeppelin.de</a>
Crest of Gordon City of Bremen Pipes & Drums	Bremen	1992	<a href="http://www.crest-of-gordon.de/">http://www.crest-of-gordon.de/</a>
Crossed Swords Pipes & Drums	Brüggen, North Rhine Westphalia	2007	<a href="http://www.thecrossedswords-pipeband.co.uk/">http://www.thecrossedswords-pipeband.co.uk/</a>
Dark Highland Pipes & Drums	Aresing, Bavaria	2005	<a href="http://www.tdhpd.de/">http://www.tdhpd.de/</a>
Dersa Highlanders (formerly Bagpipe and Drumband Damme)	Damme, Lower Saxony	1997	<a href="http://www.dersa-highlanders.de/">http://www.dersa-highlanders.de/</a>
Dragon Pipe and Drums	Kötzing, Bavaria	?	<a href="http://www.dragon-pd.de/">http://www.dragon-pd.de/</a>
Dransfelder Pipes & Drums	Göttingen, Lower Saxony	1994	<a href="http://www.dransfelderpipeband.de/">http://www.dransfelderpipeband.de/</a>
Dresden Pipes & Drums	Dresden, Saxony	2005	<a href="http://www.dpdd.de/">http://www.dpdd.de/</a>
Drums & Pipes Dreiborn	Schleiden, North Rhine Westphalia	1980	<a href="http://www.drums-pipes.de/">http://www.drums-pipes.de/</a>
Dudeldorf Lion Pipes & Drums	Dudeldorf, Rheinland Pfalz	1996	<a href="http://www.dudeldorfion.de/">http://www.dudeldorfion.de/</a>
Dudelsackensemble Neuss	Dormagen, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.dudelsack.de/">http://www.dudelsack.de/</a>

Dudelsackgruppe Hochland Heistern	Langerwehe, North Rhine Westphalia	1977	<a href="http://www.dudelsackgruppe-hochland-heistern.de/">http://www.dudelsackgruppe-hochland-heistern.de/</a>
Ehingen Donau Pipe Band	Ehingen, Baden Württemberg	1989	<a href="http://www.pipemusic.de/">http://www.pipemusic.de/</a>
Eifel Pipes	Bitburg, Rheinland Pfalz	?	<a href="http://www.eifel-pipes.de/">http://www.eifel-pipes.de/</a>
Ems Highlander	Emsdetten, North Rhine Westphalia	2000	<a href="http://www.ems-highlander.de">http://www.ems-highlander.de</a>
Field & Meadows Pipes & Drums Ramsen	Ramsen, Rheinland Pfalz	?	-
First Guards of St. Kilian e.V., Pipe and Drum Band Fire Brigade	Waldeck-Frankenberg	1991	<a href="http://www.firstguards.de/">http://www.firstguards.de/</a>
German Lowland Pipes & Drums	Xanten, North Rhine Westphalia	1994	<a href="http://www.german-lowland.de/">http://www.german-lowland.de/</a>
Glen Regnitz Pipe Band	Schlaifhausen, Bavaria	2008	<a href="http://www.glen-regnitz-pipe-band.de/">http://www.glen-regnitz-pipe-band.de/</a>
Gordon Highlanders Memorial Drums & Pipes (Targe of Gordon e.V.)	Fulda, Hesse	c. 1997	<a href="http://www.gordon-highlanders.de/">http://www.gordon-highlanders.de/</a>
Great Glen Pipe Band	Eitelborn, Rheinland Pfalz	?	<a href="http://www.great-glen-pb.de/">http://www.great-glen-pb.de/</a>
Green Pipes Weiterstadt	Weiterstadt, Hesse	?	<a href="http://www.greenpipes.de/">http://www.greenpipes.de/</a>
Hamburg Caledonian Pipes & Drums (formerly Hamburg Caledonian Pipeband)	Hamburg	1984	<a href="http://hcpd.de/">http://hcpd.de/</a>
Happy German Bagpipers	Jade, Lower Saxony	1982	<a href="http://www.german-bagpipers.de/">http://www.german-bagpipers.de/</a>
Heidelberg & District Pipes and Drums	Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg	2000	<a href="http://www.hdpd.de/">http://www.hdpd.de/</a>
Highland Dragon Pipeband	Bielefeld, North Rhine Westphalia	2002	<a href="http://www.highland-dragon.com/">http://www.highland-dragon.com/</a>
Highland Drones of Frankenstein Castle	Weiterstadt, Hesse	2001	<a href="http://www.highland-drones.de">http://www.highland-drones.de</a>
Highland Pipes & Drums of Waldsee	Bad Waldsee, Baden-Württemberg	1989	<a href="http://www.highland-pipes.de/">http://www.highland-pipes.de/</a>
Highlandsack	Altheim, Baden-Württemberg	1993	<a href="http://www.highlandsack.de/">http://www.highlandsack.de/</a>
Highroad Pipes & Drums	Ottobeuren/Memmingen, Bavaria	1995	<a href="http://www.highroad-pd.de/">http://www.highroad-pd.de/</a>
Hohenlohe Highlanders Pipes & Drums	Wolpertshausen, Baden Württemberg	2000	<a href="http://www.hohenlohe-highlanders.de/">http://www.hohenlohe-highlanders.de/</a>
Kochen Clan Pipe Band	Aalen, Baden Württemberg	1998	<a href="http://www.kochen-clan-pipe-band.de/">http://www.kochen-clan-pipe-band.de/</a>
MacLeod Pipes & Drums	Beckum, North Rhine Westphalia	1992	<a href="http://www.dudelsackband.com/">http://www.dudelsackband.com/</a>
Men in Kilts	Frankfurt/Main, Hesse	?	<a href="http://www.pipebands.info/">http://www.pipebands.info/</a>

Moguntia Pipes & Drums	Mainz, Rheinland Pfalz	?	<a href="http://www.moguntia-pipes-and-drums.de">http://www.moguntia-pipes-and-drums.de</a>
North Frisian Pipes & Drums	Rantrum, Schleswig- Holstein	?	<a href="http://www.nfpd.info/">http://www.nfpd.info/</a>
Nutscheid Forest Pipe Band	Much, North Rhine Westphalia	2000	<a href="http://www.pipesdrums.de/">http://www.pipesdrums.de/</a>
Odenwald Pipes & Drums	Groß-Bieberau, Hesse	1993	<a href="http://www.owpd.eu/">http://www.owpd.eu/</a>
Onion Pipes & Drums	Griesheim, Hesse	?	<a href="http://www.onionpipers.de">http://www.onionpipers.de</a>
Org. Royal-Sulgemer Crown-Swamp-Pipers	Saulgau, Baden- Württemberg	?	<a href="http://www.dudelsack-saulgau.de">http://www.dudelsack-saulgau.de</a>
Owl Town Pipe & Drums Band Peine e. V.	Peine, Lower Saxony	1984	<a href="http://www.owltownband.de">http://www.owltownband.de</a>
Palatine Caledonian Music Ensemble	Trier, Rheinland Pfalz	?	<a href="http://www.dudelsack-musik.de/">http://www.dudelsack-musik.de/</a>
Pipes & Drums Kerpen - Blatzheim	Kerpen, Rheinland Pfalz	2002	<a href="http://www.dudelsack-blatzheim.de/">http://www.dudelsack-blatzheim.de/</a>
Pipes & Drums of Cherry Town	Witzenhausen, Hesse	1995	<a href="http://www.the-pipes-and-drums-of-cherrytown.de/">http://www.the-pipes-and-drums-of-cherrytown.de/</a>
Pipes & Drums of Brunswiek	Wittmar, Lower Saxony	1997	<a href="http://www.brunswiek-pipers.de">http://www.brunswiek-pipers.de</a>
Pipes & Drums of Diepenau	Diepenau, Lower Saxony	1988	<a href="http://www.thepipes.de/">http://www.thepipes.de/</a>
Pipes & Drums of the Royal British Legion Osnabrück e.V.	Osnabrück, Lower Saxony	2001	<a href="http://www.pipesanddrums-osnabrueck.de/">http://www.pipesanddrums-osnabrueck.de/</a>
Pride of Scotland Pipes & Drums	Schwaney, North Rhine Westphalia	2000 (?)	<a href="http://www.prideofscotland.de/">http://www.prideofscotland.de/</a>
Prinzbach-Highlanders	Biberach- Prinzbach, Baden- Württemberg	?	<a href="http://www.prinzbach-highlanders.de/">http://www.prinzbach-highlanders.de/</a>
Rhine Area Pipes & Drums Düsseldorf	Duisburg, North Rhine Westphalia	1977	<a href="http://www.rapd.de/">http://www.rapd.de/</a>
Rhine Power Pipe Band e.V.	Cologne, North Rhine Westphalia	2006	<a href="http://www.rhine-power.de/">http://www.rhine-power.de/</a>
Royal Pipers Pipes & Drums	Flieden, Hesse	2000	<a href="http://www.royalpipers.de/">http://www.royalpipers.de/</a>
Scots 'n Breizh (formerly Glencoe Highlanders)	Herten, North Rhine Westphalia	1992	<a href="http://www.scots-breizh.de/">http://www.scots-breizh.de/</a>
Solingen Pipes and Drums	Solingen, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.dudelsack-solingen.de">http://www.dudelsack-solingen.de</a>
Sondershäuser Pipes & Drums	Sonders- hausen, Thuringia	1999	<a href="http://www.dudelsack-band.de/">http://www.dudelsack-band.de/</a>
Spessart Highlanders	Karbach, Bavaria	2001	<a href="http://www.spessart-highlanders.de">http://www.spessart-highlanders.de</a>
St Gangolf Pipes & Drums	St Gangolf, Thuringia	1987	<a href="http://www.st-gangolf-pipes-drums.de">http://www.st-gangolf-pipes-drums.de</a>
Strasser Garde Pipes, Drums & Trumpets	Rheinhausen, Baden Württemberg	1978	<a href="http://www.strassergarde.de">http://www.strassergarde.de</a>

Stuttgart University Pipe Band	Stuttgart, Baden Württemberg	2000	<a href="http://www.supb.de/">http://www.supb.de/</a>
Tanus Pipes & Drums	Hofheim/Tanus, Hesse	?	<a href="http://www.eschborner-kaewwern.de/">http://www.eschborner-kaewwern.de/</a>
Teutonia Pipe Band Osnabrück - Paderborn	Osnabrück, Lower Saxony	2008	<a href="http://www.teutonia-pb.de">http://www.teutonia-pb.de</a>
Three Country Pipers	Witzenhausen, Hesse	?	-
Three Lilies Pipes & Drums	Wiesbaden, Hesse	?	-
Unicorn Pipes & Drums	Durlangen, baden-Württemberg	?	-
United Ruhr Pipes and Drums	Dortmund, North Rhine Westphalia	2007 (?)	<a href="http://www.urpd.de/index.html">http://www.urpd.de/index.html</a>
Watten-Pipe Band Hattstedt	Hattstedt, Schleswig-Holstein	2004 (?)	<a href="http://www.watten-pipeband.de/">http://www.watten-pipeband.de/</a>
Weilerswist and District Pipe Band	Weilerswist, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.pipebandweilerswist.de/">http://www.pipebandweilerswist.de/</a>
Werl Pipes & Drums	Werl, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.twpad.de/">http://www.twpad.de/</a>
West Highlanders Pipes & Drums	Geseke, North Rhine Westphalia	2009	<a href="http://www.west-highlanders.de.tf/">http://www.west-highlanders.de.tf/</a>
Westerwald Pipers & na caileagan	Biskirchen, Hesse	2000	<a href="http://www.mccowat-pipes.de/">http://www.mccowat-pipes.de/</a>
White Hackle Pipes and Drums	Viersen-Süchteln, North Rhine Westphalia	2009	<a href="http://www.whpad.de/">http://www.whpad.de/</a>
Wupper District Pipe Band	Solingen, North Rhine Westphalia	?	<a href="http://www.wupper-district-pipe-band.de/">http://www.wupper-district-pipe-band.de/</a>

### Italy (4)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Bazzano Castle Pipe Band	Northern Italy	2006	<a href="http://www.bazzanopipeband.it/">http://www.bazzanopipeband.it/</a>
Cannara Pipe Band	Perugia	2003	<a href="http://mercand.interfree.it/index.html">http://mercand.interfree.it/index.html</a>
City of Rome Pipe Band	Rome	2000	<a href="http://www.cityofromepipeband.org/">http://www.cityofromepipeband.org/</a>
Claymore Pipes & Drums	Milan	1998	<a href="http://www.claymorepipesanddrums.com/">http://www.claymorepipesanddrums.com/</a>

### Luxembourg (2)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Spirit of the Highlands Pipes & Drums	Grevenmacher	2009	<a href="http://www.spirit-of-the-highlands.com/">http://www.spirit-of-the-highlands.com/</a>
The Luxembourg Pipe Band	Luxembourg	2006	<a href="http://www.pipeband.lu/">http://www.pipeband.lu/</a>



**Malta (1)**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Wallace Pipes & Drums	?	1999	<a href="http://www.myspace.com/wallacepipesanddrums">http://www.myspace.com/wallacepipesanddrums</a>

**Netherlands (39)**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
48 <sup>th</sup> Highlanders Holland	Apeldoorn	1991	<a href="http://www.48th-highlanders.nl/">http://www.48th-highlanders.nl/</a>
Ameland Islander Pipes & Drums	Ameland	1990	<a href="http://www.doedelzakbandameland.com/">http://www.doedelzakbandameland.com/</a>
Arthur Troop Pipe Band	Venhuizen	2008	<a href="http://www.arthurtrooppd.nl">http://www.arthurtrooppd.nl</a>
Batavorum Pipes & Drums	Nijmegen	2000	<a href="http://www.batavorum.com/">http://www.batavorum.com/</a>
Beatrix Pipe Band	Hilversum	1962	<a href="http://www.beatrixpipeband.nl/">http://www.beatrixpipeband.nl/</a>
City Guards Highlanders	Alkmaar	2002	<a href="http://www.cityguards.nl/">http://www.cityguards.nl/</a>
City of Amsterdam Pipe Band	Amsterdam	1974	<a href="http://www.cityofamsterdampipeband.nl/">http://www.cityofamsterdampipeband.nl/</a>
City of Apeldoorn Pipes & Drums	Apeldoorn	2006	<a href="http://www.cityofapeldoorn.nl/">http://www.cityofapeldoorn.nl/</a>
Clan Lamont Pipe Band	Walwijk	1987	<a href="http://www.clanlamont.nl/">http://www.clanlamont.nl/</a>
Clan MacBeth Band	Groningen	1987	<a href="http://www.cmacbeth.dds.nl/">http://www.cmacbeth.dds.nl/</a>
Concord Pipe Band	Hengelo	1974	<a href="http://www.concordpipeband.nl/">http://www.concordpipeband.nl/</a>
Coriovallum Pipe Band	Landgraaf	1978	<a href="http://www.coriovallum.eu/">http://www.coriovallum.eu/</a>
Dronten & District Pipe Band	Dronten	1979	<a href="http://www.drontendistrict.nl">http://www.drontendistrict.nl</a>
Dutch Military Pipes & Drums		2006	<a href="http://www.blueguards.nl/">http://www.blueguards.nl/</a>
Dutch Pipes & Drums	Tilburg	1953	<a href="http://www.dutchpipesanddrums.nl/">http://www.dutchpipesanddrums.nl/</a>
First Haarlem Pipe Band	Haarlem	1977	<a href="http://www.firsthaarlempipeband.nl/">http://www.firsthaarlempipeband.nl/</a>
Gemert Firebrigade Pipes & Drums	Gemert	2003	<a href="http://www.gfpd.nl/">http://www.gfpd.nl/</a>
Graham Lowlanders Pipes & Drums	Leeuwarden	1972	<a href="http://www.grahamlowlanders.com/">http://www.grahamlowlanders.com/</a>
Hague Highland Pipe Band	Zoetermeer	1957	<a href="http://www.hhpb.nl/">http://www.hhpb.nl/</a>
Herivvarda District Pipes & Drums	Heerwaarden	1999	<a href="http://www.herivvarda.nl/">http://www.herivvarda.nl/</a>
Highland Regiment Pipes & Drums	Deventer	1996	<a href="http://www.highlandregiment.nl/">http://www.highlandregiment.nl/</a>
Highland Valley Pipes & Drums	?	?	<a href="http://www.highlandvalley.nl/">http://www.highlandvalley.nl/</a>
Inter Scaldis Pipes & Drums	Vlissingen	1984	<a href="http://www.interscaldis.nl/">http://www.interscaldis.nl/</a>
Lowland Brigade Pipe Band	Epe	1978	<a href="http://www.lowlandbrigadepipeband.nl/">http://www.lowlandbrigadepipeband.nl/</a>
Maastricht Police Pipes & Drums	Maastricht	2003	<a href="http://maastrichtpoliceband.com/">http://maastrichtpoliceband.com/</a>
MacDowell Pipe Band	Hoogkerk	1993	<a href="http://www.macdowellpb.nl/">http://www.macdowellpb.nl/</a>
Maclaren Pipes & Drums	Venlo	1994	<a href="http://www.maclarenpipeband.nl/">http://www.maclarenpipeband.nl/</a>
Massed Pipe Band Netherlands	national	2009	<a href="http://www.massedpipeband.nl">http://www.massedpipeband.nl</a>
Murphy's Law Pipes and Drums	Clinge	?	<a href="http://www.murphyslawpipesanddrums.nl/">http://www.murphyslawpipesanddrums.nl/</a>
Pegasus Pipe Band	Amsterdam	2001	<a href="http://www.pegasuspd.nl/">http://www.pegasuspd.nl/</a>
Pipers Society Castle d'Aldenghoor	Nederweerd	2003	<a href="http://www.pipersaldenghoor.nl/">http://www.pipersaldenghoor.nl/</a>
Pipes & Drums of the Royal British Legion	Ede	?	<a href="http://www.rblpipeband.com/">http://www.rblpipeband.com/</a>

Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipe Band	Maasland	1990	<a href="http://www.redroseoflochbuie.nl/i">http://www.redroseoflochbuie.nl/i</a>
Saendistrict Pipes & Drums	Wormerveer	2004	<a href="http://www.doedelzakband-saendistrict.tk/">http://www.doedelzakband-saendistrict.tk/</a>
Seaforth Highlanders of Holland Pipe Band	Harderwijk	1999	<a href="http://www.seaforth.nl/">http://www.seaforth.nl/</a>
St Andrew's Pipe Band	Rotterdam	1981	<a href="http://www.sapbroterdam.nl/">http://www.sapbroterdam.nl/</a>
St Eligius Juliana Pipe Band	Schinveld	?	<a href="http://www.st-eligius-juliana.nl/">http://www.st-eligius-juliana.nl/</a>
St. Anthony Pipe Band	Wijk/Duurstede	1977	<a href="http://www.saintanthony.nl/">http://www.saintanthony.nl/</a>
Strathyre Pipes & Drums	Tegelen	?	-
XII Manitoba Dragoon Memorial Pipes & Drums	Hardenberg	2008	<a href="http://www.12md.nl/">http://www.12md.nl/</a>

## Norway (2)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Bergen Pipe Band	Bergen	2005	<a href="http://www.bergen-pipeband.com/">http://www.bergen-pipeband.com/</a>
Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band	Oslo	1994	<a href="http://www.ocpb.no/">http://www.ocpb.no/</a>

## Poland (2)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Częstochowa Pipes & Drums	Częstochowa	2002	<a href="http://www.cpad.pl/">http://www.cpad.pl/</a>
Gdańsk Pipe Band	Gdańsk	2000	<a href="http://www.myspace.com/gdanskpipeband">http://www.myspace.com/gdanskpipeband</a>

## Russia (1)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Moscow & District Pipe Band	Moscow	2004	<a href="http://www.pipeband.ru/">http://www.pipeband.ru/</a>

## Sweden (5)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Gothenburg City Pipe Band	Gothenburg	1974	-
Griffin Pipes & Drums	Malmö	1973	<a href="http://www.griffin.se">http://www.griffin.se</a>
Murray Pipes & Drums of Gothenburg	Gothenburg	1976	<a href="http://www.murrays.nu/">http://www.murrays.nu/</a>
The Pipes and Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers	Stockholm	1987	<a href="http://www.sackpipa.com">http://www.sackpipa.com</a>
The Thistle Pipe Band Stockholm	Stockholm	1968	<a href="http://www.thistlepipeband.com/">http://www.thistlepipeband.com/</a>

**Switzerland (20)**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Bag-Pipers of Wangen a/A	Wangen/ Aare BE	1995	<a href="http://www.bag-pipers.ch/">http://www.bag-pipers.ch/</a>
Bärn Pipes	Bern BE	2001	<a href="http://www.baern-pipes.ch/">http://www.baern-pipes.ch/</a>
Black Sheep Pipers	Solothurn SO	2009	<a href="http://www.blacksheeppipers.ch">http://www.blacksheeppipers.ch</a>
City of Basel Caledonia Pipe Band	Münchenstein BL	1990	<a href="http://www.pipeband.ch/">http://www.pipeband.ch/</a>
Dalhousie Pipe Band	Rappschwir BL	1999	<a href="http://www.dalhousie.ch/">http://www.dalhousie.ch/</a>
Glaronia Pipes & Drums	Glarus GL	1982	<a href="http://www.gpad.ch/">http://www.gpad.ch/</a>
Happy Pipers	Lucerne LU	1973	<a href="http://www.happy-pipers.ch">http://www.happy-pipers.ch</a>
Moosalp Highlanders	Törb VS	2002	<a href="http://www.moosalp-highlands.ch/">http://www.moosalp-highlands.ch/</a>
Pipe Band Young Rhône	Visp VS	2007	<a href="http://www.pipeband-young-rhone.ch">http://www.pipeband-young-rhone.ch</a>
Pipes & Drums of Basel	Basel BS	1978	<a href="http://www.pdbs.ch/">http://www.pdbs.ch/</a>
Pipes & Drums of Geneva	Geneva GE	1976	<a href="http://pipesanddrumsofgeneva.googlepages.com">http://pipesanddrumsofgeneva.googlepages.com</a>
Pipes & Drums of Zurich	Zurich ZH	1977	<a href="http://www.pdz.ch/">http://www.pdz.ch/</a>
Pipes & Drums of the Lucerne Caledonians	Lucerne LU	1981	<a href="http://lucaledonians.ch/">http://lucaledonians.ch/</a>
Schotteclique	Basel BS	1947	<a href="http://www.schotteclique.ch/">http://www.schotteclique.ch/</a>
Swiss Highland Pipers	Schötz LU	2005	<a href="http://www.highlandpiper.ch">http://www.highlandpiper.ch</a>
Swiss Highlanders	-	2009	<a href="http://www.swisshighlanders.ch/">http://www.swisshighlanders.ch/</a>
Swiss Midland Pipe Band	Zofingen AG	1997	<a href="http://www.smpb.ch">http://www.smpb.ch</a>
Traditional Pipe Band of Lausanne	Lausanne VD	1996	<a href="http://www.traditional-pipe-band-lausanne.ch/">http://www.traditional-pipe-band-lausanne.ch/</a>
United Maniacs Pipes & Drums	St. Gallen SG	2002	<a href="http://www.united-maniacs.ch/">http://www.united-maniacs.ch/</a>
Zurich Caledonian Pipe Band	Zurich ZH	2007	<a href="http://www.caledonianpipers.ch/">http://www.caledonianpipers.ch/</a>

*This list includes only kilted pipe bands. Other bagpipe bands (Breton bagads, German Spielmannszüge, medieval rock bands etc) and solo-entertainers were not considered.*

## A.2 Highland Games in Europe (2009/2010)

### Austria (30)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Alpen Highland Games	Schloss Hallegg, Wölfnitz, Carinthia	3-5 Sept 2010	2006	<a href="http://alpenhighlander.eu">http://alpenhighlander.eu</a>
Bad Wimsbach Highland Games	Bad Wimsbach, Neydharting, Upper Austria	25 May 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.whiskywarriors.com/">http://www.whiskywarriors.com/</a>
Donnerskirchen Highland Games	Donnerskirchen, Burgenland	1 August 2010	1997	<a href="http://www.gordon-highlanders.com">www.gordon-highlanders.com</a>
Dufftown Rangers & Kilt Cats Highland Games	Söchau, Styria	7 August 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.rangersandkiltcats.at/">www.rangersandkiltcats.at/</a>
Faakersee Highland Games	Faak am See, Carinthia	17-18 Sept 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.faakerseehighlandgames.sommerelfen.at/">http://www.faakerseehighlandgames.sommerelfen.at/</a>
Fischbacher Highland Games	Fischbach, Styria	28 Aug 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.felber-ranch.com/Highlanders">http://www.felber-ranch.com/Highlanders</a>
Gösser Team Highlander Games	Jasnitz, Styria, Austria	26 June 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.goesserteam-jasnitz.at/">http://www.goesserteam-jasnitz.at/</a>
Hopfgarten Highlander Games	Salvenpass, Tyrol	20-21 August 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.salvenpass.at">http://www.salvenpass.at</a>
Irschner Highland Games	Irschen, Carinthia	17 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.highlandgames-irschen.com/">http://www.highlandgames-irschen.com/</a>
Kammerner Highland Games	Kammern im Liesingtal, Styria	29 May 2010	2008	<a href="http://reitingbikers.at/">http://reitingbikers.at/</a>
Katzelsdorfer Highland Games	Katzelsdorf, Lower Austria	22 May 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.blacksmithpipers.at/">http://www.blacksmithpipers.at/</a>
Langenzersdorfer Highland Games	Korneuburg, Lower Austria	3 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.highlanders.at">http://www.highlanders.at</a>
Lurnfeld Highland Games	Möllbrücke, Spittal an der Drau, Carinthia	17-19 July 2009	2009	<a href="http://www.mac-lurn.at/">http://www.mac-lurn.at/</a>
McStingler's Highland Dorfmeisterschaften	Döbriach, Radentheim, Carinthia	26 June 2010	2005 (?)	<a href="http://highlander.mcstingler.at/">http://highlander.mcstingler.at/</a>
Nock Games	Feld am See, Villach, Carinthia	17 July 2010	2005	<a href="http://nockroses.at/">http://nockroses.at/</a>
Original Highland Games	Gasthof Oitzl, Riegersdorf, Carinthia	25 Sept 2010	1984	<a href="http://www.dieschotten.com">http://www.dieschotten.com</a>
Oststeirische Highland Games	Hofbrauerei Moarbräu, Stubenberg, Styria	5 June 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.myspace.com/highlanderos">http://www.myspace.com/highlanderos</a> tstrmk
Rotenturmer Highland Games	Rotenturm, Burgenland	24 July 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.red-tower-bulls.at/">http://www.red-tower-bulls.at/</a>
Salzburger Highland Games	Imlau bei Werfen, Salzburg	22-23 Oct 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.macclouds.at/">http://www.macclouds.at/</a>
Stadlauer Highland Games	Vienna	2 Oct 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.originalgames.at.tf/">http://www.originalgames.at.tf/</a>
Styrian Highland Games	Bärndorf, Styria	20-22 Aug 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.dudelsackspieler.at">http://www.dudelsackspieler.at</a>

Taufkirchen an der Trattnach Highland Games	Taufkirchen an der Trattnach, Upper Austria	9 August 2009	2008	-
Timelkammer Highland Games	Lenzing, Salzkammergut, Upper Austria	2-3 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.1thc.net">http://www.1thc.net</a>
Tiroler Highland Games Leutasch	Leutasch, Tyrol	16-17 July 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.tiroler-highland-games.at/">http://www.tiroler-highland-games.at/</a>
Tyrolean Highlander Games	Schloss Mitterhart, Vomp, Tyrol	12 June 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.tyrolean-highlander-games.com">http://www.tyrolean-highlander-games.com</a>
Upper Austrian Highland Games Gramastetten	Gramastetten, Upper Austria	27-29 August 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.highlanders.at/">http://www.highlanders.at/</a>
Veitscher Highland Games	Veitsch, Mürzzuschlag, Styria	11 Sept 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.texas-gaelic.com/">http://www.texas-gaelic.com/</a>
Vienna Highland Games	Vienna	10 July 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.vienna-highlanders.com/">http://www.vienna-highlanders.com/</a>
Waldviertler Highland Games	Schloss Leiben, Leiben, Lower Austria	27 June 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.highland-games.at/">http://www.highland-games.at/</a>
Weils Wurscht is Highland Games	Bad Deutsch Altenburg, Lower Austria	17 July 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.weilswurschtis.at/">http://www.weilswurschtis.at/</a>

### Belgium (18)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
DHL Highlanders Highland Games	Overhespen, Flanders	6 June 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.dhlhighlanders.be">http://www.dhlhighlanders.be</a>
Team Madness Highland Games	Zwijndrecht, Flanders	13 June 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.teammadness.be/">http://www.teammadness.be/</a>
Mechelse Highland Games	Mechelen, Flanders	29 Aug 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.kramclan.be">http://www.kramclan.be</a>
Snellegem Highland Games	Snellegem, Flanders	26-27 June 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.vrij-actief.be">http://www.vrij-actief.be</a>
McSinclair Highland Games	Puurs, Flanders	20 June 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.mcsinclair.be">www.mcsinclair.be</a>
Hoeilaart Highland Games	Hoeilaart, Flanders	9 May 2010	2002	<a href="http://www.highlandgamesteamhoeilaart.centerall.com">http://www.highlandgamesteamhoeilaart.centerall.com</a>
Betekom Highland Games	Betekom, Flanders	23 May 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.kwbbetekom.be">www.kwbbetekom.be</a>
Zandvliet Highland Games	Berendrecht/Zandvliet, Flanders	15 April 2010	2007	-
Londerzeel Highland Games	Londerzeel, Flanders	15 August 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.londerzeel.be">www.londerzeel.be</a>
Schotse Dagen Open Belgisch Kampioenschap	Destelbergen, Flanders	21 Aug 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.highlandgamesbelgium.be">www.highlandgamesbelgium.be</a>
Wellen Schotse Highland Games	Wellen, Flanders	22 Aug 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.hovoh.be">www.hovoh.be</a>
McFreedom Highland Games	Boortmeerbeek, Flanders	3 Oct 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.everyoneweb.com/freedomclan/">www.everyoneweb.com/freedomclan/</a>
Flanders Scottish Memorial Day (incl. Highland Games)	Zonnebeke, Flanders	20 Sept 2009	2007	<a href="http://www.scottishmonument.be/">http://www.scottishmonument.be/</a>

Schotse Weekend (incl. Highland Games)	Lands-commanderij Alden Biesen, Bilzen, Flanders	10-12 Sept 2010	1986	<a href="http://www.scottish-weekend.be/">http://www.scottish-weekend.be/</a>
Ooidonk Scottish Festival (incl. Highland Games)	Castle Ooidonk, Deinze, Flanders	28-29 Aug 2010	2000	<a href="http://www.scottishfestival.be">www.scottishfestival.be</a>
Royse Festen Highland Games	Gruitrode, Flanders	28-29 August 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.royse-feesten.be/">http://www.royse-feesten.be/</a>
Heffense Highland Games	Heffen, Flanders	18 April 2009	?	-
Schotse Feesten 'De Kluis'	De Kluis, St Joris, Flanders	7 June 2009	?	<a href="http://users.skynet.be/fb797892/index.htm">http://users.skynet.be/fb797892/index.htm</a>

### Czech Republic (1)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Sychrov Highland Games	Sychrov, Bohemia	20 Aug 2010	2001	<a href="http://www.skotskehry.cz">www.skotskehry.cz</a>

### France (3)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Bressuire Highland Games	Bressuire, Poitou-Charente	12-13 June 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.ajef.eu/">http://www.ajef.eu/</a>
Luzarches Jeux Ecosais	Luzarches, Val d'Oise, Île-de-France	26 Sept 2010	2001	<a href="http://jeuxecosais.asl.free.fr/">http://jeuxecosais.asl.free.fr/</a>
St Michel sur Orge Jeux Ecosais	St Michel sur Orge, Essonne, Île-de-France	11 Sept 2010	?	<a href="http://highlandgames.sms.free.fr/">http://highlandgames.sms.free.fr/</a>

### Germany (56)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Achern Highland Games	Achern, Baden-Württemberg	11 Sept 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.achern-goes-schoddisch.de/">http://www.achern-goes-schoddisch.de/</a>
Angelbachtal Highland Games	Schlosspark Eichtersheim, Baden-Württemberg	10-11 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.caledonia-ev.de/">http://www.caledonia-ev.de/</a>
Bavarian Highland Games	Dachau, Bavaria	6-8 August 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.bavarianhighlands.de/">http://www.bavarianhighlands.de/</a>
Bleicherode Highland Games	Bleicherode, Thuringia	14 August 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.bleicherode.de/">http://www.bleicherode.de/</a>
Bodensee Highland Games	Allensbach/Kaltbrunn, Baden-Württemberg	21-22 Aug 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.highlandgames-am-bodensee.de/">http://www.highlandgames-am-bodensee.de/</a>
Brandenburgische Highland Games	Spreewiese, Fürstenwalde, Brandenburg	11-13 June 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.stone-walker.de/">http://www.stone-walker.de/</a>
British Day (incl. Highland Games)	Klein Flottbeck, Hamburg	28-29 August 2010	?	<a href="http://www.britishday.de">http://www.britishday.de</a>

Brüggener Highland Games	Brüggen, North Rhine Westphalia	13 May 2010	2010	-
Buxheimer Highland Games	Buxheim, Bavaria	1 Aug 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.buxheimer-highlander.de/">http://www.buxheimer-highlander.de/</a>
Chiemgau Highland Games	Pietzing am Simssee, Bavaria	13-16 May 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.schankmaenner.de/">http://www.schankmaenner.de/</a>
Dürrfelder Highland Games	Dürrfeld (Grettstadt), Bavaria	12-13 June 2010	2009	<a href="http://highlandgames-duerrfeld.de.tl/">http://highlandgames-duerrfeld.de.tl/</a>
Eckenförde Highland Games	Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein	4 Sept 2010	?	<a href="http://www.freikirche-eckernfoerde.de/">http://www.freikirche-eckernfoerde.de/</a>
Eichsfelder Highland Games Mittelalterliches Spektakulum	Ferienparadies Pferdeberg, Duderstadt, Lower Saxony	26-28 June 2009	2004	<a href="http://www.kolping-duderstadt.de/highlandgames">http://www.kolping-duderstadt.de/highlandgames</a>
Ellwanger Highland Games	Ellwangen, Baden-Württemberg	25 Sept 2010	2006	<a href="http://games.pubfamily.de/">http://games.pubfamily.de/</a>
First Illertal Highlanders Highland Games	Kirchberg, Baden-Württemberg	12 July 2009	?	<a href="http://www.musikverein-kirchberg.eu/">http://www.musikverein-kirchberg.eu/</a>
Grefrather Highland Games	Grefrath, North Rhine Westphalia	10 July 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.58er-schottengarde.de">http://www.58er-schottengarde.de</a>
Gronau Highland Games	Gronau (Leine), Lower Saxony	11 Sept 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.gronauer-schottentag.de/">http://www.gronauer-schottentag.de/</a>
Halle Highland Games	Halle (Saale), Saxony-Anhalt	3-5 July 2009 (paused in 2010)	2005	<a href="http://www.highlandgame-halle.de/">http://www.highlandgame-halle.de/</a>
Hammer Highland Games	BrauhoF Wilshaus, Hamm, North Rhine Westphalia	3-4 July 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.brauhoF-wilshaus.de/">www.brauhoF-wilshaus.de/</a>
Highlandsack Highlandgames	Kanzach bei Riedlingen, Baden-Württemberg	20 June 2009	1997	<a href="http://www.highlandsack.de/">http://www.highlandsack.de/</a>
Hunsrück Highland Games	Sohren, Hunsrück, Rheinland-Pfalz	8 May 2010	1990 (bi-annually)	<a href="http://www.hunsrueck-highlander.de/">http://www.hunsrueck-highlander.de/</a>
Keltischer Abend Krostitz (incl. Highland Games)	Krostitz, Saxony	20-22 Aug 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.clan-der-berserker.de/">http://www.clan-der-berserker.de/</a>
Kempen Highland Games	Kempen, North Rhine Westphalia	8-9 May 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.highlandervomniederrhein.de/">http://www.highlandervomniederrhein.de/</a>
Köstritzer Highland Games und Werfertag	Bad Köstritz, Thuringia	28-29 Aug 2010	1995	<a href="http://www.werfertag.de/Koestritz.php">http://www.werfertag.de/Koestritz.php</a>
Lochtrop Highland Games	Lochtrop, Eslohe, North Rhine Westphalia	28 Aug 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.highland-games-lochtrop.de">http://www.highland-games-lochtrop.de</a>
Lüerdissen VfI Highland Games	Lemgo, Detmold, North Rhine Westphalia	12-13 June 2010	2004	<a href="http://www.vfI--luerdissen.de">http://www.vfI--luerdissen.de</a>
Machern Highland Games	Machern, Saxony	17-19 Sept 2010	2001	<a href="http://www.schlossmachern.de/highlandgames.htm">http://www.schlossmachern.de/highlandgames.htm</a>

Mainland Games	Rüsselsheim, Hesse	5 Sept 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.mainlandgames.de/">http://www.mainlandgames.de/</a>
Marzahner Highland Games	Berlin	29 August 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.gruen-berlin.de/marz/">http://www.gruen-berlin.de/marz/</a>
Matzerather Highland Games	Matzerath, Rheinland-Pfalz	5 Sept 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.matzerather-schotten.de/">http://www.matzerather-schotten.de/</a>
Nettetal Highland Games	Nettetal, North Rhine Westphalia	23 May 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.highlander-nettetal.de">www.highlander-nettetal.de</a>
Neu-Isenburg Hochlandspiele	Neu-Isenburg, Hesse	28 June 2009	2009 (Revival)	<a href="http://www.hrutv.de/">http://www.hrutv.de/</a>
Nordeifler Highland Games	Lammersdorf, North Rhine Westphalia	20 June 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.tuslammersdorf.de/">http://www.tuslammersdorf.de/</a>
Obermain Highland Games	Stetten, Bavaria	4-5 June 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.schottlandclub-obermain.de/">http://www.schottlandclub-obermain.de/</a>
Ochtrup-Welbergen Highland Games	Ochtrup-Welbergen, Münsterland, North Rhine Westphalia	26-27 June 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.clanmackay.de">http://www.clanmackay.de</a>
Odenwälder Hochlandspiele	Wald-Michelbach, Hesse	8 Aug 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.ueberwald.eu/">http://www.ueberwald.eu/</a>
Oßweiler Highland Games	Ludwigsburg-Oßweil, Baden-Württemberg	5-6 June 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.highlandgames-ossweil.de">www.highlandgames-ossweil.de</a>
Peine Highland Gathering	Peine, Lower Saxony	1-2 May 2010	1995	<a href="http://www.highlandgathering-peine.de">www.highlandgathering-peine.de</a>
Pfingst Highland Games Schloss Schkopau	Schloss Schkopau, Saxony-Anhalt	22 May 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.schlosshotel-schkopau.de/">http://www.schlosshotel-schkopau.de/</a>
Prinzbach Highland Games	Prinzbach-Biberach, Baden Württemberg	14-15 August 2010	2004	<a href="http://www.prinzbach-highlanders.de/">http://www.prinzbach-highlanders.de/</a>
Pullman City Highland Games	Eging am See, Bavaria	23-24 May 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.pullmancity.de/">http://www.pullmancity.de/</a>
Radeberg Scottish Highland Games	Stadtbad, Radeberg, Saxony	29 Aug 2010	2002	<a href="http://www.kiltssports.de">www.kiltssports.de</a>
Rhön Highland Games	Langenleiten, Sandberg, Bavaria	17 July 2010	2009	<a href="http://djk-langenleiten.jimdo.com">http://djk-langenleiten.jimdo.com</a>
Schottisches Festival Xanten (incl. Highland Games)	Xanten, North Rhine Westphalia	19-20 June 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.s-k-x.de/">www.s-k-x.de/</a>
Schottisches Mittsommerfest	Schotten, Vogelsberg, Hesse	19-20 June 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.tourist-schotten.de/">http://www.tourist-schotten.de/</a>
Schwäbische Highland Games	Kreenheinstetten, Baden-Württemberg	6 Sept 2010	2000	<a href="http://www.schwaebische-highlandgames.de/">http://www.schwaebische-highlandgames.de/</a>
Sehestedt Highland Games	Sehestedt, Schleswig-Holstein	13 Sept 2008	2001	<a href="http://www.sehestedt.de/">http://www.sehestedt.de/</a>
Steinbruch Lütschenbach Highland Games	Malsburg-Marzell, Baden-Württemberg	19-20 June 2010	?	-
Süchteln Highland Games	Süchteln, Viersen, North Rhine Westphalia	28 August 2010	2009	<a href="http://whpad.de/">http://whpad.de/</a>



Unterkochener Highland Games	Aalen, Baden-Württemberg	31 July 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.unterkochener-highlandgames.de/">http://www.unterkochener-highlandgames.de/</a>
Velberter Highland Games	Apostelkirche, Velbert, North Rhine Westphalia	11 Sept 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.cvjm-dalbecksbaum.de/hlg/">http://www.cvjm-dalbecksbaum.de/hlg/</a>
Weidefest & Highland Games zu Prießnitz	Prießnitz, Saxony-Anhalt	14-16 May 2010	2000	<a href="http://www.kuhne-priessnitz.de/">http://www.kuhne-priessnitz.de/</a>
Wesenberg Highland Games	Neustrelitz, Wesenberg, Mecklenburg	10 July 2010	1997	<a href="http://www.neustrelitz-guide.de">http://www.neustrelitz-guide.de</a> (Whisky Shop)
Whisky Club Schwiegershausen Highland Games	Schwiegershausen, Lower Saxony	11 Sept 2010	2002	<a href="http://www.whiskyclubschwiegershausen.info/">http://www.whiskyclubschwiegershausen.info/</a>
Whisky Kuckucke Raibach Highland Fun Games	Raibach, Groß Umstadt, Hesse	24 April 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.sv-kuckuck-raibach.de/verein/whisky.htm">http://www.sv-kuckuck-raibach.de/verein/whisky.htm</a>
Woinemer Highland Games	Weinheim, Baden Württemberg	17-18 July 2010	1998	<a href="http://www.highlander-ev.de/">http://www.highlander-ev.de/</a>

### Italy (1)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
South Tyrolean Highland Games	Pfalzen/ Falzes, South Tyrol	16 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.highlandgames.it">http://www.highlandgames.it</a>

### Luxembourg (2)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
MG Car Club Highland Games	Taunus mountains	23-25 April 2010	1985	<a href="http://www.mgcarclub.lu/">http://www.mgcarclub.lu/</a>
Scottish Irish Day	Schloss Bourscheid, Luxembourg	16 August 2009	?	-

### Netherlands (17)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Appelscha Highland Games	Appelscha	2010	?	<a href="http://highlandgamesappelscha.nl/">http://highlandgamesappelscha.nl/</a>
Fredriksoord Highland Games	Fredriksoord	26 June 2010	?	<a href="http://www.highlandgames2010.nl/">http://www.highlandgames2010.nl/</a>
Hank Highland Games	Kurenpolder/ Hank	5 Sept 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.highlandgameshank.nl">http://www.highlandgameshank.nl</a>
Highlander Challenge	Haarlemmermeerse Bos	24 April 2010	?	<a href="http://www.dutchhighlander.nl/">http://www.dutchhighlander.nl/</a>
Hulst Highland Games	Hulst	5 June 2010	?	-
Joure Ballonfeesten (incl. Highland Games)	Joure	30 July 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.ballonfeesten.nl">http://www.ballonfeesten.nl</a>
Keltfest (incl. Highland Games)	Dordrecht	15-16 May 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.keltfest.nl">http://www.keltfest.nl</a>

Keltisch Festival in Wijhe (incl. 'Celtic Strongest Man' Contest)	Wijhe	4 Sept 2010	2005	<a href="http://www.keltischfestivalwijhe.nl/">http://www.keltischfestivalwijhe.nl/</a>
Limburgse Highland Games	Nederweert, Netherlands	31 July 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.highland-games.nl">http://www.highland-games.nl</a>
Northern Meeting Highland Games	Lujegast	20 June 2009	?	<a href="http://www.northernmeeting.nl/">http://www.northernmeeting.nl/</a>
Rotary Highland Games Velsen	Velsen	6 June 2010	1998	<a href="http://www.rotaryhighlandgames-velsen.nl/">http://www.rotaryhighlandgames-velsen.nl/</a>
Schots Festival (incl. Highland Games)	Swifterbant	28 May 2010	2000?	<a href="http://www.schotse-evenementen.nl">http://www.schotse-evenementen.nl</a>
Scotfest (incl. Highland Games)	Tilburg	13 June 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.scotfest.nl/">http://www.scotfest.nl/</a>
Tartan Day Nederland (incl. Highland Games)	's-Gravendeel	4 April 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.theworldofscotland.nl">http://www.theworldofscotland.nl</a>
Vianen Highland Games	Vianen	1 May 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.amaliastein.nl/">http://www.amaliastein.nl/</a>
Wapenveld Highland Games	Wapenveld	30 April 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.maxima-wapenveld.nl">www.maxima-wapenveld.nl</a>
Zeeland Highland Games	Oost-Souburg	19 June 2010	2000	<a href="http://www.highlandgameszeeland.nl/">http://www.highlandgameszeeland.nl/</a>

### Norway (1)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Snefjord Highland Games	Snefjord, Finnmark	7-10 July 2010	2006	<a href="http://www.circussnefjord889.com/">http://www.circussnefjord889.com/</a>

### Poland (1)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Szkotowo Summer Festival (incl. Highland Games)	Szkotowo	26 June 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.scottaw.eu">http://www.scottaw.eu</a>

### Switzerland (7)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Web</i>
Appowila Highland Games	Abtwil, St Gallen	4-6 Sept 2009	2009 (biannually)	<a href="http://www.appowila-highlandgames.ch">www.appowila-highlandgames.ch</a>
Fehraltorf Highland Games	Airport Speck, Fehraltorf, Zürich	31 July – 1 August	2001	<a href="http://www.highland-games.ch">www.highland-games.ch</a>
MacVals Highland Games	Vals, Grisons	12-13 June 2010	2009	<a href="http://www.macvals-games.ch">www.macvals-games.ch</a>
Schangnau Highland Games,	Bumbach, Schangnau, Berne	8-9 Oct 2010	2008	<a href="http://www.highlandgames-schangnau.ch">www.highlandgames-schangnau.ch</a>
Schotteclique Nontraditional Highland Games	Sportanlage Sandgrube, Basel	27-29 August 2010	2007	<a href="http://www.schotteclique.ch">www.schotteclique.ch</a>
Studen Highland Games	Studen, Berne	11 August 2010	2010	<a href="http://www.bikeweekend.ch">http://www.bikeweekend.ch</a>
Wúy ú Ay Highland Games	St. Ursen, Fribourg	27-29 August 2010	2003	<a href="http://www.highlandgames.ch">www.highlandgames.ch</a>



### A.3 Commemorating Scottish History in Europe (2009/2010)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Web</i>
Austria	Leutasch, Tyrol	Tiroler Highland Games	Eleanor of Scotland (1433-1480) was married to Sigismund, ruler of Tyrol. Her grave is in Stams/Tyrol.	16-17 July 2010	<a href="http://www.tiroler-highland-games.at/">http://www.tiroler-highland-games.at/</a>
Belgium	Ypres, Flanders	Ypres Memorial Tattoo	World War I	26 Sept 2009	<a href="http://www.ypresmemorialtattoo.be">http://www.ypresmemorialtattoo.be</a>
Belgium	Zonnebeke, Flanders	Flanders Scottish Memorial Day	Passchendaele, World War I	20 Sept 2009	<a href="http://www.scottishmonument.be/">http://www.scottishmonument.be/</a>
France	Aubigny-sur-Nère, Cher	Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises	Aubigny-sur-Nère was owned and ruled by Scottish noblemen from 1423 to 1672.	9-14 July 2010	<a href="http://www.aubigny.net/">http://www.aubigny.net/</a>
France	div.	Various commemorative acts by <i>Alliance France-Ecosse</i> .	The <i>Alliance France-Ecosse</i> commemorates French-Scottish links from the Hundred Years' War to World War II.	All year	<a href="http://www.alliance-france-ecosse.com/">http://www.alliance-france-ecosse.com/</a>
Germany	Schotten, Hesse	Schottisches Mittsommerfest	Iro-Scottish missionaries were active in these parts and gave the town its name.	19-20 June 2010	<a href="http://www.tourist-schotten.de">http://www.tourist-schotten.de</a>
Germany	Bad Suderode, Saxony-Anhalt	Several events (Highland Games, Scottish evenings etc)	<i>Harz Highlanders</i> is a club established in 1995. Their exponents recall Princess Louise of Stolberg-Gedern (1752-1824), the wife of Bonnie Prince Charlie. The noble line of Stolberg has historical links to the region.	All year	<a href="http://www.harzhighlander.de/">http://www.harzhighlander.de/</a>
Italy	Gurro, Piemonte	Giornate dell'Amicizia	The population of Gurro claims descent from 'the lost Clan', a Scottish regiment which remained in the Alps after the battle of Pavia, 1525.	?	<a href="http://www.museogurro.it/clan/">http://www.museogurro.it/clan/</a>

Netherlands	div.	Commemorative acts by 'Scots Heritage'	The 'Scots Heritage' association promotes Scottish culture and awareness for Dutch-Scottish historical links.	All year	<a href="http://www.scotsheritage.nl/">http://www.scotsheritage.nl/</a>
Netherlands	Tilburg	Scotfest	Scotfest celebrates the 1944 liberation of the Netherlands by Scottish regiments.	13 June 2010	<a href="http://www.scotfest.nl">http://www.scotfest.nl</a>
Netherlands	Walcheren	Walcheren Expedition 1809	Commemoration and re-enactment of Britain's Walcheren campaign of 1809. Focus on the Scottish regiments involved.	11-13 July 2009	<a href="http://www.veere1809.nl/">http://www.veere1809.nl/</a>
Netherlands	Veere	Scottish-Zeelandic Cultural Festival	A festival organised by 'Stichting Scots in Veere', an organisation dedicated to the memory of the early modern Scottish traders in Veere.	?	<a href="http://www.veere-schotland.nl/">http://www.veere-schotland.nl/</a>
Norway	Otta	Pillarguri Days	Commemorates the 1612 battle of Kringen which saw the ambush of Scottish mercenaries who had come to join the Swedish army.	?	<a href="http://sinclair.quarterman.org/">http://sinclair.quarterman.org/</a>
Poland	Szkotowo, Warmia Mazury	Scottish summer festival	A festival inspired by the medieval Scottish knights who allegedly founded the town.	26 June 2010	<a href="http://www.scottaw.eu/">http://www.scottaw.eu/</a>

## A.4 Re-enacting Scottish History in Europe (2009/2010)

<i>Group Name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Web</i>
Woods	Netherlands	Iron Age/ Celtic	<a href="http://www.woods.nl/">http://www.woods.nl/</a>
Sassenachs War Pipes and Drums	Netherlands	Iron Age/ Celtic	<a href="http://www.sassenachs.nl/">http://www.sassenachs.nl/</a>
Alauni	Germany/ Austria	Iron Age/ Celtic	<a href="http://www.alauni.at/">http://www.alauni.at/</a>
Clan Morgainn	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.clann-morgainn.de/">http://www.clann-morgainn.de/</a>
Terra Crom	France	Medieval	<a href="http://www.terra-crom.org/">http://www.terra-crom.org/</a>
Scottish Marauders	France	Medieval	<a href="http://scottish-marauders.1talk.net/">http://scottish-marauders.1talk.net/</a>
Lechfeld Highlanders	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.lechfeldhighlander.de/">http://www.lechfeldhighlander.de/</a>
Die Schwotten	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.schwotten.de/">http://www.schwotten.de/</a>
Clan Sith	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.traumreich.eu/schottlandclan">http://www.traumreich.eu/schottlandclan</a>
Warriors of Kintail	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.thewarriorsofkintail.de/">http://www.thewarriorsofkintail.de/</a>
Rotthal Highlanders	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.rothtal-highlander.de/">http://www.rothtal-highlander.de/</a>
Neckar Highlanders	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.neckar-highlanders.gmxhome.de">http://www.neckar-highlanders.gmxhome.de</a>
Clan MacCarrock	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.clan-maccarrock.com">http://www.clan-maccarrock.com</a>
Clan McDohl	Germany	Medieval	<a href="http://www.mcdohl.de/">http://www.mcdohl.de/</a>
Mackay's Regiment of Foote	Germany	30 Years War	<a href="http://regiment-mackay.de/">http://regiment-mackay.de/</a>
Clans of Caledonia	Germany	Jacobites & Renaissance	<a href="http://www.clans-of-caledonia.de">http://www.clans-of-caledonia.de</a>
Clan MacConn of Drumfinnan	Germany	Jacobites	[-]
Clan MacBran	Netherlands/ Belgium	Jacobites	<a href="http://www.clanmacbran.nl/">http://www.clanmacbran.nl/</a>
Clan Chattan	Germany	Jacobites	<a href="http://www.jacobite-history.de/">http://www.jacobite-history.de/</a>
Les Régiments du Passé	France	Jacobites/ Royal-Ecossais	<a href="http://regimentsdupasse.net/">http://regimentsdupasse.net/</a>
Montgomerie's Highlanders	Czech Republic	French and Indian War	<a href="http://scottish.livinghistory.cz/">http://scottish.livinghistory.cz/</a>
87 <sup>th</sup> /88 <sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foote	Germany	Seven Years' War	<a href="http://www.87th88thfoot.de.tl/">http://www.87th88thfoot.de.tl/</a>
92nd Gordon Highlanders	Netherlands	Napoleonics	<a href="http://www.gordonslivinghistory.org/">http://www.gordonslivinghistory.org/</a>
92nd Gordon Highlanders	Germany	Napoleonics	<a href="http://www.92ndgordonhighlanders.de/">http://www.92ndgordonhighlanders.de/</a>
42nd Black Watch	Germany	Napoleonics	<a href="http://blackwatch.interfree.it/english/index.html">http://blackwatch.interfree.it/english/index.html</a>
42nd Black Watch	Italy	Napoleonics	<a href="http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/">http://www.napoleonische-gesellschaft.de/</a>
Charleston Highlanders	Germany	Scottish immigrants in 19th-century Charleston/ U.S. Civil War	<a href="http://www.santee-artillery.de/">http://www.santee-artillery.de/</a>
Passchendaele 1917 Pipes & Drums	Belgium	WWI	<a href="http://www.fleming-pipeband.be/">http://www.fleming-pipeband.be/</a>
Somme Battlefield Pipe Band	France	WWI	<a href="http://sommebattlefieldpipeband.fr">http://sommebattlefieldpipeband.fr</a>
1st Gordon Highlanders	Netherlands	WWI and WWII	<a href="http://www.livinghistory.nl/">http://www.livinghistory.nl/</a>

5th Bn Black Watch	Germany	WWII	<a href="http://www.theblackwatch.de">http://www.theblackwatch.de</a>
48th Highlanders of Holland	Netherlands	WWII	<a href="http://www.48th-highlanders.nl/">http://www.48th-highlanders.nl/</a>
XII Manitoba Dragoon Memorial Pipes & Drums	Netherlands	WWII	<a href="http://www.12md.nl/">http://www.12md.nl/</a>
Normandy Highlanders	France	WWII	<a href="http://www.nh-pipeband.org">http://www.nh-pipeband.org</a>
Royal Scots Fusiliers/ Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders	Czech Republic	WWII	[-]

Questionnaire, online survey „The Scots of Europe“

## The Scots of Europe, 1945-2010

“The Scots of Europe” is a research project directed by David Hesse, doctoral candidate at the University of Edinburgh’s School of History, Classics, and Archaeology. The project examines Scottish festivals and competitions on the European continent, 1945-2010. Scottish festivals include Highland Games, pipe band competitions, music festivals, historical commemorations and parades, Scottish markets, historical re-enactments, public Clan gatherings, Burns Suppers, and St. Andrews Balls. On this website, we would like to ask the organisers of such events to fill out our online-questionnaire. We are keen to learn more about your interest in Scotland. We invite all European Scotland-enthusiasts to participate, whether they have Scottish ancestry or not. Your answers will be used in scholarly publications only, your name may be anonymised (see below). Many thanks for participating!

### Basic Data

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Year of Birth
4. Occupation
5. Hometown
6. Country

### Festival

7. Name of the Scottish event or festival you organise/your club organises:

(if you do NOT organise a Scottish event, please go to question 21)

8. When was the event first held? Did the name ever change?

9. Present (and past) location of event (town, city etc.):

10. Present venue (park, field, town hall, sports centre etc.) of event:

11. How many participants and spectators did the festival attract in 2009?

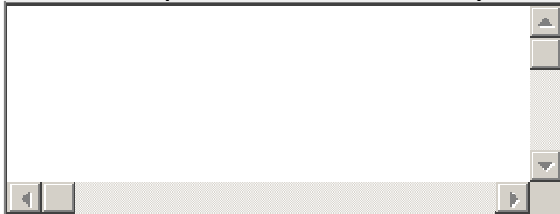


12. Has the number of participants and spectators changed significantly over the past years?  
In what way?

13. How do you advertise the festival?

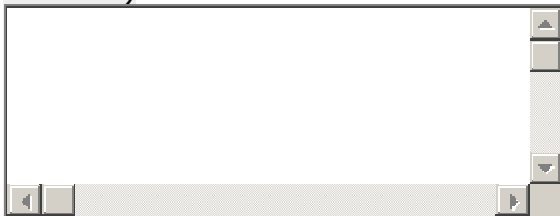


14. How do you finance the festival (entrance fees, sponsors, club etc.)?

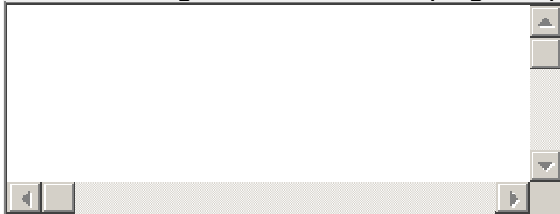


15. What was the festival's budget in 2009?

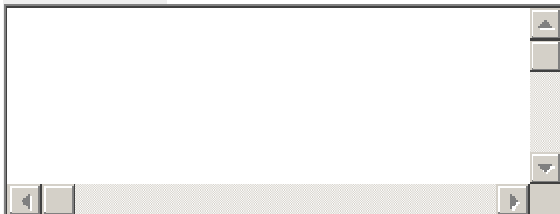
16. Who had the idea for a Scottish festival? What was the main inspiration? (Please elaborate)



17. How did you inform yourself about the rules and procedures for Scottish competitive events like Highland Games or Piping competitions?



18. Were there model festivals? Did you visit other Scottish festivals to inform yourself?  
Which ones?



19. Did you have previous experience in organising festivals?



20. Is your festival in any way associated with other Scottish events? Which ones?

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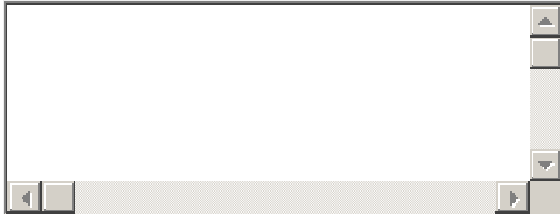
## Clubs, Clans, Bands

21. Are you a member of a Scottish club, clan, or band? If yes, which one?

(if the answer is no, please go to question 27)

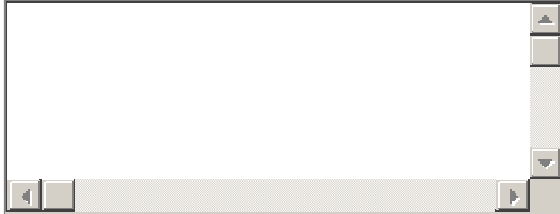
22. What is your function/position in the club?

23. When was the club founded? Under what circumstances?

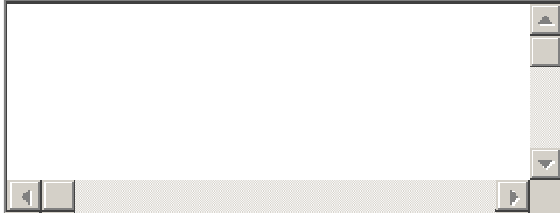
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24. How many members does your club currently have?

25. How did you become a member? (Please elaborate)

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26. Why a Scottish club? Why not something else?

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## Scotland and You

27. Are you of Scottish ancestry?

28. If yes, could you briefly describe your ancestral links to Scotland, and how you/your family came to leave Scotland?

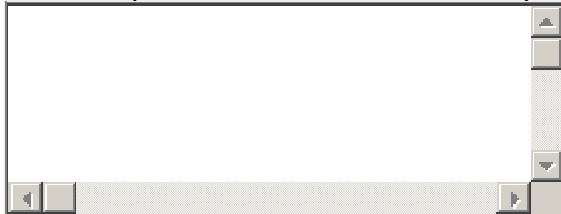


29. When did you first get interested in Scotland? Was there a key moment?

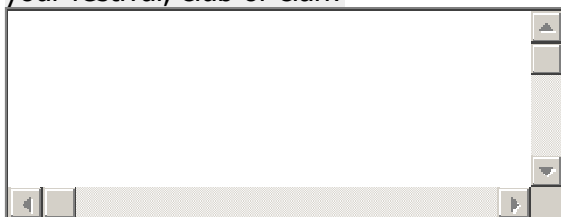


30. Has the place you live in any special relationship to Scotland?

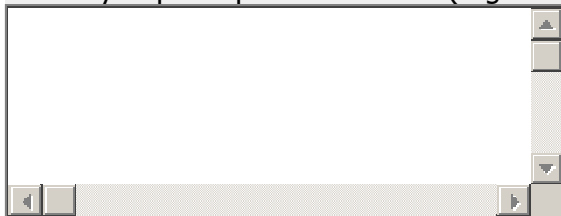
31. Have you ever been to Scotland? If yes, do you go regularly? How often?



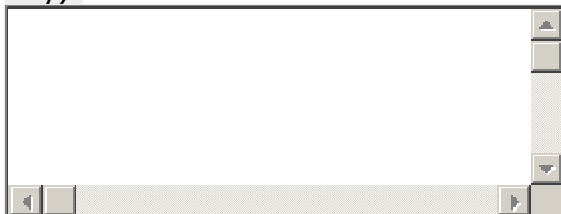
32. What places do you visit in Scotland? Are these places linked to your family/origins, or to your festival, club or clan?



33. Do you participate in festivals (Highland Games, Piping competitions) when in Scotland?



34. Do you wear the kilt or a tartan costume when in Scotland? If yes, what tartan (and why)?



35. Do you wear the kilt or a tartan at home? On what occasions?

36. Did you in any way participate in Homecoming Scotland (2009)?

37. What are your favourite books and films about Scotland?

38. Would you say there is something Scottish about you (your looks, your character etc.)?

39. If you had to describe “the Scots” to an extraterrestrial who had never heard of them, how would you do so in three words?

40. Your comments:

Please tick this box if we can quote your answers in academic publications.

Please tick this box if your name should be anonymised.

Please tick this box if you would like to be updated about the research project in the future. If you do tick this box, please leave your e-mail address:

Send Form

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**Plates – Chapter 4**



4.1: Cpt Cunninghame, 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland Rgt, Crimean War. Photograph by Roger Fenton, 1855. Roger Fenton Crimean War Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. [<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001697098/>]



4.2: The 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders at the Taking of Secunderabagh [sic], Siege of Lucknow. Watercolour by Orlando Norie, 1857. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence RI. Ref. IndB1857mf-1, accessed via Brown University Library, Center for Digital Initiatives (CDI), [<http://dl.lib.brown.edu/>]



4.3: 150<sup>th</sup> Birthday Parade, Cape Town Highlanders and Cape Town Rifles, South Africa, 2005. (Photographs © [<http://www.militaryphotos.net/>])





4.4: Sir Harry Lauder, New York City. Photograph by E. White, c. 1907. New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. [<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/00650481/>]



4.5: Alexander Brothers, c. 2007 (Photo © [<http://www.alexanderbrothers.com/>])



4.6: Lillian Gish as Annie Laurie, 1927 (Photo © Getty Images)

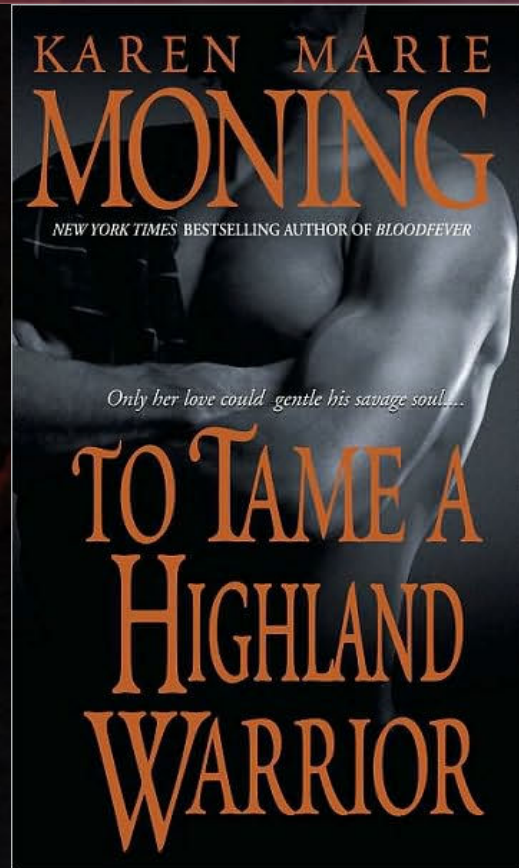
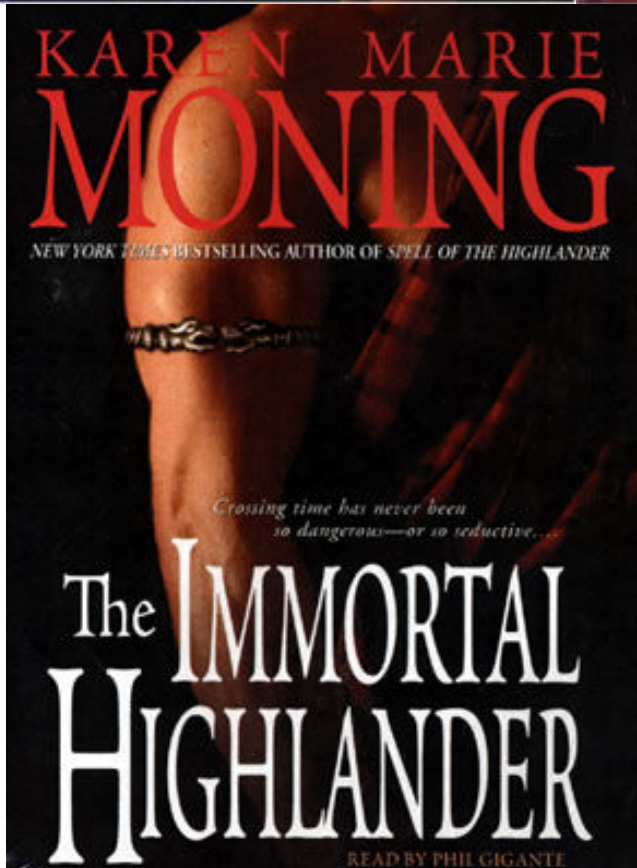
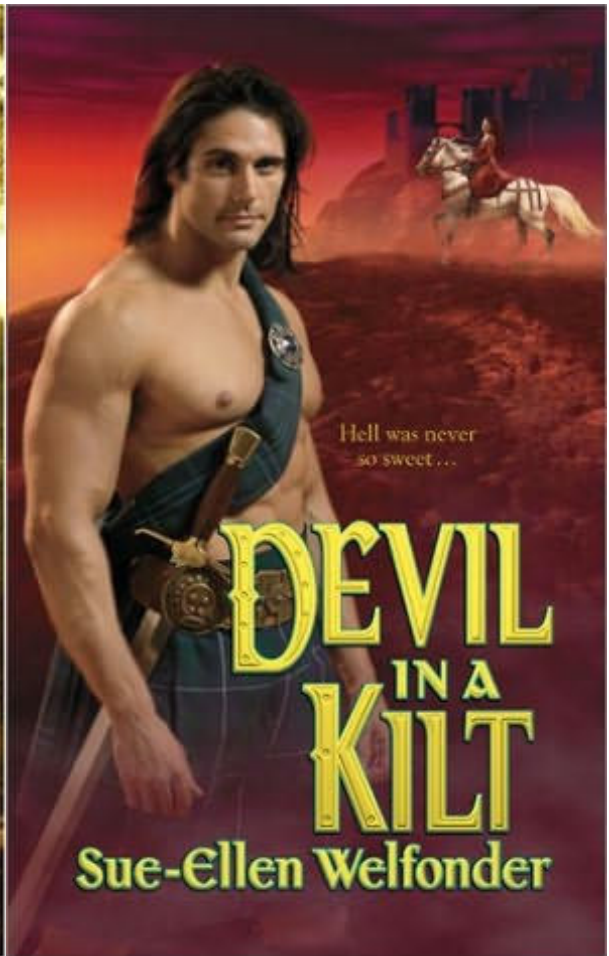
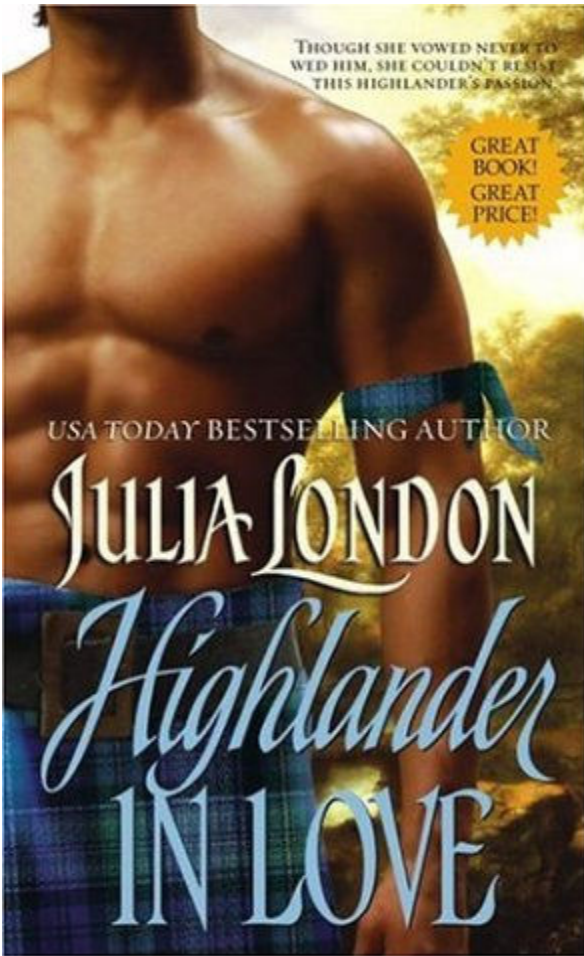


4.7: The Ghost Goes West, 1935, International Film Posters.



4.8: Christopher Lambert as Connor Macleod in Highlander, 1986. (Photo © Davis/Panzer Film Productions)





4.10: Highlander Romance Novels, c. 1991-2010

Plates – Chapter 5



5.1: Albrecht Dürer, Sackpfeifer, copper engraving, 1514.





5.2: Female Pipers, Częstochowa Pipe Band, Poland (Photo © Częstochowa Pipe Band)



5.3: Tokyo Pipe Band, Japan, 1993. (Photo © Tokyo Pipe Band)



5.4: Basel Tattoo, Switzerland, 2010. (Photo © Basel Tattoo)



5.5: Swiss Highlanders, Edinburgh, 2010 (Photo © Swiss Highlanders)



5.6: Moscow District Pipes and Drums, c. 2008, Russia (Photo © MDPD)



5.7: Scots Guards parading on Tilburg's Oude Markt, 29 October 1944. Regionaal Archief Tilburg, Ref. 012519 and 012520.



5.8: De Scotjes in Tilburg with Colin Barber, October 1954. Regionaal Archief Tilburg, Ref. 600169.



5.9: De Scotjes, Netherlands, 1971. Photograph by W. Jansen. Regionaal Archief Tilburg, Ref. 048416.



5.10: Weekend bagpipe workshop, Clan Pipers Frankfurt, Western Germany, 1986 (Photo © M. Dahlmanns)



5.11: Clan Pipers Frankfurt, Germany, c. 2001. (Photo © Clan Pipers)





5.12: Heerlen Police Band feat. Black Watch, Netherlands, c. 1950 (Photo © Coriovallum)



5.13: Coriovallum Pipe Band, Netherlands, 2004 (Photo © Coriovallum)



5.14: Schotteclique Basel, Switzerland, 1947 (Photos © Schotteclique)



5.15: Schotteclique Basel, Switzerland 2007 (Photo © Schotteclique)

**Plates – Chapter 6**



6.1 Clan Reischinga, Highland Games, Pfalzen, South Tyrol, Italy, 2009.



6.2 Puschtra-Hexn, Highland Games, Pfalzen, South Tyrol, Italy, 2009.



6.3: Clan Schierhagl, Highland Games, Pfalzen, South Tyrol, Italy, 2009.



6.4: Visitors, Highland Games, Pflazen, South Tyrol, Italy, 2009.



6.5: Female Tug-of-War Team, Schotse Feesten, Belgium. (Photo © Schotse Feesten)



6.6: Female athletic team 'Buxheimer Perlen', Germany, c. 2009. (Photo © Buxheimer Highland Games)

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6.7: Advertisement, Wúy ú ay Highland Games, Switzerland, 2008. (Photo © Wúy ú ay Highland Games)



## Der Beweis: Schotten sind nicht geizig



*Dietmar Borgs Organisator der Schottengarde, Herbert Küsters IFfB, Fried van Maasakker Pipe Major der Schottengarde, Ida Koch Hospizgruppe und Georg Stielow, Hauptmann der Schottengarde.*

**Grefrath.** Die Grefrather Schotten hatten sich mächtig ins Zeug gelegt: Am 23. August hatte die 58er Schottengarde ihre großen „Highland-Games“ auf der Schulwiese. Ein Geheimnis ist dabei nicht gelüftet worden: Noch immer weiß keiner, was die die Männer aus den Highlands unter ihren Röcken tragen. Ein Vorurteil allerdings schoben die Nierschotten in den Abfalleimer

der Geschichte: Schotten mögen viel sein - nur geizig sind sie nicht! Den Überschuss der Highland-Games stellte die Schottengarde nämlich am Samstag caritativen Einrichtungen der Niersgemeinde zur Verfügung. Über großzügige Spenden freuten sich Ida Koch für die Grefrather Hospizgruppe und Herbert Küsters für die Interessengemeinschaft Freizeit für Behinderte.

„Wir hatten viel Spaß und Freude bei unseren Highland-Games“, sagten Dietmar Borgs, Georg Stielow und Fried van Maasakker von der Schottengarde, „und unseren Gästen ging es da nicht anders. Da ist es für uns selbstverständlich, dass wir auch an die denken, die wegen ihrer aktuellen Lebenslage gar nicht die Chance hatten, zu den Spielen zu kommen.“



6.9: Teams MacBattery (Belgium) and Danish Dragoons (Denmark) won the KFOR Highland Games, Camp Belvedere, Kosovo, 2009 (Photo © KFOR Chronicle 2009)

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6.10: Advertisement, Styrian Tartan, Austria, c. 2009. (Photo © T. Rettl, Austria)



6.11: Kilt-Soccer, Alpen Highland Games, Carinthia, Austria, c. 2009. (Photo © T. Rettl)



6.12: Swiss athlete Peter Michel with Unspunnenstein and at Airth Highland Games, Scotland, 2008 (Photos © Nicholas Righetti/SonntagsBlick and P. Michel, Switzerland)



6.13: Basque Herri Kirolak group 'Nazioen Mundua' in Inverness, Scotland, 2008 (Photos © Nazioen Mundua).

Plates – Chapter 7



7.1: Parade, Fêtes Franco-Ecossaises, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009.



7.2: Auld Alliance Pipe Band, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009.



7.3: Members of the D-Day Piper Bill Millin Association mourn the passing of Mr Bill Millin, Sword Beach, Normandy, 2010 (Photo © DDPBMA)



7.4: The 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Holland, Apeldoorn, Netherlands, c. 2000 (Photo © 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Holland)





7.5: Le Giornate dell' Amicizia, Gurro, Italy, 2003 (Photo © K. Tippmann, Switzerland)

# Flanders Scottish Memorial Day

## 20 september 2009

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Highland Games  
Schotse markt  
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[www.passchendaele1917.be](http://www.passchendaele1917.be)



7.6: Flyer, Flanders Memorial Day, Belgium, 2009 (Photo © Flanders Memorial Day)

**Plates – Chapter 8**



8.1: Re-enacting the Latvian Legion Waffen SS in Riga, Latvia, March 2009 (Photo © AFP/Getty)



8.2: A controversial hobby: U.S. Republican Rich Iott, second right, re-enacts Nazi history as a member of Wiking Division Waffen SS, 2010. Next to him stands an unidentified 'Scot'. (Photo © The Atlantic Magazine)



8.3: Front page: A member of the Dutch re-enactors 'Gordons Living History' during the Battle of Blenheim, 2005. (Photo © Skirmish Magazine)



8.4: The 'Braveheart period': Terra Crom, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, 2009



8.5: Highlanders in the Thirty Years' War: Mackay's Regiment of Foote, Germany, 2009  
(Photo © Mackay's Regiment)



8.6: Jacobites: Wee Jock MacMelville (left) and William MacBran, Clan MacBran, Netherlands, 2009.



8.7: Colonial Soldiers: Montgomerie's Highlanders, Czech Republic, here at Wartburg, Germany, 2010 (Photo © Montgomerie's Highlanders)



8.8: Napoleonics: Gordons Living History, Netherlands (Photos © Gordons Living History)





8.9: Highlanders – here described as Irrländer, or Irish – in the service of Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War. Woodcut, Szczecin, 1631 (Original held at Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany)



8.10: Mackay's Regiment of Foote, Germany, c. 2009. (Photo © Mackay's Regiment)



8.11: Female re-enactors: Gordons Living History, Napoleonics, Netherlands, and Clan MacBran, Jacobites, Netherlands. (Photos © Gordons Living History, Clan MacBran)



8.12: Claudia Soergel MacPhail, Commanding Officer, Earl of Loudoun's Regiment of Foote, Scotland. (Photo © C. Soergel)



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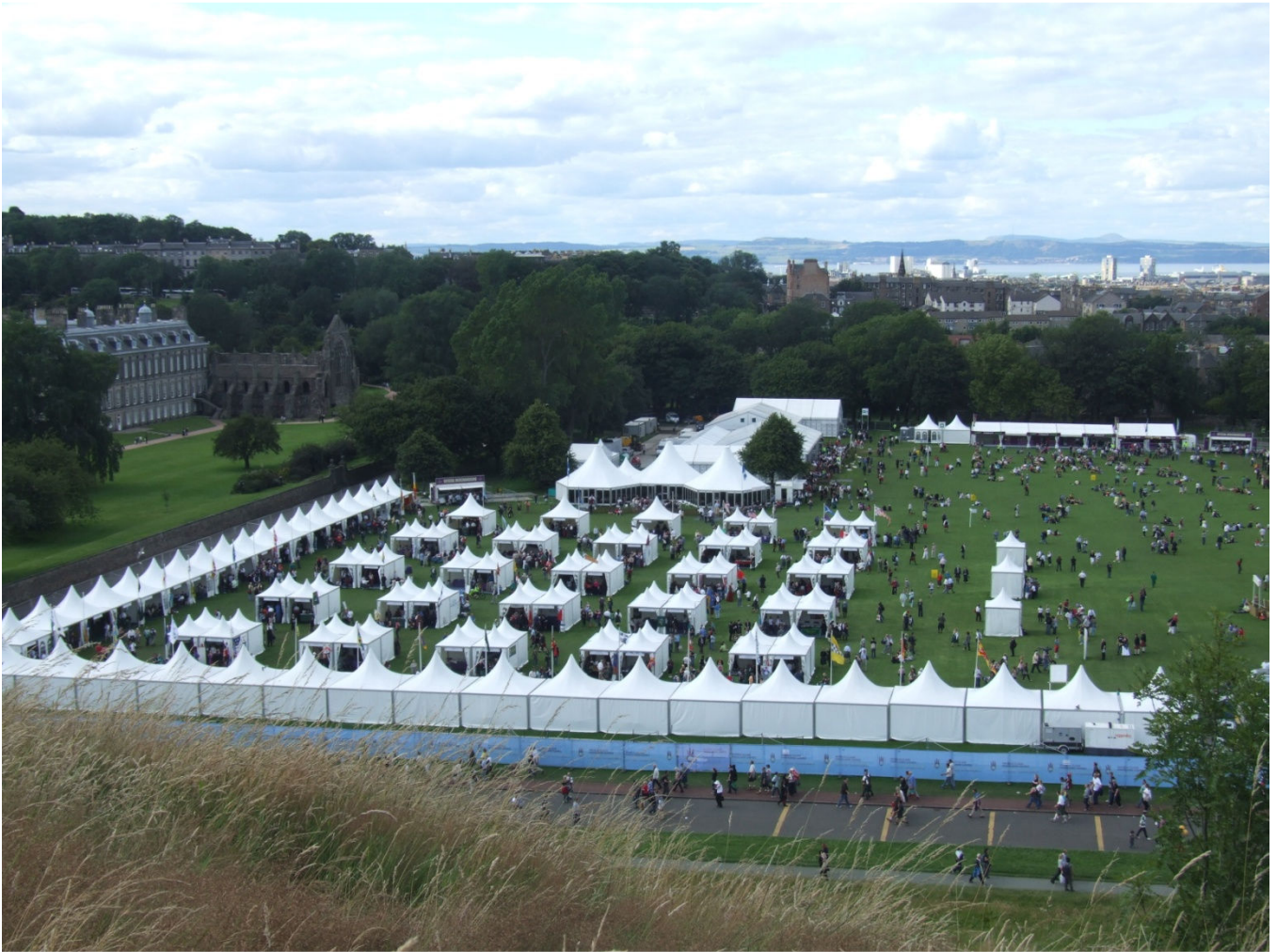
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8.13: Live Action Role Play: Clan MacMagoon, Germany. (Photos © Clan MacMagoon)

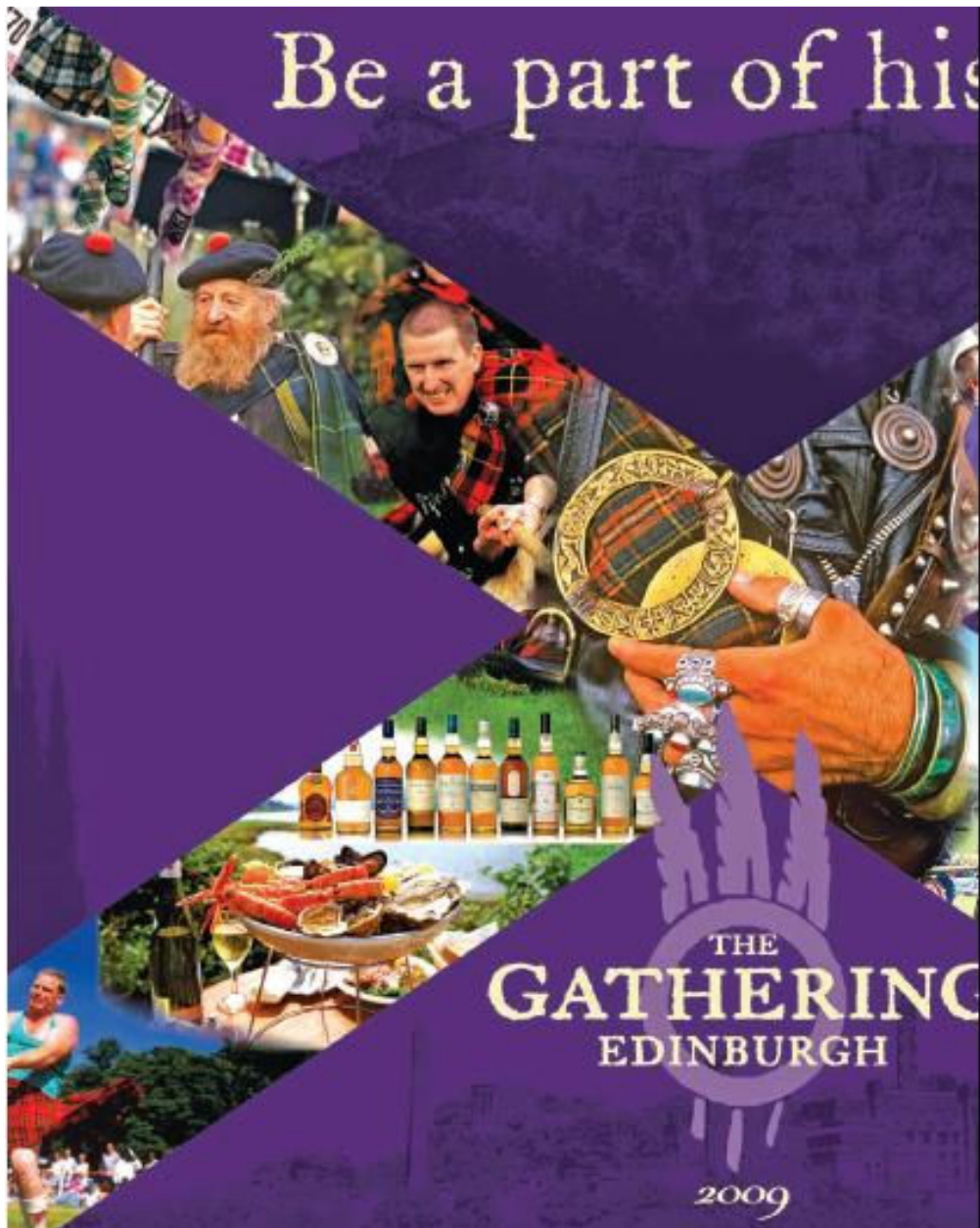
## Plates – Chapter 9



9.1: *Homecoming Scotland* advertisements – before and after, 2009. The added 'ethnic' gentleman is on the far left and reading a book by Robert Burns as he marches. (Photos © EventScotland)



9.2: The Gathering, Edinburgh, July 2009: Clan Village, Holyrood Park.



9.3: The Gathering. Advertisement, 2009. (Photo © The Gathering Ltd.)

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of the CLANS**

**AUGUST  
16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>**



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August 17: **HIGHLAND BALL**, Assembly Rooms

August 18: **MARCH OF 1,000 PIPERS**, Princes Street

**HIGHLAND GATHERING**, Scottish Rugby Union Ground, Murrayfield

**BOOK YOUR TICKETS NOW**

9.4: The Gathering of the Clans, Edinburgh, 1951. (Original held at NLS, HP3.90.546)





9.5: Lord Lyon (middle) and officers, Lyon Court, Edinburgh, 2009 (Photo © Lyon Court)



9.6 : Clan MacLeod Gesellschaft Deutschland, Clan Parade, Edinburgh, July 2009 (Photo © V. Mitelman)



9.7: Continental Clansmen: Clan Mackenzie's Norwegian branch at the Clan Gathering, Strathpeffer, Scotland, August 2010.



9.8: The Red Rose of Lochbuie Pipes & Drums, The Gathering, Edinburgh, July 2009. (Photo © Red Rose of Lochbuie)



9.9: The Red Rose of Lochbuie and their Chief, The Gathering Edinburgh, July 2009. (Photo © Red Rose of Lochbuie)

**Plates – Chapter 10**



10.1: Against snack bar history: Jan and Marÿke, Keltfest 2009, Netherlands.



10.2: Dutch lunatics: Cor de Jong and family, Keltfest 2009, Netherlands



10.3: Heavy Metal Scots: Grave Digger, Germany , c. 2010. (Photo © Grave Digger)



10.4: Distinctive like the Scots: Scottish-Styrian Wedding, Austria, 2008. (Photo © M. Loi & F. Jakob)



10.5: Imported difference: Breizhlanders in Brittany, France, 2009. (Image © Breizhlanders)





10.6: Women dressing up as men: Keltfest, Netherlands, May 2009.



10.7: Women dressing up as men: The Gathering, Edinburgh, July 2009. (Photo © Valeria Mitelman)



10.8: Scottish peacocks: A member of the Kilt Society of France in Aubigny-sur-Nère, France, July 2009.



10.9: Scottish peacocks: Mr Steve Scholte, veteran piper from the Netherlands, Keltfest, Dordrecht, 2009.



10.10: Under the kilt: Scottish-Styrian wedding, Austria, 2008. (Photo © M. Loi & F. Jakob)



10.11: Play and irony? THC Timelkamer Highlander Club, Austria (Photo © THC)