

Recreating Identity:

**Scottish-Australian Cultural Organisations
and Changing Identities in New South Wales,
1945 to the 1990s**

Craig Johnston

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)

The University of Edinburgh
March 1999



**I declare that this thesis is my own work
and that it was entirely composed by me**

Craig Johnston

Abstract

This thesis engages particularly with Australian multiculturalism and the growth of ethnic identity. By focusing on Australians of Scottish descent (or Scottish-Australians), part of Australia's dominant "Anglo-Celtic" culture, it presents a different perspective of multicultural, or ethnic, identity. It expands the growing literature on Australian identity in the latter half of the twentieth century and explores the uses to which the ideology of ethnicity can be put.

The thesis begins by examining the existing literature on the creation of identity, with particular reference to Australia, and on Australian multiculturalism. Within that framework, Chapter Two concentrates on the older style of Scottish Societies: those which emerged in the late-nineteenth century, but which began to diminish rapidly after World War II. The changes in Australian society from the early 1970s ultimately led to the creation of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council in 1981: a distinctly, if self-consciously, ethnic Scottish Society. Chapters Three and Four follow its development up to and beyond the Bicentenary (1988) and assess the constructed ethnicity of the Heritage Council's members. Chapter Five concentrates on the parallel construction of a Celtic-Australian identity which emerged from the Scottish Australian Heritage Council. Drawing on the evidence and conclusions of these chapters, Chapter Six presents an analytical narrative which further explores this new Scottish-Australian identity. The thesis concludes by showing how this identity engages with the broader debates in Australia at the end of the twentieth century, taking republicanism as the exemplar of change to which Scottish-Australians are responding.

The thesis reveals that part of the dominant culture perceives a threat to their position posed by changes in Australian society, particularly in the radical change in

immigration policy. Their response has been pragmatically to co-opt the language and imagery of ethnicity. Scottish-Australians present themselves as ethnics who are "more equal" than the later arrivals. With the prospect of a referendum on the republic in the near future, the thesis reveals a significant, and often ignored, aspect of the changing nature of Australian identity.

Contents

<i>List of plates</i>		vi
<i>Abbreviations</i>		vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>		viii
Introduction	Constructing Identities: Multiculturalism and the Australian Nation	1
Chapter 1	History, Geography, Ethnicity: Theorising Australian Identity	14
Chapter 2	"Once in the Highlands ...": Scottish Identity in Post-Second World War Australia	32
Chapter 3	Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Scottish-Australians: The Foundation of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council	75
Chapter 4	The Bicentenary, 1988: Developing Ethnicity	111
Chapter 5	The New Celts: Constructing a Modern Cultural Identity	147
Chapter 6	An Australian Highland Chief? Nicolson of Scorrybreac: Clan and Tradition in Scottish-Australian Identity	183
Conclusion	Republicanism and Scottish Revivalism	213
Appendices		
I.	Stand By Britain Movement	231
II.	Objectives of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council	232
III.	Two letters from Ian MacGillivray to the SAHC, 1981	234
IV.	Editorial: "Multiculturalism under debate"	238
V.	Untitled, undated, unsigned circular against the Irish	239
VI.	Arms and Bearings of Iain Macneacail of Macneacail and Scorrybreac	241
Bibliography		
1.	Archival Material	242
2.	Printed Primary Sources	248
3.	Other Primary Sources	253
4.	Books and Articles	254

List of Plates

I	The Maclean Bicentennial Memorial Cairn	following page	ix
II	The March of the Clans, Sydney Scottish Week, 1994		85
III	The Massed Pipe Bands, March of the Clans, 1994		85
IV	Highland Games and Gathering, Scottish Week, 1994		104
V	The Scotland-Australia Cairn		132
VI	The Australian Standing Stones		162
VII	The Australian Celtic Festival, Glen Innes, 1995		164
VIII	Investiture of a Guardian of the Stones, 1995		164
IX	Ben Chrachaig, Isle of Skye, looking south		195
X	Ben Chrachaig, looking west to Scorrybreac House		196
XII	Commemorative plaque, Ben Chrachaig		196

Abbreviations

AAP	Australian Assistance Plan
ABA	Australian Bicentennial Authority
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACM	Australians for a Constitutional Monarchy
AFL	Australian Football League (Australian Rules Football)
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ALS	Association for the Study of Australian Literature
ARM	Australian Republican Movement
BBM	Big Brother Movement
BCA	Archives of the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia
CCA	Celtic Council of Australia
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CWA	Country Women's Association
DLP	Democratic Labor Party (defunct)
EAC	Ethnic Affairs Commission
ECC	Ethnic Communities' Council
GDC	Archives of the Granville and District Caledonian Society
HS	Archives of the Highland Society of NSW
ML	Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Sydney
NSW	New South Wales
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
SAC	St Andrew's College, University of Sydney
SAHC	Scottish Australian Heritage Council
SIGT	Scottish International Gathering Trust
SRU	Scottish Rugby Union

Acknowledgements

I am constantly amazed by the number of people who have input into what is, in the final analysis, my thesis. I must thank Dr Ian Duffield not only for his invaluable comments and excellent supervision, but also for welcoming me into the History Department, where I transferred after my first year at the University of Edinburgh. There, Dr Crispin Bates, my second supervisor, proved the source of a number of ideas and innovations to my original plan and, with Drs Paul Nugent and Paul Bailey, also welcomed me as a valued member of the postgraduate community and the 'Rise and Demise of Imperialism' teaching team.

In 1994, I was awarded a Northcote Travelling Scholarship by the Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies and the Northcote Trust which enabled me to return to Australia for a year to carry out my primary research. Whilst in Sydney, Mr Richard White acted as my supervisor and Assoc Prof Ian Jack made me welcome in the Department of History (University of Sydney) and to the archive collection of St Andrew's College. Long conversations over the year with Dr Peter Cochrane of the Department of History, University of Sydney, and Assoc Prof John Perkins of the Department of Economic History, University of New South Wales were particularly fruitful. Fellow M—s, Dr Gavin Daly, Hal Palmer, Larissa Bamberry and Jason Keane have been a constant source of inspiration and iconic moments since we were undergraduates together. Michael White has kept me supplied with much of the latest literature for a number of years now. Back in Scotland, Dr Leila Brosnan fulfilled many of these roles and convinced me that it could be finished. Thanks also to Mr Roy Pinkerton of the Department of Classics, University of Edinburgh, for a short lesson in Latin, and Stewart Nott for the use of his scanner.

I owe an immense debt of gratitude to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, former Honorary Secretary of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council, who had the foresight to put the Council's immense archive in the Mitchell Library. Without this source, the thesis could not have taken the shape it has. The Mitchell Library staff, particularly Margie Burn and Warwick Hurst, then Acting Senior Manuscripts Librarian, were especially helpful in processing the latest Scottish additions to their collection, ML MSS 5950 (Peter Charles Alexander) and the 19 boxes of ML 1550/84 (SAHC), so that they too could be used. Meanwhile, Dr Claire Walker at the Department of History, University of Newcastle, provided

much needed employment for me. Iain and Emma lent me their cars on a regular basis. I was made welcome by the members of numerous Scottish societies in Australia during 1994-95. Thanks, particularly, to: David Scotland and the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia, who made their archives available to me; the SAHC, subject of so much of this thesis; and all those who consented to be formally interviewed and the others with whom I had many hours of informal conversations over the year.

The final months of my thesis work have been made much easier by all of the team at Bottoms Up in South Clerk Street. There I have found gainful employment, a renewed interest in wine and whisky, and have been allowed to take plenty of my work home.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks to Anne-Marie, who has put up with the final long stages of thesis writing and provided support when I needed it most, and to my parents who supported my decision to do the PhD in Scotland, and have since supported me in so many ways that I hope completion of this thesis can go some way towards repaying.

Craig Johnston



Photograph: Warren Rackham

I. The Maclean Bicentennial Memorial Cairn

Cairn dedicated 3 December 1988. The dedication plaque reads:
"The stones in this cairn originated from many parts of Australia and Scotland, and are
memorials to the contribution made to the settlement of Maclean by our Scottish
pioneers."

INTRODUCTION

Constructing Identities: Multiculturalism and the Australian nation

In times like these of rapid and bewildering change, political, social and scientific, many of us feel the need of something solid and unchanging to which we can cling. It is partly to this feeling that I ascribe the recent remarkable growth in many countries of Scottish clan societies. For most of us it is our family that we regard as the ultimate unassailable stronghold of protection, love and comradeship; and a clan is a bigger family still.

– Sir James Fergusson
Chief of Clan Fergus(s)on¹

Change and continuity

It is remarkable how often sentiments such as those expressed by Fergusson are heard. The idea that things were better in the "good old days" or "when I was younger" is very common. The rubric is that now things are not so good, that they have changed too much, or too quickly, and that changes of this sort are inherently bad. This is not the same as rejecting progress, however. There is no element of harking back to the sort of timeless land in which holidays are taken: the Greek Isles, Turkey, Bali, or Arnhem Land and Kakadu (which are constructed as being so timeless as to be backward and primitive). Progress, so long as it is justifiable and seen to be of benefit, is welcomed. Thus, although the change can actually be quite radical, what is stressed is the continuity – the lack of change. Immanuel Wallerstein calls this phenomenon "pastness", the "mode by which persons are persuaded to act in the present in ways they might not otherwise act."² Wallerstein emphasises the constantly changing nature of pastness: because it responds to the changing world, its nature must change, but it is by definition (if paradoxically) an assertion of an unchanging and unchangeable past. He describes this as the social past, our

¹ Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Sydney (hereafter ML) 1550/84 Box 8(19) Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992: "Why a Clan Society?", April 1973, reprinted by the Clan Fergus(s)on Society of Australia, 1987.

² I. Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity", in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991), p. 78.

understanding of the past. While the real, or factual, past is unchangeable, "inscribed in stone", the social past "is inscribed at best in soft clay".³ Thus change is presented not as revolutionary or radical, but as a natural progression, as continuity. It is demystified and safe. It is when change is not considered to be safe, or when it is perceived as happening too quickly, that it is no longer safe. Rapid changes, or changes which are particularly apparent for some reason, are much harder to present as examples of continuity. They are quite the opposite: they threaten continuity.⁴

Australia experienced rapid social and economic changes under the Hawke-Keating Labor Governments. These changes were not simply domestic, but responses to the changing world-system. They happened throughout the western world among both right-wing and social democratic parties: Thatcherism in Britain, Reaganomics in the US, Rogernomics ⁵ in New Zealand. Socialist President Mitterand oversaw a period of cohabitation with the Right in France. The decade of change culminated in the collapse of the Soviet command economies of eastern Europe in 1989.⁶ In Australia, journalist and commentator Paul Kelly called the 1980s "The end of certainty":

The story of the 1980s is the attempt to remake the Australian political tradition. This decade saw the collapse of the ideas which Australia had embraced nearly a century before, and which had shaped the

³ *ibid.*

⁴ The continuity of *Doctor Who*, for example, which allowed for the star to change, was briefly threatened in 1981 when Tom Baker announced his retirement after seven years in the role he had made his own. Mischievously, he wished good luck to his successor, "whoever he *or she* may be". The outcry over the possibility that the new Doctor might be a woman made the BBC News and various British and Australian newspapers. Continuity would have been broken – the change was not safe.

⁵ Named after Labour Prime Minister David Lange's Finance Minister, Roger Douglas.

⁶ On this, see, in particular, I. Wallerstein, "Introduction: The lessons of the 1980s", in *id.*, *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the changing world-system*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1991]), pp. 1-15.

condition of its people. The 1980s was a time of both exhilaration and pessimism, but the central message shining through its convulsions was the obsolescence of the old order and the promotion of new political ideas as the basis for a new Australia.⁷

The decade followed the crises of Vietnam and OPEC, the collapse of the Whitlam Government and the "aimlessness of the Fraser years".⁸ The Labor decade, beginning with Neville Wran's re-election as Premier of NSW in 1981 and the Federal election of 1983 which returned Labor to power, saw the deregulation of the economy, the devaluation and then the float of the dollar, an acceleration in Australia's engagement with Asia and finally, from Keating's accession to the Prime Ministership, the advocacy of a republic and a new settlement with the indigenous peoples of Australia.

The difference between this change and that which had gone before was its rapidity. Keating's biographer describes it as change so "rapid and far-reaching that Australians who had left and lived overseas for some years came back to find the country not hostile but puzzlingly different, the tales they told overseas no longer fitting, their expectations no longer quite met".⁹

These changes, which affected almost everyone, either directly or indirectly, were compacted by perhaps the most significant, and certainly the most visible, change in Australia since World War II: its immigration policy. From the

⁷ P. Kelly, *The end of certainty*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), p. 1.

⁸ J. Edwards, *Keating: The Inside Story*, (Melbourne: Viking, 1996), p. 7.

⁹ *ibid.* This is something which some notable Australian commentators who now live overseas often forget. Germaine Greer is still regularly called upon by the BBC as a specialist on Australian society despite the fact that she still inhabits an Australia of the imagination which remains little changed since she left in the 1960s. This has led her, on a number of occasions, to make wildly inaccurate statements about the country and about some Australians. She criticised David Malouf, whose *Remembering Babylon* was shortlisted for the Booker Prize, for racism because the novel offended her 1960s view of black-white relations in Australia. Greer's contemporary Clive James, on the other hand, makes no pretence of being an expert on Australia, recognising in, for example, his *Postcards from* series that the Sydney is now very different from the one in which he grew up.

overwhelmingly British, or Anglo-Celtic, society between the wars, the immigration policy of the Chifley Labor Government saw thousands of southern Europeans added to the population. Between 1947 and 1964, more migrants arrived in Australia than in the 80 years after 1860.¹⁰ From the 1970s, immigrants from south-east Asia increasingly dominated the intake. By the late 1970s, Australia was officially a multicultural society. Chapter One of this thesis examines the existing literature on the history of Australian multiculturalism and in the resultant changes in the construction Australian identity.

Multiculturalism and ethnicity

In 1994, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, published the previous year's *Australian/Vogel Literary Award*¹¹ winner, *The Hand that Signed the Paper* by a young Ukrainian-Australian writer, Helen Demidenko. It was a challenging book, dealing not only with the involvement of some Ukrainians in Hitler's SS Death Squads, particularly in Treblinka, during World War II, but also with war crimes trials in Australia in the 1990s. In 1995, the book went on to win the gold medal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature (ALS) and, controversially, Australia's top literary prize, the Miles Franklin Literary Award.¹² Almost immediately after the announcement of the Miles Franklin Award, the book was criticised for its anti-Semitism. Demidenko defended it, in part, by drawing attention to the fact that it was

¹⁰ Cited in R. White, *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]), p. 159.

¹¹ An award restricted to an unpublished manuscript by an author under the age of 35. Along with the \$15,000 prize, Allen & Unwin publish the novel.

¹² The shortlist for the Miles Franklin Award had been controversial in both 1994 and 1995, principally for the works which were excluded – see A. Riemer, *The Demidenko Debate*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), pp. 135ff.

based on the lived experience of her own family, and of the wider Ukrainian community in Queensland.

However, the concern here is not the alleged anti-Semitism of the novel, nor the plagiarism of which she was later accused.¹³ Rather, what is of significance here is Demidenko's ethnicity. In August 1995, it emerged that Helen Demidenko was not the daughter of a Ukrainian father and Irish mother as she had presented herself for the best part of two years since winning the Vogel. She was, in fact, Helen Darville, daughter of immigrants from the north of England. Her Ukrainian ethnicity, of which she had made so much, was as much a fiction as the exploits of her ahistorical characters. And Demidenko/Darville certainly did make much of her Ukrainian ethnicity. She famously appeared at awards ceremonies, talks and conferences, for example, in a Ukrainian peasant blouse, while the book itself contains numerous touches of "authenticity". The narrator recalls her experience at a Queensland school, which "had to put up with this loud, chatty, migrant family with excessively ambitious children" where, more poignantly (drawn from personal experience?), "the local politician or businessman who ... presented the prizes ... found our surname difficult to pronounce ... struggling with those awful syllables".¹⁴ The narrator's mother, an Irish immigrant, we learn speaks fluent Gaelic and can understand the Scots Gaelic of her sister-in-law's husband.¹⁵ Perhaps most bizarrely, the "Author's Note" includes a somewhat spurious list of Ukrainian and Polish place names with both their Ukrainian and "Familiar" spellings under the advice that she would use the

¹³ This has been dealt with at length by numerous writers and critics. See, for example, *ibid.*, esp. chs. 1, 2 & 12; R. Shapiro, "Ethics, the Literary Imagination, and the Other: The Hand that Ought, or was Imagined, to have Signed the Paper", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 50/51, (1996), pp. 42-50.

¹⁴ H. Demidenko [Helen Darville], *The Hand that Signed the Paper*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994), p. 36.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 37.

more familiar forms throughout the book.¹⁶ The list seems in retrospect, but also seemed at the time, to be included only to show that the author has authentic knowledge about these things.

In effect, Anglo-Australian Helen Darville had adopted an entirely fictitious, overtly ethnic identity. This may have been to attract a publisher for the book, although was certainly not aimed at securing the swag of prizes she finally, and unexpectedly, won.¹⁷ For whatever reason, Darville was certainly attracted to the exoticism of the Other in her adoption of Ukrainian ethnicity.¹⁸ It was as if in early 1990s Australia ethnicity was suddenly an essential part of her credibility. It is, perhaps, not altogether surprising that one response from within the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture was to adopt another identity. However, the majority of Anglo-Celts, if they wished to express any ethno-cultural identity at all, chose a different route.

The Scottish-Australian response

It is telling that the Australian Clan Fergus(s)on Society saw fit to reprint the prescient words of their clan chief in 1987, the year in which so many of the changes introduced by the Federal Labor government were confirmed when the conservative

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

¹⁷ On this, see particularly Riemer, *op. cit.*, ch. 9.

¹⁸ Darville was not the first in Australian letters to be attracted to an exotic alter ego. In the 1870s, the Irish-Australian John Feltham Archibald became Jules Francois Archibald and claimed mixed French-Jewish descent. He was editor of the nationalist magazine *The Bulletin* from 1880 until the early 1900s – see J. Docker, "Dilemmas of Identity: The Desire for Other in Colonial and Post Colonial Cultural History", *Working Papers in Australian Studies*, 74, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, University of London, (1992), pp. 7-12. In a similar vein, the Aboriginal author "B Wonga" turned out to be Italian, and the Italian writer of *They're a Weird Mob*, Nino Culotta, was revealed as Irish writer John O'Grady.

Liberal-National Party coalition opposition imploded and Hawke was re-elected for an unprecedented third term for Labor.¹⁹

The response from Scottish-Australian societies to the changes they perceived in Australian society was a reaffirmation of their place in Australia, and a recreation of Scottish-Australian identity as an overtly, but self-consciously, ethnic one. This thesis begins the examination of this reinvention of identity by looking, in Chapter Two, at some of the multitude of Scottish cultural societies which exist in Australia, including Clan Societies, Burns Clubs, and regional or district Caledonian Societies, and the way in which they presented their Scottishness in the mythical "good old days". This is a departure from the more usual studies of the Scots in Australia, which tend to focus on immigration or on bodies which might be described as "institutional": the Presbyterian Church, Scottish educational establishments, and Scots in the professions. The Scottish identity of these institutions is imposed either from above (the church) or by tradition (Scots College, St Andrew's College). In contrast, the Scottish identity of the cultural organisations, and of their members, is self-imposed or willingly adopted. Agency in the construction of identity therefore rests with the individuals involved rather than with an outside body.²⁰

It must be recognised, too, that the Scottish-Australian identity of many of those involved in such societies is not necessarily the prime identity expressed by

¹⁹ The 1987 Federal election marked the high point of Labor's most successful decade in Australian politics. In the ten years from 1981 to 1990, Labor won 17 of the 22 State and Federal elections held in Australia, including all four Federal elections, while of the coalition's five victories, two were in Tasmania, the smallest State, and two were victories for Joh Bjelke-Petersen's National Party in Queensland. The coalition's most significant victory was in NSW in 1988. See Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

²⁰ It must be recognised, however, that the executive (that is, the leadership) of a Clan Society, for example, will have a certain authority for the imposition of acceptable identity. In theory, of course, an executive can be thrown out by the voting members of any cultural organisation. In practice, this rarely occurs.

them. Some are simply Australian for 50 weeks of the year, and only Scottish-Australian for two. For others, the fact that they play golf, netball, or footy²¹ every weekend is predominant in their self-definition. When Scottish-Australian identity is asserted, it is done so very vehemently in many cases. It is also, therefore, an increasingly political statement. In many ways, a single body, and the focus of much of the thesis, encapsulates the overt political nature of this identity: the Scottish Australian Heritage Council (SAHC), formed in 1981, and the subject of Chapters Three and Four. If Helen Darville responded to multiculturalism by adopting an artificial ethnic identity, the SAHC has responded by recreating the Scots as an ethnic group. Indeed, it is this recreation, and its consequences (covered particularly in Chapter Five) in the context of late-twentieth century Australian multiculturalism which stimulates the analytical core of this study.

The change in Scottish-Australian identity may be summarised as one from primordial Diaspora Scottishness to a more forthright Scottishness-of-practice; in other words, from "we are Scottish-Australian despite what we do, or anyone else says or does" to "we are Scottish-Australian *because* of what we do". But this, too, implies change rather than continuity, and so it must be presented in the context of pastness. The continuity with the past needed to be stressed. At the launch of the appeal to raise funds for an Australian University Chair in Celtic Studies in 1985, Lord Forres, the Australian-resident Scottish peer, said: "As change is thrust on us in ever increasing amounts, we, as simple folk, are becoming unsettled and uneasy. Where is it all going, we ask ourselves?" This, he conceded, was "a hard question to answer" It had to be recognised that Australia's outlook had to change: "Australia has a vital and balancing role in the Pacific region", he elaborated, but thanks to the fact

²¹ The Australian understanding of "footy" is also defined differently by different parts of the country: in NSW and Queensland it means Rugby League, whereas in the southern States it means Australian Rules Football. It never means soccer in Australia.

that "most of the early migrants were of Celtic origin" Australia was well equipped to deal with these changing realities. The Celts were a "tough individualistic people [who] set the foundation for a successful country. Not only in a pioneering sense, but in a cultural and artistic sense."²² Thus the emphasis was once again placed on the continuity represented by Scottish-Australians. The analytical narrative in Chapter Six, and the focus on republicanism in the Conclusion, examine the ways in which change has been presented as continuity throughout this particular recreation of identity.

A note on sources

The thesis relies very heavily on archival sources, principally those held by the Mitchell Library in Sydney. The archive of the SAHC, comprising some 35 boxes of manuscripts, is the single biggest collection utilised. The material was placed in the Mitchell Library over a number of years by the former Honorary Secretary, and co-founder of the Council, Rosemary Nicolson Samios. The arrangement of the material is somewhat chaotic: some is organised by subject, while other boxes are arranged chronologically. The collection is partly restricted: two items have been removed and are not available for researchers to consult.²³ Some of the boxes are incorrectly dated.²⁴ It is not the practice of the Mitchell Library to number every individual item

²² ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Text of Keynote Speech given by Alistair (Lord) Forres to the Inaugural Meeting of the Geoffrey Farrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal, St Stephen's Church, Macquarie Street, Sydney, 15 February 1985.

²³ These are two personal letters from 1985, taken from ML 1550/84 Box 16(19).

²⁴ The 10 boxes of ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 is the outstanding example. The Mitchell Library dates them as beginning in 1929, over 50 years before the SAHC came into being. The correct dates for the boxes are as follows (the dates given in the Mitchell Library catalogue are in square brackets):

ML MSS 4363 (2 boxes): 1981-1982 [no date given]

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689 (1 box): [no date given]

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 (10 boxes MLK 03482-MLK 03491): 1981-1985 [1929-1985]

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 (2 boxes): 1981-1986 [1981-1986]

within each box in a collection such as this, therefore the footnotes contain as much information as possible in order to identify the individual piece of evidence in each case. Rosemary Samios also had an occasional habit of using SAHC stationery for correspondence which was essentially private. When the correspondence quoted or cited in the text is effectively private, rather than SAHC business, it is indicated, as far as possible, by the omission of "SAHC" after her name in the footnotes.

St Andrew's College, at the University of Sydney, has a small but eclectic archive which includes that of the Highland Society of New South Wales. At the time of the research, the collection was being reorganised, with the possibility that a catalogue would be introduced. However, this was not in place in 1995, so once again, as much information as possible is given in the footnotes to correctly identify different documents. Privately held archives are often the most chaotic. That of the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia has been kept for some years in a number of shopping bags in a garage in Sydney, and while most of it is still in remarkably good condition, some items, especially newspaper clippings, have deteriorated very badly. It is to be hoped that the collection will be handed over to the Mitchell Library for proper storage and safe-keeping in the near future.

Even the best-kept archives cannot give the whole picture. There are always gaps because letters have been lost, or because copies of outgoing correspondence have not been kept, or because transactions have been carried out in person, or over the phone. The thesis relies both on formal interviews with a number of respondents, and on many informal conversations held over the course of 1994-95 to fill some of these gaps. Memories are notoriously unreliable, and the interview a very slippery tool. However, with these limitations in mind, interviews can prove extremely

beneficial when researching events which have taken place within the last 20 years. Some of the archival gaps and omissions were filled by interviewees, while others are still a mystery. More importantly, the interviews give an insight into the motivations of those involved in the SAHC and other organisations, and into their own definitions of Scottish-Australian identity.

Locating the self

At this point it is necessary briefly to depart from the strict older academic style typical of a monograph such as the PhD, and locate myself in the Scottish-Australian milieu. I was born in Scotland, and emigrated with my family to Kempsey, a declining agricultural town on the mid-north coast of New South Wales, when I was still a child. All of my schooling, and my first degree, were undertaken in Australia. At school, my socialisation was therefore Australian, while at home it was very Scottish. Effectively, I am an Australian Scot – or a Scottish-Australian – although I have never identified myself as such. Despite a surprising number of Scottish immigrants living in the area, Kempsey had no Scottish society or organisation of which I was aware.

Early in the Bicentennial year, 1988, I moved to Sydney to go to university, and was therefore near the heart of the events organised by the SAHC, but they had no impact on me. In fact, I was never a member of any of the organisations examined in this thesis until I began the research. Since then, I have attended numerous events, given talks and papers to the Burns Club, the Clan Johnston/e Association and the Sydney Society for Scottish History, and been a member of two organisations: the SAHC and the Clan Johnston/e Association.

However, this thesis is not about me. It is not a personal journey or search for identity. It is an examination of one very particular expression of ethnic identity in Australia (and especially in New South Wales) at a time when Australia changed from an overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic, socially and morally conservative society into the multicultural, metropolitan society it is today. These changes have not always been popular among the so-called "silent majority".²⁵ This is the underlying theme of the thesis: increasingly large parts of the dominant culture feel threatened by what they see as (or choose to dismiss as) interest group politics.

²⁵ It is partly to this feeling of being ignored that Pauline Hanson's One Nation owed its high standing in the opinion polls and its electoral success in Queensland.

CHAPTER 1

**History, Geography, Ethnicity:
Theorising Australian Identity**

I should also like to wander off around Australia and really see that. The trouble is: one cannot have roots and not have roots at the same time.

– Patrick White, 1951.¹

The quest for identity

In late September 1998, at the close of the 16th Commonwealth Games, held in the Malaysian capital Kuala Lumpur, it was perhaps easy for an Australian to express a feeling of nationalism. As in Victoria, British Columbia, four years earlier, Australia dominated the medals table, winning 80 golds: more than the next three nations' combined gold medal tallies. What, however, is the larger significance of this? More than half of the Australian people were not interested in the Games. An Australian living, for example, in Scotland and watching the BBC coverage, could only follow the Australian successes intermittently, vicariously – only when the Scottish, Welsh or, as was most often the case, English athlete or team was coming second. And yet it mattered to many people. They felt proud to see Australians on the rostra, their country at the top of the table. What mattered was that they were all Australian. People belonging to their nation were achieving what most people could not.²

The different versions of nationalism are now very well rehearsed. While there is still no unified theory or doctrine of nationalism, and perhaps never could be,

¹ Letter from Patrick White to Mollie McKie, 29 December 1951, in P. White, *Letters*, (ed. David Marr), (Sydney: Random House, 1994), p. 85.

² Not as spurious a point as it may at first seem. Sport is important in the construction of Australian identity, as it is something at which Australia excels on the world stage disproportionately to its population. See D. Adair and W. Vamplew, *Sport in Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), esp. pp. ix-xiv.

it could be said that a canon of theory has emerged.³ Giving these concepts, canonical status has its uses when considering the impact of such diverse influences as the state, class, ethnicity, and culture on nationalism. Gellner's theories of nationalism have been and are especially influential, in particular his "three fundamental stages" of the history of "mankind": from the pre-agrarian to the agrarian to the industrial, where "the *presence*, not the absence of the state is inescapable".⁴ For Gellner, the cultural homogeneity demanded as a concomitant to industrial societies (because of their size and complexity) appears as nationalism.⁵

Gellner presents quite a Whiggish view of the development of nationalism, and so, somewhat ironically, do Marx and Engels, and Lenin, and those who followed them. Marxist writings have concentrated on the historical transitoriness of the phenomenon: that the nation-state was (and is) "essentially an expression of the historical requirements of the bourgeoisie".⁶ In the late-twentieth century, after the collapse of Soviet-bloc communism and the supposed "final victory" of free market capitalism, the transitory nature of nationalism is questioned even by the staunchest of modern Marxists.

³ H.-R. Wicker, "Introduction: Theorizing Ethnicity and Nationalism", in Wicker, (ed.), *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity: The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), p. 1.

⁴ E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 5.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ I. Wallerstein with P.D. Phillips, "National and world identities and the interstate system", in I. Wallerstein, *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the changing world-system*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1991]), p. 154. See also, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, (trans. S. Moore, 1888), (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1986 [1848]), esp. ch. 1; and V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers: 1986 [1917]), esp. chs. 7 and 10.

What is central to any description of nationalism is the role of the people within any nation-state. Ernest Renan called the state a permanent plebiscite: when the people stopped thinking of themselves as members of a nation, the nation ceased to exist. For Renan, then, the nation had no objective reality.⁷ Eric Hobsbawm added an objective reality: that the people (and hence their nation) were also sovereign.⁸ This principle formed the basis for the framers of the US Constitution in 1787, and was enshrined in the French declaration of Rights of 1795.⁹ If the people are central to any concept of nation or state, there must be something which binds them together: something that makes the individual part of a greater whole – a common identity.

Nationalism and identity

One way to think of a nation, then, is as a state of mind, or, to give it Benedict Anderson's more formal term, an "imagined community". Anderson, in answer to the writings of Renan and Gellner, stresses that while nations are invented, or created, that does not necessarily make them false.¹⁰ He defines nations as imagined

⁷ See J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985 [1982]), p. 8.

⁸ E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1990]), p. 19.

⁹ The French Declaration of Rights says: "Each people is independent and sovereign, whatever number of individuals who compose it and the extent of territory it occupies. The sovereignty is inalienable." – quoted in *ibid.* The US Constitution does not delineate the sovereignty of the people so specifically, however, it is implicit throughout the Constitution, particularly in Article IV and in the Bill of Rights – see United States of America, *The Constitution of the United States of America*, ed. J.W. Peltason, (Washington DC: United States Information Agency, 1987). The issue of sovereignty is important in these republican constitutions as it explicitly denied the principle of the sovereignty of a monarch. In the UK even today, sovereignty lies not with the people, but with the Crown in Parliament, a sort of half-way house of democracy.

¹⁰ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed., (London: Verso, 1993 [1983]), p. 6. He points out that in his criticism of nations and nationalism, Gellner somewhat disingenuously sanctifies the "true" communities of which he implies the existence. For Anderson any community larger than the primordial villages characterised by face-to-face contact is imagined, rather than innate.

communities because the members of even the smallest nation cannot possibly know most of the other members, but "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."¹¹ Perhaps most importantly, a nation is a community because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."¹²

In his study of the separatist nationalisms of the twentieth century, Breuilly sees the imagined community as the focus of three mutually incompatible notions: firstly, the notion of the unique national community sharing a common culture; secondly, that the nation is a society which is entitled to its own state; and finally, that the nation is entitled to self-determination because it is a body of citizens – a wholly political concept. Thus, writes Breuilly, "Nationalist ideology never makes a rational connection between the cultural and the political concept of the nation because no such connection is possible."¹³

If such a connection is impossible, why is national identity important, so (apparently) universal? The classical Marxist analysis, after all, would insist that class should be the dominant identity, while in some areas of the world religious fundamentalism might be expected to dominate. Tom Nairn argues that the superiority of nationalism over class was inevitable because the former provided people with something tangible – a nation – which class consciousness never could. For him, nationalism has been "a culture which however deplorable was larger, more accessible, and more relevant to mass realities than the rationalism of our

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³ Breuilly, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

Enlightenment inheritance."¹⁴ Against fundamentalism, Hobsbawm argues that due to its dogmatism it is bound to be a minority phenomenon when compared to the widespread, potentially universal, support for nationalism with its "vagueness and lack of programmatic content".¹⁵

National identity, therefore, is that feeling of belonging, the dissemination of this feeling, the passing on from one generation to the next the collective identity of the nation. In so doing, it becomes more than a political construction. It becomes a nation's public culture. Once again, Wallerstein's concept of "pastness", the interplay between the "real" past and the "social" past is useful. As the dominant messages and national myths are all around the citizens of any given nation, enmeshed in both their social and formal education, the mores of the society are passed on. This suggests that national public cultures are uniform, that every member of a nation should accept the constructions of the past. Ideally, they do. The myths of the past, the glories and even the ignominies, are subsequently rendered apparent to the rest of the world by the symbols and signifiers of the nation. Of these, the first and foremost is the name, onto which the sense of sanctity may be transferred.¹⁶ This is followed by the creation of an ancient, and therefore unverifiable, past from the myths available,¹⁷

¹⁴ T. Nairn, "The Modern Janus", *New Left Review*, 94, (Nov-Dec 1975), p. 22. Nevertheless, class as an international phenomenon of resistance cannot be discounted completely. Class consciousness is a political phenomenon, and as such operates on the level with the most efficacious political structures: the state. Wallerstein believes that this "intrudes an element of false consciousness into most expressions of class consciousness." – I. Wallerstein, "World networks and the politics of the world-economy", in Wallerstein, *The politics of the world-economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 7.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*, pp. 176.

¹⁶ E. Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology", (trans. C. Turner) in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991), p. 95.

¹⁷ Included in such myths are, for example, Boadicea and Vercingetorix – real historical figures who led small, rebellious groups against Roman invaders, and upon whom the status of national hero has been conferred retrospectively.

and the adoption of modern, more contemporaneously important symbols: national anthem, flag, emblem, postage stamps, currency, even national colours for sporting occasions. These are the symbols, according to an official Indian government commentary, through which "an independent country proclaims its sovereignty, and as such they command instantaneous respect and loyalty. In themselves they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation."¹⁸

However, this is not arbitrary, nor are people completely at the mercy of such messages. Wallerstein expresses this as the necessity for the social past to be continually rewritten. James Walter adds that as humans cannot be programmed as a computer might be, smoothly and logically, pastness is a contingent process. He emphasises the agency of the people "as active interlocuters (rather than passive recipients) of their past. The process ... is not one of reproduction and transmission, but of discourse."¹⁹ For Walter, this discourse characterises a nation's public culture. The discourse often appears as conflict, as competing groups, or parties, attempt to garner support for their version of history, or of the national interest. "A national history", he summarises, "is the story of this discourse in a particular society."²⁰

Donald Horne describes the public culture rather more disdainfully: "the kind of mirage that can float over a society, purporting to be its national life".²¹ While he is adopting a very casual tone to make his point, he does not ignore the serious conclusion to be drawn: that in any discourse, there is a power relationship. Walter

¹⁸ quoted in E. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1983]), p. 11.

¹⁹ J. Walter, "Necessary Myths", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 26, (May 1990), p. 35.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 36.

²¹ D. Horne, *The Public Culture*, 2nd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1994 [1986]), p. vii.

points out that the groups with economic power, or superior access to information, education and the necessary skills, have an advantage in the discourse.²² Horne writes that the discourse, while "serving some interests [is] suppressing the very existence of others, so that sometimes a majority of the people in a society may not appear in a public culture at all, or may be presented in some way in which they don't recognise themselves."²³

This plurality is central to any theory of national identity. It is as much about exclusion as it is about inclusion; about the construction of difference based on tacitly accepted societal norms.²⁴ In short, nationalism is fuelled as much by xenophobia as by positive programs of national development. Traditionally, the ethno-culturally homogeneous nation state has been seen as the western ideal. Eastern Europe in the 1990s alone offers numerous examples of attempts to construct ethnic nation-states, which are considered desirable to solve the problems of ethnic tension: Bosnia, Kosovo, Georgia, to name but three. What many commentators seem to overlook, however, is that ethnic identity is as much a construction as national identity.

²² Walter, *loc. cit.*

²³ Horne, *loc. cit.* This theme is developed in I. Wallerstein, "The national and the international: can there be such a thing a world culture?", in Wallerstein, *Geopolitics and Geoculture*, esp. pp. 187ff.

²⁴ G. Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (London: MacMillan, 1995), p. 1.

National Identity and Multiculturalism

What has been presented thus far is a picture of an ideal world composed of ethnically and linguistically contiguous nations, all (theoretically) equal in the international community. While ethno-cultural homogeneity is important, if not central, to nationalist rhetoric, it is a patent nonsense in the reality of the modern world. Mass migration has typified the twentieth century, so that virtually no modern nation can claim total homogeneity. Multi-ethnic, or multicultural, societies are in reality the norm. Traditionally, this has been seen, particularly from the Right, but also from the Left, as a threat to nationalism. For the Right, immigrants are often seen as a threat to the stability of a country. People from another country with a different set of myths and practices, it is argued, cannot possibly conform to the hallowed practices of the new country – the practices which reinforce national identity. Where do the loyalties of someone with a British father and a Vietnamese mother living in Australia lie? And if that person's father were actually Northern Ireland Catholic? And if that person were actually born in Canada but raised in Australia? How could this person hope to fit into any homogeneous culture or polity, the critics ask. The same could be asked, however, of "Some Australians" described by Stuart Macintyre. What did businessman R.G. Casey, or engineer and subsequently eminent Perth public figure William Somerville have in common with Deborah Turnbull, youngest of eleven children, uprooted from the city to the bush with her husband, and George Dutton, Aboriginal stockman and elder whose father was white and whose mother died when he was seven?²⁵

²⁵ S. Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 4, 1901-1942: *The Succeeding Age*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986), ch. 1.

From the Left, the criticism is about class issues, rather than history and tradition: "fighting for structural changes relating to the socio-economic and political power of the ethnic minorities, as workers, as women, and as consumers of public health and education services".²⁶ Significantly, Yuval-Davies also points out that left-wing critics of multiculturalism occasionally also react "against the traditional minorities' leadership itself."²⁷

In many ways, ethnic identity can be seen as a response to modern nations. The complexity of the nation requires highly differentiated relations from the individual. It is often unable to provide the smaller group identity which people require. Ethnic identity, which is supposedly primordial, unquestionable, provides a channel for this.²⁸ The process began in the US in the late-1960s as part of the wider civil rights movements. It became acceptable for Americans to express an ethnic identity, or a hyphenated identity (Chinese-American, African-American), highlighting their differences, rather than the white-anglophone conformity of the post-Second World War period. Recognition of the later hyphenated identities by government and statistical analysts was swift.²⁹ Furthermore, in most cases, the assertion of ethnic identity was about inclusion in the political processes. One Vietnamese-American may not be able to influence the opinion of his or her

²⁶ Nira Yuval-Davies, "Ethnic/racial divisions and the nation in Britain and Australia", *Capital & Class*, 28, (1986), p. 98.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ A. Melucci, *Nomads of the Present*, (London: Hutchinson, 1989), p. 89.

²⁹ W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996 [1995]), p. 61.

Congress Representative, but the votes of the Vietnamese-American community can mean the difference between holding and losing a seat.³⁰

Typically, the main criticism of this type of multi-ethnic identity is that it sets out deliberately to exclude people from the broader society; that a Japanese-American or a Mexican-American cannot be a full, that is, "true", American because of perceived divided loyalties. Generally speaking, the opposite is the truth: the demand for recognition of cultural difference is a demand for inclusion and, in some cases, accommodation of that difference.³¹

Australian National Identity

Australia, along with Canada, New Zealand and the USA, is among those countries all of whose specific national characteristics were created after their respective foundations, according to Hobsbawm.³² Disregarding for the moment the Eurocentric nature of Hobsbawm's definitions of nation and nationalism, it is true that many of his main criteria for successfully established nation-states, including the three main ones, are absent in the case of Australia. At its foundation, Australia did not have an ancient (European) history connecting it with an existing state, nor a high culture, nor the Darwinian proof of existence through conquest.³³ Instead, these existed in Australia by proxy – through Britain.

³⁰ It must also be noted that there are some demands for polyethnic rights in the US are directed actively at exclusion from some functions of the state. These, however, are usually religious groups, for example, the Amish and the Quakers – see *ibid.*, p. 177.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 176. This is true not only for different ethnic groups within a country, but also for demands for recognition and accommodation from women, the disabled, gays, etc.

³² Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 78.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 37f.

It has, therefore, always been easy to see Australia simply as a British society transplanted (or, in many cases, transported) into the South Pacific. From first settlement until the early 1950s, it has traditionally been seen as enjoying the cultural homogeneity so sought after by European nations. The role of ethnic minority was played by the Irish immigrants, who, by the twentieth century, were an integral part of what was designated the "Anglo-Celtic" majority. It was a country that could still be described by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in the 1950s as "British to the bootstraps".

It may seem surprising, then, that multiculturalism was accepted so readily by both sides of the Australian political spectrum for two decades from the mid-1970s.³⁴ While the Australian Labor Party can take the credit for dismantling the White Australia Policy (which they had been instrumental in constructing and supporting since 1901), the Liberal Party rapidly adopted multicultural policies after winning office in 1975. Compare this, for example, with the right in Britain.³⁵ Margaret Thatcher's line in 1979, which she clung to throughout her tenure as Prime Minister, was that "people are really rather afraid that this country might become swamped by people with a different culture."³⁶

³⁴ As were the principles of female equality, gay and lesbian rights, and, to a lesser extent since it required the input of capital in redesigning public buildings for accessibility, disabled rights.

³⁵ Yuval-Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

³⁶ From a pre-election speech, 1979, quoted in T. Jeffs and M. Smith, "Youth Work, Welfare and the State", in Jeffs and Smith, (eds.), *Welfare and Youth Work Practice*, (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 16. Thatcher's words echo those of Enoch Powell nearly a decade earlier. She went on to say: "the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world, that if there is a fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in".

In reality, of course, immigrant and settler Australia was not an unsullied bastion of Anglo-Celtic purity throughout the 160 years before World War II. From earliest convict and free settlement, there had been a diverse ethno-cultural admixture to the Australian population. First and foremost were the original inhabitants, who dominated so much early Australian history, if not early Australian historiography. Among the convicts were included Indians (both Moslem and Hindu) and Afro-Caribbeans,³⁷ the gold rushes saw diggers arrive from Europe, the US and east Asia. Meanwhile from the mid-nineteenth century Germans set about establishing some of Australia's finest wine regions, and their festivals "drew large crowds of participants, including representatives from government and politics as official guests."³⁸ John Docker argues that far from being a country based solely on pure Anglo-Celtic stock, it was only the First World War, with the internment of Germans living in Australia, which made Australia the predominantly white, apparently monocultural country of the interwar period.³⁹

The view that Australia has always been to some extent multicultural has been increasingly criticised by the right. John Hirst, in a sweeping critique of Australian History (as a subject in Australian schools and universities), declared that multiculturalism's assertion to be ancient is part of its "search for legitimacy". He

³⁷ See, for example, I. Duffield, "The Life and Death of 'Black' John Goff: Aspects of Black Convict Contribution to Resistance Patterns During the Transportation Era in Eastern Australia", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 33, 1, (1987), pp. 30-44; S. Nicholas and P. Shergold, "Non-British Convicts", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 32-36.

³⁸ J. Docker, "Dilemmas of Identity: The Desire for Other in Colonial and Post Colonial Cultural History", *Working Papers in Australian Studies*, 74, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, (1992), p. 13.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 14f. See also G. Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), *passim*; W. Hudson and G. Bolton, "Creating Australia", in Hudson and Bolton, (eds.), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997), p. 4; J. Jupp, *Immigration*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1991), pp. 27ff.

added that multicultural history meant that Australia was increasingly being understood as a society constituting "the summation of the 'contributions' made by the various ethnic groups which have constituted its population."⁴⁰ He maintains that the only ethnic groups of any significance in Australian history were the English, the Irish and the Scots, who, together, formed a new, distinct culture which could correctly be described using W.K. Hancock's phrase: that of Independent Australian Britons.⁴¹ For John Carroll, multiculturalism is much more insidious. In his essay on the failure of Australians to venerate heroes and the subsequent collapse of middle class faith in the Australian way of life, Carroll accuses the intellectual Left of turning against "the mainstream of society ... sniping at the nation's way of life and its history. The multiculturalist campaign", he continues, "is one striking example."⁴²

The point on which both sides agree is the most important one in understanding Australian society prior to the mid-1970s. Whatever the ethnic mix of Australia, whatever the status of multiculturalism – and there is certainly some reading backwards of modern multicultural theory in the view that Australia was always multicultural – the majority culture was dominated almost entirely by Anglo-Celtic men. The superiority of this Australo-British culture was barely challenged until the era of multiculturalism. And, as most historians point out, the Scots and their descendants were located firmly within this majority: even more than the Irish. One reason that it remained for so long unchallenged was its tolerance. There was remarkable intermingling between the English, Scots and Irish, more so than in Canada or the US, and sectarian rivalry was marginalised in community

⁴⁰ J. Hirst, "Australian History and European Civilisation", *Quadrant*, (May 1993), p. 33.

⁴¹ J. Hirst, "Multiculturalism: Australia's Absurd History", in J. Carroll, (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity*, 2nd ed., (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992 [1982]), p. 194.

⁴² J. Carroll, "The Australian Way of Life", in Carroll, (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush*, p. 238.

organisations, although this was as much through legislation as public acceptance. Similarly class differences had to be tolerated, as the Arbitration Commissions around the country ensured.⁴³ Hirst offers the opinion that Australian society was marked by being "uneasy with sustained and systematic social exclusion."⁴⁴ Once again, of course, the indigenous Australians were the significant exception.

The common theme which links much criticism of multiculturalism is that it undermines nationalism and national identity. This is most apparent in critiques from the Right – indeed, some commentators of the Left welcome the dissolving effect of multiculturalism on nationalism.⁴⁵ In modern right-wing politics, this is couched not in attacks on immigrants *per se*, nor even, at least until the mid-1990s, on multicultural policies. Instead the cry is for reducing immigration. The subtext is clear. In the Australian context, it means preventing the arrival of any more foreigners, and working towards the assimilation of those already in the country. There is rarely (public) talk of repatriation. The political consensus on multiculturalism in Australia was finally broken, or at least cracked, in 1996, when John Howard won the Federal Election, ending 13 years of Labor rule.

Howard described himself in 1986, during his first spell as opposition leader, as the most conservative Liberal leader ever. He opposed the South African sanctions, of which Prime Minister Bob Hawke was one of the leading proponents in the Commonwealth, and over which Hawke clashed so often with Margaret Thatcher.

⁴³ Hirst, "Multiculturalism", pp. 196-200. It should also be noted that the idea of Australia as a classless society meant in reality that everyone strived for middle class, rather than working class, egalitarianism.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴⁵ See, for example, S. Castles, *et al.*, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992 [1988]), esp. chs. 1 & 8.

Howard campaigned openly for the retention of all the British symbols of Australia, he was sceptical of feminism and rejected affirmative action. Most significantly, he was outspoken about his dislike for multiculturalism and in 1988, the Australian Bicentenary, he announced his desire to see Asian immigration reduced in a general overhaul of immigration policy.⁴⁶ In an interview with Gerard Henderson in 1989, he said that his objection to multiculturalism was that it "is in effect saying that it is impossible to have an Australian ethos, that it is impossible to have a common Australian culture. So we have to pretend that we are a federation of cultures ... I think that is hopeless."⁴⁷ When Howard found himself as opposition leader again in 1995, Henderson (among others) once again questioned him about multiculturalism. An older Howard was also wiser. Claiming that he had a "very tolerant view", he said he was a strong "multiracialist" who supported multiculturalism so long as it did not mean "promoting the diversity ahead of the unity".⁴⁸

However, it was not Howard himself who cracked the consensus. Rather, it was his response to Pauline Hanson, elected as an independent to the House of Representatives after being disendorsed by the Liberal Party for her views on Aborigines and the funding of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission. Her disendorsement was very public in an attempt to increase the chance of wresting a safe Labor seat from the government. Hanson's maiden speech was a calculated attack on everything and everyone she felt threatened the stability of Australia. In it, she called, *inter alia*, for the reintroduction of national service, Australia's withdrawal from the United Nations and the World Health Organisation and the cessation of

⁴⁶ P. Kelly, *The end of certainty: The story of the 1980s*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), p. 243.

⁴⁷ G. Henderson, *A Howard Government? Inside the Coalition*, (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 27.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

foreign aid. So far, so League of Rights. However, she went on to attack immigration (particularly Asian immigration) and multiculturalism:

Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of the debate ... I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. ... They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called a racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to say who comes into my country.⁴⁹

Hanson's views were seen as tapping the "silent majority" of Australians who were excluded from political debate. Despite a strong result in the Queensland State Election in 1998, Hanson's One Nation Party performed very poorly in the 1998 Federal Election. Hanson and her supporters have done much to crack the political consensus, but some of the blame must be placed on John Howard's shoulders. When he won the election in 1996, he claimed that he had been given "an opportunity to change the culture".⁵⁰ By this, he meant changing the culture of the previous Labor Government: "the way in which it used a form of social censorship to intimidate and people out of debating difficult, sensitive and controversial issues ... becom[ing] almost too politically correct".⁵¹ By not responding to Hanson's speech, Howard was seen as tacitly agreeing, if not actively supporting Hanson herself or encouraging, her views. Multiculturalism was firmly established as the main target of the Australian Right. It was to be demonised, if not completely dismantled, because it was not in

⁴⁹ P. Hanson, "Maiden Speech", Commonwealth of Australia, *Parliamentary Debates: House of Representatives: Official Hansard*, Tuesday, 10 September 1996, pp. 3860-3863. URL: <www.aph.gov.au/hansard/rep/dailys/dr100996.pdf> pp. 47-50.

⁵⁰ Interview in *Business Review Weekly*, 5 August 1996, quoted in M. Kalantzis and B. Cope, "An opportunity to change the culture", in P. Adams, (ed.), *The Retreat from Tolerance: A Snapshot of Australian Society*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1997), p. 59.

⁵¹ Address to the NSW Liberal Party, 1986, quoted in Kalantzis and Cope, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

the interests of "mainstream Australia", instead favouring "minority special interest groups".

With this exploration and analysis of the problematics of nation, nationalism and identity in mind, this study now proceeds to its specific remit. This is how institutionalised Scottish-Australian identity in New South Wales has reshaped and reconstructed itself, since the mid-twentieth century zenith and subsequent undermining of a "White Australia" of "Independent Australian Britons".

CHAPTER 2

**“Once in the Highlands ...”:
Scottish Identity in Post-Second World War
Australia**

... the Highlands of Scotland,
Deep in the night on a murky brae;
There in the Highlands, the Highlands of Scotland,
Two weary hunters lost their way.

– *Brigadoon*, I, i.¹

Introduction: “Blooming under sable skies”

Brigadoon remains one of Lerner and Loewe's most popular musicals, still performed by amateur musical and dramatic societies from Australia to the US, and even in Scotland, a land famously considered not "Scottish" enough by the producers of the 1953 film version.² Its enduring appeal still is demonstrated by box office success whether performed in rural Australia or in Edinburgh.³ *Brigadoon*, however, is

¹ Quotes in the chapter title and subheadings are taken from Alan Jay Lerner's original lyrics for *Brigadoon*, (Music by Frederick Loewe), (London: Chappell & Co., 1947). Other than for the epigraph, Act and Scene numbers are not being given either in the text or in footnotes.

² See D. McCrone, *et al.*, *Scotland – the Brand*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 49 & 52. The producer toured several sites in Scotland including Braemar, Dunkeld and Inverary, accompanied by *The Scotsman's* film correspondent, looking for an "unchanged" Highland village. He was disappointed by what he saw: "I went to Scotland but I could find nothing that looked like Scotland" – F. Harvie, *Scotland in Film*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 1, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 49. Instead, the Scottish Highlands were recreated far more "authentically" in Hollywood. Alan Jay Lerner was actually disappointed by the film, despite its teaming of Gene Kelly and Cyd Charisse with director Vincente Minnelli and producer Arthur Freed (described by Lerner as "the best producer that ever was ... [who] created the Hollywood musical in the best sense of the word"), saying: "it was one of those mistakes, putting it on a sound stage instead of doing it in Scotland." – Quoted in G. Lees, *The Musical Worlds of Lerner & Loewe*, (London: Robson, 1991), p. 152.

³ *Brigadoon* experienced success on the stage from the start. It opened at the Zeigfield Theater on Broadway in 1947, where it was a substantial critical, and modest commercial, success, winning the Critics' Circle award for best musical, 1947, and establishing Lerner and Loewe as a significant Broadway writing team. It ran on Broadway for 581 performances before touring the US – see Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52. Among amateur companies a year has rarely passed since without a production somewhere in the world. For example, in the NSW mid-north coast town of Kempsey, with closer historical links to England than Scotland, the Kempsey Singers chose *Brigadoon* as their annual production for 1995. It was considered one of the society's most successful shows for some years. Similarly, Edinburgh's Southern Light Opera Company, founded in 1897 and the oldest amateur musical company in the city, has presented *Brigadoon* twice: in 1961, when it was recorded as one of the company's "most successful shows both artistically and financially, an opinion ... substantiated by the contemporary newspapers critics"; and in 1979, when it was remembered as a "particularly happy production"; and has considered it several more times, most recently in 1995 – see D. McBain, *More a Way of Life' (100 Years of the Southern Light Opera Company)*, (Edinburgh: Southern Light Opera Company, 1997), pp. 85 & 111.

understandably unpopular with many Scots, as partly responsible for reviving the fake "Highland" version of Scottish identity, and for essentialising Scotland as a country lost in the mists of time.⁴ While some Scots would still happily sit through a performance of the show, or even be willing to appear in it, others are more forthright in rejecting it utterly. The Unicorn Pursuivant at the Lyon Court, Alastair Campbell of Airds, (who is concerned with the dissemination, through the Lyon Court, of a Scotland which would in itself be rejected by many Scots), wrote: "if I had my way, [*Brigadoon*] would be banned from every stage and screen in the land!"⁵ Ultimately, the appeal of a show which anyone connected to Scotland would concede was a misrepresentation of the country, is in its very construction. It combines the established romantic appeal of the Highlands and their history with a Broadway and Hollywood musical. Each character gets their desserts and the format is accessible to a wide audience.

Similarly, presentation of "Scottishness" in an accessible format defines many Scottish societies in Australia (and around the world). Scottish societies have been in existence in New South Wales since earliest European settlement, becoming bigger and more organised throughout the nineteenth century. By the late 1940s, there were 123 Scottish societies and 70 pipe bands in Australia. The highest concentration, 56

⁴ Such essentialisations are strongly criticised in much of the recent literature on Scottish identity. McCrone, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, is one of the latest, and most accessible, in a long line of such literature, but see also: D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1993 [1992]); A. Calder, *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*, (London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 1994); H. Henderson, *Alias MacAlias: Writings on song, folk and literature*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992). In 1996 *Scottish Affairs* devoted an entire volume to the connections between identity and nationalism in Scotland – see in particular: D. McCrone, "Introduction: Multiple Identities", *Scottish Affairs*, 17, (1996), pp. 42-48; M. Parés i Macias, "An Approach To Cultural Identity And Its Connections With Mass Communication", pp. 98-111; and L. Paterson, "Conclusion: Does Nationalism Matter?", pp. 112-119. The fact that modern Scotland is increasingly essentialised as something quite different after the publication of Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1993), has still to make the same impact.

⁵ A. Campbell, "Traditions", *Cruachan: The Clan Campbell in Australia*, No. 49, (June 1990), p. 6.

societies, were in New South Wales.⁶ From a selection of them, conclusions about Scottish identity in New South Wales after 1945 can be drawn.⁷ Pre-eminent among such organisations at the close of the nineteenth century was the Caledonian Society of New South Wales, formed by the amalgamation of the St Andrew's Scottish Benevolent Society and the Gaelic Society. The Caledonian Society's remit was primarily charitable, with 25 per cent of the Society's gross income going to "the Benevolent Fund of this Society monthly", this amount supplementing any donations "received specially for benevolent purposes".⁸ Their general view of benevolence and worthiness was reflected in the location of their weekly meetings: the

⁶ D. Lucas, "Scottish Immigration 1861-1945", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People*, (Sydney: Angus & Roberston, 1988), p. 783. Victoria, long regarded as the centre of Scottish-Australian activity, had 39 Scottish Societies at this time. While this figure was still more than the rest of the States put together (Western Australia had eleven, South Australia ten, Queensland four, Tasmania two, and Canberra only one), it points to the inaccuracy of the bias towards Victoria when specifically examining Scottish Societies. Victoria was, however, the recipient of more Scottish immigrants than any other colony in the nineteenth century. In 1860, for example, it had the largest Scottish population of any British colony – *ibid.* Victoria was also home to the first Scottish Society in Australia to be granted a Royal Charter, when the Caledonian Society in Melbourne became the Royal Caledonian Society in 1921. The remit of the Royal Caledonian Society was very similar to that of the Highland Society. The Scottish Australian Heritage Council's Annuals contain lists of affiliated Scottish Societies. In 1994, the SAHC had 128 affiliated societies listed – see *The Scottish Australian Annual*, (1994), pp. 33-36.

⁷ The societies selected for a closer examination are by no means the only ones in existence. They are, however typical of many of the old style of Scottish Society, and they have been selected for this reason. It is worth noting, however, that the main type of society other than those discussed in this chapter is the district society. Sydney alone was home to more than a dozen, including the Eastwood and District Scottish Society, the Ryde-Gladesville Caledonian Society, the Hurstville Scottish Association, the Drummoyne and District Scottish Society, the Coogee-Randwick Scottish Pipe Band, the Undercliffe Scottish Ladies' Club, the Auburn Scottish Association, Bankstown Scottish, the Parramatta Caledonian Society and the Granville and District Caledonian Society. Many are no longer in existence, but most have survived to the present day. Interestingly, given their popularity in Britain, there are relatively few re-enactment societies in Australia. One of them is the Queensland Scottish Association. They began as the Queensland Defence Force, a Volunteer force formed in 1885 "when it was feared the Empires of Great Britain and Russia would go to war." They now devote themselves to re-enactments of historic battles – to living history: "By definition, living history is an attempt to simulate, or re-enact, life in another time. It is a valid complement to academic accounts of the past and an imaginative way of reproducing the texture and meanings of another era." – see Queensland Scottish Association (Inc.), "Queensland Scottish Association (Incorporated)", Internet, URL: <www.ecn.net.au/~jabiru/QSV/qs.html>

⁸ ML MSS 4240, Minute Book of Council of Caledonian Society of N.S. Wales, March 1876-October 1877: Minutes of meeting, 27 March 1876.

Temperance Hall, Sydney,⁹ where they concerned themselves with good works of a reforming nature. Such activities were very much in the tradition of mainstream Presbyterianism.

The Caledonian Society's only serious contender for primacy among Scottish societies was the Highland Society of New South Wales, founded in 1877, and the only one of these societies to survive relatively unchanged into the twentieth century. In the same tradition as the Caledonian Society, the Highland Society included benevolence among its aims and objectives, donating an unspecified portion of its funds to "charitable, educational, benevolent and patriotic objects."¹⁰ However, they also included a broader programme of cultural objectives: the cultivation and fostering of "national sentiment and a love for the art, literature, history, music and sports of Scotland"; and promoting "friendly intercourse and good fellowship amongst its members and kindred societies throughout the Commonwealth". For the Highland Society, this also meant direct action, affording "advice and/or assistance to Scottish immigrants ... [and] deserving countrymen". The final objective of the Highland Society is perhaps the most telling: "generally to develop a spirit of healthy patriotism and Empire citizenship among Scotsmen and their descendants, both at Home and abroad, by means of any proposal which may meet with the approval of the Council."¹¹ This places it firmly as a middle class organisation, propagating an imperial rather than an Australian identity. At various times, the Highland Society included a number of affiliated, but subordinate, groups, including the Highland

⁹ *ibid.* They paid rent of £3.2.6 per annum for the use of the Hall in the 1870s.

¹⁰ Saint Andrew's College, University of Sydney (hereafter SAC), Archives of the Highland Society of NSW (hereafter HS): Highland Society of New South Wales, "Constitution and Rules", reprinted 31 May 1938, p. 2.

¹¹ *ibid.*

Society Burns Club in the 1920s,¹² the Young Scots of the Highland Society in the 1950s,¹³ and the Ladies Auxiliary in the 1970s.¹⁴

The Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia (effectively the Sydney Burns Club, and hereafter referred to simply as the Burns Club) was founded in 1939.¹⁵ For the Burns Club, the celebration of Scottish culture, which for the Highland Society was an important companion to their benevolent activities, was paramount. In 1987, members were reminded that the Burns Club held "a unique position in [Australia's] Scottish community". Its uniqueness, the club believed, was a product of its foundation, based "on the simple precepts of friendship and common interests ... work[ing] to preserve all that is best of Scottish culture and tradition."¹⁶ As well as an annual traditional Burns Supper, the Burns Club holds monthly

¹² SAC HS: J.D. Roberston, Highland Society Burns Club, "Report of the Annual Ball", 23 April 1923.

¹³ SAC HS: Charter of the Young Scots of the Highland Society of NSW, nd, 1958.

¹⁴ SAC HS: Minute Book, 10 February 1978-12 January 1983, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 10 February 1978.

¹⁵ If there was any institutional connection between the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia and the Highland Society Burns Club, then there is no record of it in either organisations' archives, nor do any people now involved with either know of a connection. Certainly the Highland Society Burns Club does not appear in the post-1945 records, but it is perhaps safer to assume that the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia developed independently, but that a significant cross-over of membership would have been likely. Neither the Highland Society nor its Burns Club appear ever to have been affiliated to the Burns Federation, while the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia affiliated in 1939 as number 566 on the Federation's list. See "List of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation (Corrected to 30th April, 1984), *Burns Chronicle*, 4th series, Vol. IX, (1985), pp. 209-247. The Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia is only one of over a dozen Burns Clubs in Australia. Once again, NSW is the best represented State, with five Burns Clubs, while Victoria is home to only two. It is interesting to note that Australia and Canada both had 18 Burns Clubs and other Scottish Societies affiliated to the Burns Federation in 1985, while the US had 14 and New Zealand three. Nine countries, including Indonesia, Denmark, the Gambia and Sierra Leone, have one affiliated Scottish, Caledonian or Burns Club. The Canberra Highland Society and Burns Club is the biggest Burns Club in the world, with a membership approaching 1000 in 1985. This is not as surprising as it may at first seem: it is a licensed club venue offering refreshment at prices lower than in public licensed premises – see *Burns Club Newsletter* (Canberra Highland Society and Burns Club), August-October 1995.

¹⁶ Archives of the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia (held by the Club: hereafter BCA): *The Burns Club News*, August 1987.

meetings throughout the year at which some Burns is always read, and some other wholesome entertainment, such as Scottish dancing, Gaelic singing, or papers on Scottish history, presented.

Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Scottish identity is through membership of a Clan Society. Such groups abound in Australia, although many were only founded within the last twenty years. Some of the oldest, though, are the Clans MacNeil, Campbell and MacLeod Societies. Clan Societies are the most personal, or individual, of Scottish organisations: their remit is mostly cultural, but there is a strong emphasis on both Scottish history and family history. Their membership is both the biggest, and the least active of any Scottish organisations in the State. Their journals often contain editorials pondering (if not justifying) their *raison d'être*: "[we] concluded that, with the wealth of Scottish entertainment available in Sydney, people joined a clan society for ... something unique ... Primarily, to belong to their wider [clan] family".¹⁷

“And this is what happened”: Scottish Societies and their activities

A brief description of some of the types of early Scottish societies, however, is hardly an analysis of their particular brand of Scottishness. A starting point for such an analysis is scrutiny of their chief activities. The Highland Society made it very clear after 1945 that part of its *raison d'être* was to assist Scottish immigrants in Australia. The Labor government's post-war immigration policy, instituted in 1947 and driven by Prime Minister Ben Chifley and his newly created Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, was intended to see Australia "populate or perish". Immigration had been at a virtual standstill since the 1920s, and some years had seen more people

¹⁷ B. Campbell, "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 52, June 1991, p. 1.

leave Australia than arrive.¹⁸ The new immigration policy was extraordinarily successful: in the 17 years from 1947, more immigrants arrived than in the 80 years after 1860.¹⁹ British immigrants were given preference: provided they agreed to stay for at least two years, ex-service personnel and their families were given free passage, while others could emigrate by paying a nominal fee of £10. The Highland Society's correspondence sometimes contained letters from intending Scottish migrants, seeking work or the whereabouts of migrant relatives.²⁰ In another case, a father wrote to the Highland Society to let them know that his son and a friend were emigrating.²¹ Evidently this man felt that the society would help the young men settle in. Although examples are sparse in the extant archival material, the fact that they are included in the minutes of various meetings without any special comment other than the nature of the Society's reply, suggests that they were actually not uncommon.

The Highland Society is best known for its Balls and for the Highland Gathering which it organised for New Year's Day each year. These were Sydney's premier Scottish events, and certainly marked the Highland Society as the pre-eminent Scottish association in NSW until the 1960s. The early balls were Sydney society affairs. Invitations were regularly sent to the State Governor, the State

¹⁸ On post-war immigration policies, see, for example, G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 5, 2nd ed., (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1990]), pp. 54-58; R. White, *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]), pp. 158ff.

¹⁹ White, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

²⁰ SAC HS: Correspondence from Matthew Summerville and from K.W. Jenkins, Minutes of Meeting, 13 October 1952. Both were intending immigrants from Scotland. Summerville was enquiring about farm work for himself and his wife. The Highland Society advised him to contact the Farmer & Settler Association of Australia. Jenkins was trying to locate his uncle.

²¹ SAC HS: Correspondence from Frederick Caine, Minutes of Meeting, 16 September 1957.

Premier, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, and various other dignitaries.²² They were debutante balls, where young women were presented to society, and continue to the present day in this format, although it is no longer the occasion it was, where debutantes required sponsors and girls from the working class western suburbs were not considered.²³

Balls were the Highland Society's forte: they held Victory Balls in 1946 and 1947, raising over £830 for a charity Christmas Hamper Appeal.²⁴ In 1956, the Highland Society instituted a second annual ball, held on (or near) St Andrew's Day. Members felt that "[i]n Europe, Africa, Asia and America, the great majority of important cities ... hold an outstanding function to celebrate Scotland's national Day", and that Sydney should hold "a St Andrew's Ball on the scale appropriate to [the city's] size and importance."²⁵ The ball, for which tickets cost £1, was

²² See, for example, SAC HS: J.D. Robertson, "Report Re Annual Ball", 23 April 1923.

²³ I. Bain, "Post-War Scottish Immigration", in Jupp, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 787; David Scotland, interview with the author, 14 August 1995; Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 26 July 1995. Debutante Balls were (and are) very popular in Australia. They are based on London society Balls, at which young women were presented to the monarch and were subsequently considered "out" in society (i.e., they were officially on the marriage market). The Highland Society's is the only one left in Sydney, but in many country towns in NSW, there are several each year. Kempsey, for example, has "Deb Balls" thrown by the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church, and the Agricultural Society, at which girls of 16 or 17 are presented to a local dignitary. There, it almost has the appeal of a "right of passage" in the mode of an American High School Prom, although the participation is by no means universal.

²⁴ SAC HS: *The Scottish Australian*, Vol. VII, No. 58, (1947), p. 3. *The Scottish Australian* was published monthly by the Highland Society, and was described as "The Official Organ of the Highland Society of NSW and Kindred Scottish Societies". The numbering system used for the journal was singular: 1942, '43, '44 and the early numbers of '45 are all Vol. VII, as is 1946 and the early numbers of 1947. Most of 1945, however, is Vol. VIII. 1947 is entirely in Vol. IX, except No 62 (May '47), which is once again Vol. VII. From then, numbering settled down, and the remaining issues from 1947 to 1951 are all Vol. IX. The magazine ceased publication at the beginning of 1952 (see "Seventy-Fourth Annual Report for Year to 30th June 1952"). References given in footnotes use the Vol. number as it appears on the edition: no attempt has been made to rationalise the system, which could only confuse other researchers.

²⁵ SAC HS: Letter from W. Long, Honorary Secretary, to members of the Highland Society, 12 October 1956.

considered a success by the organisers.²⁶ There are, nevertheless, no records of subsequent St Andrew's Balls.²⁷

The Highland Society's New Year's Day Highland Gatherings began in Sydney in 1868, and continued uninterrupted until the 94th in 1962.²⁸ These were usually presented as the Gatherings of the Clans, but occasionally as Gatherings of the "Counties and Clans", where those attending were invited to assemble with others from their "native Counties" of Scotland.²⁹ The venue was the Royal Agricultural Society's Showground in Sydney, and included pipe band displays and competitions and other traditional Highland Games events such as caber-tossing, clan marches and other entertainments. There were prizes in various categories, including a prize for the child in the best Highland dress. At least once this was the cause of some minor controversy when it was reported that the "prize had been given to [a] child who had [the] wrong Cap crest, and [whose] cap [was] held on with [an] ordinary large hatpin."³⁰ Nothing could better illustrate the long-term success of the Victorian mania for regulating "correct" and "incorrect" Highland dress. The Gathering also

²⁶ SAC HS: Minutes of Meeting, 11 February 1957.

²⁷ Given that the first was considered successful, it would be surprising if it were not repeated in later years.

²⁸ SAC HS: *92nd Annual Highland Gathering, Monday 2nd January 1961, Official Programme*. In her contribution to Jupp, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 787, Irene Bain mistakenly identifies the 1962 Gathering as the 95th.

²⁹ SAC HS: *89th Annual Highland Gathering, Tuesday 1st January 1957, Official Programme*, pp. 10f.

³⁰ SAC HS: Minutes of Meeting, 14 January 1957.

included, on occasion, guests flown in from Scotland, including Dame Flora MacLeod in 1955³¹ and the Marquis of Huntley in 1962.³²

During the 1950s, the Highland Society became increasingly concerned about falling attendance at the Gatherings. A 1955 motion to change the event's date was rejected by the members.³³ Things came to an abrupt end in 1962, when the Highland Society's Scottish patron refused to provide funding for any further Gatherings, stating that "if the Scots wanted a Highland Gathering they would have to make one themselves".³⁴ No Gathering was held in 1963 and later Gatherings were organised by the Combined Scottish Societies of NSW, founded in that year for that purpose.

This marked the end of the Highland Society's decline which began after 1945 and intensified in the 1950s. Along with the proposal to change the date of the Highland Gathering, several other methods to arrest this decline had been considered and tried by the Society. There was a recognition among members that their Society did not appeal to younger Scottish-Australians. Several attempts were made to reach out across the generation gap – to make the Highland Society more accessible and attractive to younger people. An abortive attempt was made to establish a Highland

³¹ SAC HS: Minutes of Meeting, 13 September 1954.

³² SAC HS: "Marquis of Huntley – Biographical Notes", appended to Minutes of Meeting, 6 November 1961.

³³ SAC HS: Minutes of Meeting, 18 April 1955. A vote was deferred at this meeting, and at the subsequent meeting, 7 June 1955, the Highland Society voted to hold the 1956 Gathering on Monday 2nd January, the public holiday given in lieu of New Year's day falling on a Sunday. After that, the Gatherings reverted to New Year's Day except in 1961, when once again New Year's Day was a Sunday.

³⁴ Bain, *loc. cit.*

Society Choir,³⁵ but the real drive was to reinvigorate the Young Scots Organisation, which had lain fallow since the early 1950s. From its re-inception, the Young Scots were given very limited autonomy, and their accounts were closely scrutinised by the Highland Society executive. In their renewed Charter, the Young Scots were charged, firstly, to "arrange for the entertainment of the younger members ... and to undertake such other activities as will promote their interest in Scottish music, dancing and literature", and secondly, to "co-operate with the Council in the organisation of the major functions of the [Highland] Society".³⁶

Copies of the Charter and an accompanying letter were sent to organisations which the Highland Society felt might prove fertile grounds for recruitment to the Young Scots: Knox Grammar School, Scots College, the Presbyterian Ladies' Colleges in Croydon and Pymble, St Andrew's College at the University of Sydney, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of NSW ("to cover Ministers, congregations, Fellowships and Men's Leagues"), the Black Watch Association, the London Scottish Old Comrades Association, the 30th Infantry Battalion (the NSW Scottish Battalion), and other "suitable organisations".³⁷ The Highland Society archives become very sketchy after 1960, and there are no records extant in St Andrew's College for the years between 1964 and 1978, so the effect of the Young Scots on declining participation is impossible to measure. However, when the records resume in 1978, there is no mention of the Young Scots.

The Highland Society had restricted itself to very conservative institutions in issuing invitations for membership of the Young Scots: private and selective schools,

³⁵ SAC HS: Minutes of Meeting, 9 June 1958.

³⁶ SAC HS: "Charter of the Young Scots of the Highland Society of NSW", 1958.

³⁷ SAC HS: Minutes of Special Meeting, 24 February, 1958.

church and military organisations. Whatever the immediate response, no vigorous stream of committed young members resulted. The Highland Society was hoist by its own innate conservatism. Its executive was ready, metaphorically, to throw up its hands in despair. The minutes of the 1956 Annual General Meeting, recorded in the singular style of the Minutes Secretary, reported the President's address to the members:

The Highland Society had a good year in spite of the trials and tribulations ... The past had been good, but one had to move with the times. The Highland Society was a conservative body and liked old systems and customs, but can modify to keep in touch with trend of events. Must consider fully if on the right track and meeting a present need. The Highland Society will never be guilty of going to extreme.³⁸

It also became apparent that newly arriving Scots had scant interest in the Society and its activities, despite the contacts it had provided for some of them.³⁹ The Highland Society's state was terminal, its executive and perhaps membership unable and unwilling to enact the necessary changes. The Debutante Ball is now their only function each year.

If the Highland Society has fared so badly since 1945, what of the Burns Club? It did not have the high profile of the Highland Society, its only big event each year being the Burns Supper. Instead, the Burns Club held, and continues to hold, monthly meetings in Sydney. They are primarily concerned with the dissemination of Scottish culture, but, in common with Burns Clubs around the world, of a particular brand of Scottish culture: approved, controlled, apolitical. In this, Burns Clubs have taken their place in a wider spectrum of Scots of every political and religious hue, who have reconstructed the poet in their own image: what Hugh

³⁸ SAC HS: Minutes of AGM, 11 September 1956.

³⁹ SAC HS: Minutes of Special Meeting, 19 August 1957.

MacDiarmid called "faitherin' Genius wi' *their* thochts".⁴⁰ After Burns's death and the publication of his collected poems, he was almost immediately reinterpreted as an apolitical liver of the high life; a womaniser and a drunkard.⁴¹ Since Burns's time, interpretations of his life have been jealously guarded by Burns Clubs in Scotland and around the world. Thus, he has been reinterpreted as a romantic poet whose nationalism, if acknowledged at all, is dismissed as youthful high jinks. Perhaps most significantly, the fact that Burns first arrived in Edinburgh ready to depart Scotland for a career in the slave colony of Jamaica is completely ignored.⁴² Burns now has more museums and heritage centres devoted to him in Scotland than any of the other "great men" of Scottish history,⁴³ giving him a brand new profile, as a "product" marketed by the Scottish tourist industry.

⁴⁰ H. MacDiarmid, "A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle", in *The Complete Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid*, (ed. Michael Grieve and W.R. Aitken), Vol. 1, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1978]), p. 84. The section of the poem on Burn Suppers (pp. 84ff.) is surely one of the most sustained pieces of lethal invective by any writer on the topic. MacDiarmid deals with Burns clubs thus: "I'se warrant you'd shy clear o' a' the hunner / Odd Burns Clubs tae, or ninety-nine o' them, / And haud your birthday in a different kip / Whaur your name isne ta'en in vane – as Christ / Gied a' Jerusalem's Pharisees the slip" – *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴¹ BBC *Omnibus*, "The Ploughboy of the Western World", broadcast 22 January 1996, explored the more radical and even revolutionary aspects of the poet.

⁴² See, for example, J.L. Hempstead, "James Smith – 'A Trusty Trojan'", *Burns Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. IX, pp. 33-37. James Smith was a friend and confidant, to whom Burns wrote numerous letters over the course of some years. Hempstead's article presents the letters to Smith as evidence of Burns' love for Jean Armour and his despair when Jean apparently deserted him. Hempstead refers obliquely to Burns "considering fleeing the country ... and emigrat[ing] to Jamaica" (p. 36) – plans which were dropped only when Jean came back to him. For Hempstead, the letters are only interesting for what they reveal about Burns' marriage to Jean Armour, Burns' view of the West Highland Tour, Burns' relationship with his "old friend" (p. 37). The real business of Burns' planned emigration is not touched upon at all.

⁴³ G. Rosie, "Museumry and the Heritage Industry", in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp. 167f. Further interesting critique on what might be termed "Burns-ism" can be found in A. Calder, *Revolving Culture*, (London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 1994), pp. 229-242.

The Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia meets monthly for evenings of *douce*⁴⁴ Scottish entertainment. The format of the meetings has changed little over the years: a welcome from the President is followed by prayers, supper, a Burns poem, and one or two items of Scottish interest, including singing, Highland dancing, lectures on Burns or Mary Queen of Scots, poetry recitations, and talks from members recently returned from holidays in Scotland.⁴⁵ Meetings in the 1990s are regularly attended by 40-50 members, just under one-quarter of the total membership. The Burns Club still sends and receives St Andrew's Day greetings cards to and from other Scottish Societies.⁴⁶ The membership is predominantly older and, interestingly, contained the highest proportion of Scottish immigrants of all the societies and clubs scrutinised in research for this thesis. Like the Highland Society, the Burns Club is a very conservative organisation. The Club's newsletters often contained comments about the restraints members felt in "these perilous times",⁴⁷ the "terrible times we live in".⁴⁸ Signs of the "terrible times" include: declining standards in education and public life,⁴⁹ and the way in which "the Japanese ... are taking over our homeland [i.e., Scotland], second largest after [the] U.S.A."⁵⁰ Two points are striking here. At

⁴⁴ Douce: a Scots word defined in *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), as having the following meanings (among others): sedate, sober, respectable, neat, tidy, comfortable. To confine Scottish culture within such bounds might be thought a kiss of death.

⁴⁵ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, *passim*; Stuart Henderson and Duncan MacLeod, interview with the author, 11 August 1995.

⁴⁶ BCA: Various greetings cards from societies in the US, South Africa, Canada, India, Scotland, Hong Kong, between c. 1935 and 1992.

⁴⁷ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, March 1991.

⁴⁸ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, August 1991.

⁴⁹ These are common themes all over the western world at the end of the twentieth century. It is only specifically worth noting because in the 1940s and '50s, the Burns Club had a weekly quiz, which included questions such as: "Communists pin their faith on 'dialectic materialism'. What is this?" – see BCA.

the same time, Japanese firms were also acquiring Australian companies, while the fact that American capital was also investing in Scotland did not seem particularly worthy of comment. The latent racism behind these sentiments reveals the deep-rooted conservatism of much of the executive.

The conservatism of the Burns Club can be traced to its origins, especially one of its founders, Gordon Mackley. Shortly after its foundation in 1939, the Club received a letter of congratulations from Robert Menzies, then enjoying his first brief term as Australian Prime Minister. Menzies asked Mackley to inform the Club that "any organisation which has for its purpose the consolidation of the bonds between Scottish Australians and Scotland, or the maintenance of Scottish culture will at all times have my support and co-operation."⁵¹ Mackley himself was ultra-conservative, an occasional columnist for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and an outspoken champion of the unique virtues, as he saw them, of Scotland and the Scottish. Scots were, he maintained, marked by a "deep sense of honesty of purpose, sincerity and manliness ... the greatest qualit[ies] of this peculiar race."⁵²

As well as the Burns Supper and the monthly meetings, the Burns Club has also been involved with a number of other projects. One of the most public was the mounting of a Burns Bicentennial Exhibition at the University of Sydney in 1959. The centrepiece of the exhibition was a collection of translations of Burns in 26

⁵⁰ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, August 1989. See also *The Burns Club News*, June 1987, in which the same Japanese "buying of Scotland" was mentioned, beginning "We were not pleased – rather sad in fact – to discover ...".

⁵¹ BCA: Letter from Robert Menzies, Prime Minister, to Gordon Mackley, 29 May 1939. Menzies was very proud of his Scottish ancestry. He was Patron and Honorary President of the Menzies Clan Society in Australia (see BCA: *The Weekly Scotsman*, 16 November 1961, p. 15), and in 1963 was made the first (and only ever) Australian Knight of the Thistle.

⁵² BCA: Newspaper clipping from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 July 1945.

languages. Mackley's comment accompanying the texts was: "Burns' poetry remains a testament for humanity the world o'er."⁵³ The Club was active in the Scottish Act of Remembrance on ANZAC Day each year. The Scottish Act of Remembrance began in 1948 as a massed pipe band march to the Cenotaph in Sydney, and a wreath-laying by the Grand Council of Scottish Societies. In 1962, the Council disbanded, and responsibility for the Act passed to the NSW Pipe Band Association, which retains this function to the present day.⁵⁴ All Scottish Societies are invited to participate. It has attracted the Burns Club and various Clan Societies, District Scottish Societies, pipe bands and others.⁵⁵

Burns is seen very much as *the* Scottish romantic hero by the Sydney members. Newsletters in the mid-1980s frequently contained items extolling Burns' exceptional brilliance and talent, as well as his beauty and bearing. In May 1986, for example, members were informed that: "Rabbie was 5ft 9¹/₂" – tall for the times – and he WAS unusually handsome, with 'dark burning eyes.'" and that he was "well educated, despite the harsh poverty of his day".⁵⁶ His nobility was revealed not only by his education (in fact, he is presented as the archetypal lad o' pairts), but also in his own humility: "... he died penniless. A publisher ignored Rabbie's deathbed plea for just £5 of the money owed to the poet."⁵⁷ Even the question of Burns' love for alcohol was addressed: "Rabbie liked his drams, but he was no alcoholic. His bad

⁵³ BCA: G.M. Mackley, "Exhibition of Burns Translations", 1959.

⁵⁴ BCA: "Brief History of the 'Scottish Act of Remembrance'", *The Burns Club News*, March 1991.

⁵⁵ See, for example, *ibid.*; B. Campbell, "Here & There", *Cruachan*, No. 67, Autumn 1995, pp. 10f; SAC, Records of the Granville and District Caledonian Society (hereafter GDC): Minutes of Meeting, 26 April 1971.

⁵⁶ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, April/May 1986.

⁵⁷ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, March 1986.

press probably stems from his earliest biographer being a teetotaler, who loathed drinking."⁵⁸

Clan Societies are also common in the Scottish Diaspora. By their very nature, Clan Societies encourage the study of history, Scottish, clan and family. In its broadest sense, this is manifested by the number of articles on Scottish history which appear in society newsletters. The Campbell Clan Society, for example, has included articles on Governor Lachlan Macquarie's wife Elizabeth and on the development of the Free Church of Scotland.⁵⁹ Often the newsletter historical articles are of direct relevance to the clan concerned. The Clan Johnston/e Association ran a series of ten articles on clan castles and fortified houses in Scotland,⁶⁰ while *Cruachan* devotes some pages in March, every few years, to the Glencoe Massacre. These articles make particularly interesting reading, since the Campbells are traditionally presented as the bad guys of this event. Various attempts at revising generally received notions of historical events have been attempted over the years. In 1987, an article appeared in *Cruachan* claiming that Glencoe was actually a plot against the Campbells: the MacDonalds were meant to massacre their guests thus giving William III an excuse to hammer the Highlanders.⁶¹ The *Cruachan* editorial on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the massacre concluded: "It is time to put the old enmities and

⁵⁸ *ibid.* These interpretations of Burns are not uncommon. In the BBC's *Omnibus* programme on Burns (see note 41 above), various members of the Dumfries Ladies' Burns Club (all rather elderly) described Burns as "quite a lover", "a man with a heart and a soul – something we need today", as possessing a "sensual mouth". One was adamant that "drinking wasn't his undoing".

⁵⁹ For the series on Elizabeth Macquarie, see *Cruachan*, Nos. 34, (June 1986), pp. 8-11, 35, (September 1986), pp. 1ff and 37, (March 1987), pp. 4ff; the series on the Free Church of Scotland appeared in *Cruachan*, Nos. 31, (September 1985), pp. 4ff and 32, (December 1985), pp. 2f. Lachlan Macquarie was Governor of NSW, 1810-1821.

⁶⁰ D. Johnston, "Johnston Fortifications in Scotland", *Clan Johnston/e Association Newsletter*, Nos. 10 (October 1993) to 20 (June 1996).

⁶¹ J. Campbell, "Glencoe – A Plot Against the Campbells", *Cruachan*, No. 37, (March 1987), pp. 8f.

prejudices behind us" Clan members were reminded that: "'The past is a different country: they do things differently there' – (L P Hartley)."⁶² The Clan Chief is usually the subject of regular articles. Clan Societies often include a Genealogist among their office-bearers, and appeals for archival and genealogical material are frequent.⁶³

Even when the past is not being reshaped, it is evident that silences occur in the history presented in the journals. Scottish radical and revolutionary movements, Scottish labour history, do not intrude. Scots law, which never had any standing in Australia, cannot be exalted because to do so would have hostile implications to the English common law foundation of Australian legal systems. Significantly, important Sydney lawyers are prominent in the city's Scottish organisations. Thus, the historical narratives of Scottish-Australian journals move in narrow and well-trodden directions. They recapitulate a history which is closed to questioning or even to extension in range and scope.

Among the other methods of instilling the sense of belonging, perhaps the most effective is to meet regularly. Clan Societies have, therefore, always been active in organising social events. Burns suppers are popular among Clan Societies but these are often supplemented, or replaced, by other dinners: the Clan Johnston/e Association has its annual dinner and AGM in May, while the Victorian Branch of the Clan Campbell has a dinner to mark the anniversary of the Battle of Flodden

⁶² B. Campbell, "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 55, (March 1992), p. 1.

⁶³ See, for example, *Cruachan*, No. 31, (September 1985), p. 19; *Cruachan*, No. 39, (September 1987), p. 8; *Clan Johnston/e Association Newsletter*, No. 25, (September 1997), pp. 18f; *Clan Cochrane in Australia Newsletter*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (April 1994), pp. 6f.

Field.⁶⁴ In the 1960s, the MacNeil Clan Society held a monthly ceilidh.⁶⁵ Although ceased in the 1970s, they were still then holding four functions each year: an Annual Ball in August, supper dances in March and September, and a Christmas Party.⁶⁶ These events were complemented in the 1970s and early '80s by the Clan's Annual Highland Dancing Competition and Championships.⁶⁷

The emotional element of belonging to a Clan Society cannot be overlooked. No matter how frequently a Clan Society met, there were still members who, due to distance or social or economic circumstances, were constrained from attending most, if not all, Clan events. Yet they retained their membership, about which they were often very passionate; they still felt they belonged. Perhaps never meeting the prime movers of the Society – who are often based in Sydney – they share a link, even a commonality of interest, by virtue of a shared name or kinship. The editor of the Clan Campbell's US journal expressed it thus, in an article in *Cruachan*:

Campbells whose families have kept up their heritage do not need clan organisations. But the great sadness is that because the heritage of highland peoples was so closely connected with the land, most urban and overseas Campbells have lost any real touch with their heritage. So clan organisations have risen up so as to bring the people back in touch with what they are and where they have come from.

⁶⁴ "Victorian News", *Cruachan*, No. 28, (December 1984), p. 3.

⁶⁵ ML MSS 3829 Box 1(3), MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Records c. 1958-1980: *The Clan MacNeil Association of New South Wales Newsletter*, No. 13, (December 1960), p. 4.

⁶⁶ ML MSS 3829 Box 1(3): *The MacNeil Clan Association of New South Wales Newsletter*, (January-February 1975). Frequent meetings were, of course, the hallmark of many Scottish Societies, particularly in the '60s and '70s. The Granville and District Caledonian Society, for example, also held monthly socials throughout this period. They took the form of barn dances, ceilidhs, talent nights, tartan nights, etc. See SAC GDC: Minutes Books, 6 June 1966-8 April 1970.

⁶⁷ ML MSS 3829 Box 2(3): *Macneil Clan News*, No. 1, (May 1984), p. 1. Interest in the event appears to have declined very rapidly towards the end of the 1970s. In 1982, it failed through lack of entries (see ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1777, MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Further Records: Letter from Andrew Fry to Margaret Westacott, Honorary Secretary, MacNeil Clan Association, 9 August 1982), and the valedictory nature of the article in the May 1984 *Newsletter* cannot be ignored.



But clan membership meant, to this man, more than simply members finding their roots. He went on to point out the obligations of the clan and its members: "... learning the traditions, history and genealogy of [the] family and clan ... and then passing these things on to the younger generation."⁶⁸

This very specific concept of "being", "belonging", is typical of, and particular to, Clan Societies. Membership of no other organisation is so closely linked to essentialised identity. Some Clan Societies are very restrictive about who can join. The Clan Maitland in Australia, for example, welcomed anyone with either: "the surname of MAITLAND or LAUDERDALE; ... [or] blood ancestry to the name of MAITLAND or LAUDERDALE" and anyone whose spouse fulfilled these qualifications.⁶⁹ By contrast, thanks to the philanthropy of the MacCailein Mor,⁷⁰ who "turned back the clock", membership of the Campbell Clan was open to anyone (of Scottish descent) "willing to follow [MacCailein Mor] as their chief."⁷¹ MacCailein Mor's motivation was presented as concern for those who did not have a clan to which they could belong, and this is also a recurring theme in some other Clan Societies. The Clan Fergus(s)on Society of Australia, for example, quoted their Chief saying: "Not everyone of Scottish descent belongs to a clan, so we who do are fortunate."⁷² Clan members were also very protective of their Society, and desirous of seeing people join for the right reasons. Hector McNeill, a member of the MacNeil

⁶⁸ D.A. Campbell, "What it means to be a Campbell", *Cruachan*, No. 40, (December 1987), p. 12.

⁶⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from Major-General G.C. Maitland, President and Clan Commissioner, to Rosemary Samios, SAHC, 29 July 1988.

⁷⁰ Chief of Clan Campbell, the Duke of Argyll.

⁷¹ B. Campbell, "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 59, (March 1993), p. 1.

⁷² ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Sir James Fergusson, "Why a Clan Society?", April 1973, reprinted by the Clan Fergus(s)on Society of Australia, 1987.

Clan Association, contacted the secretary about his sister's grandson who, he wrote, was "keen on the McNeill history ... and may like to join". Hector McNeill worried that he may not be eligible: "personally I feel he may be too far removed from McNeill." However, he soon revealed his main concern: his sister's grandson had "recently joined the Mormon religion." Hector McNeill did not know about Mormons, but knew that the Quakers were "asking the members to seek out their ancestors", and while not wanting to denigrate the Quakers, he would "prefer that [his sister's grandson] was interested in ancestors from the Mac angle" rather than because he had joined some religion of which his great-uncle obviously did not approve.⁷³

The common feature of all of these Societies was their emphasis on belonging, of being part of a larger group of like-minded folk. This was reinforced through frequent symbolic events, although these decreased as the twentieth century wore on. Their roots were undeniably Scottish, and Scottish history, culture, literature and dancing were mainstays of their activities. This Scottishness was, in fact, often left unspoken, as if it was implicit in either the name or the *raison d'être* of the given society. In many cases, it was obvious, and did not need to be spoken. However, the bigger picture shows that there was actually some ambivalence about what exactly being Scottish meant.

“The strange thing that happened”: Scottishness and Britishness in Australia

World War II saw a significant change in Australian cultural life. Before the war, conservative Australians generally considered themselves British. Their champion was Robert Menzies. As Prime Minister in 1939, he famously broadcast the news to the nation that since Britain had declared war on Germany, Australia, "as a result"

⁷³ ML MSS 3829 Box 3(3): Letter from Hector McNeill to Margaret Westacott, 7 July 1977.

was also at war.⁷⁴ For Menzies, there was no doubt about Australia's loyalties: "where Great Britain stands there stand the people of the entire British world."⁷⁵ Unlike in the First World War, however, Australia was more immediately threatened with attack, and Menzies, aware of the dangers that Australia was to face in this conflict, did not commit the numbers of troops to the European theatre that had been sent 25 years previously. The fall of Singapore in 1942, and the tacit recognition that the priority in both Britain and the US was to win the war in Europe first, meant that Australia was forced to look beyond the old imperial alliance to ensure its security. John Curtin, an Irish-Australian, Labor Prime Minister from 1941, first articulated the country's realignment:

Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom. We know the problems that the United Kingdom faces, we know the constant threat of invasion, we know the dangers of dispersal of strength, but we know, too, that Australia can go and Britain can still hold on.⁷⁶

The interpretation of both Menzies' and Curtin's views on Australia's attachment to Britain have been the subject of a great deal of simplification. Menzies was undeniably Anglocentric. During his second term as Prime Minister (1949-1966) he was very much the Queen's man in Australia, and he considered that his role in international affairs was second only to that of the British Prime Minister, among Commonwealth countries. This led to a number of embarrassing incidents, most obviously his eager support for Britain in the Suez fiasco in 1956. Menzies' world view has been particularly criticised recently by Australian republicans, led by Paul

⁷⁴ Quoted in S. Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 4, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 325. Menzies' declaration of war was made seven hours before the Dominions Office in London sent official notice that Britain was at war.

⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Quoted in M. Turnbull, *The Reluctant Republic*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1993), pp. 53f.

Keating, whose loathing of Menzies and almost all he stood for is quite apparent. However, Menzies never followed his predecessor Stanley Melbourne Bruce (Prime Minister, 1923-29) to London, the House of Commons and ultimately the House of Lords. Stuart Macintyre, himself a historian distinctly of the left, points out that Menzies was "not a blind imperialist", but a pragmatic Australian nationalist in his own way, who saw Australia's foreign policy as being best served by tying it to Britain's.⁷⁷ Menzies' problem was perhaps his inability to see beyond the British connection.

Similarly, Curtin devoted numerous speeches in both Australia and Britain to emphasising his commitment to Britain and the Empire. When his remarks were criticised by Australians, he responded by saying that he "did not mean that Australia regarded itself as anything but an integral part of the British Empire. ... Our loyalty to the King goes to the very core of our national life."⁷⁸ Similarly, when the Curtin government finally brought the Statute of Westminster to the Australian Parliament for adoption in 1942 (eleven years after it had come into force), Dr Evatt, moving the adoption, stressed that the Statute, far from weakening Australia's links to Britain, would actually strengthen them.⁷⁹

It is unsurprising that the Scottish Societies, with their largely elderly, conservative membership were very much in Menzies' camp in considering Australia "British to the bootstraps" in the immediate post-war period. What is perhaps a little more surprising is the ways in which this was manifested among people whose specific attachment was supposedly to Scotland rather than Britain. The cultural and

⁷⁷ Macintyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 326f.

⁷⁸ Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 55.

imperial sentiments of the Highland Society, committing itself to fostering "Empire citizenship", were to be found increasingly in the constitutions of later Scottish Societies: The Clan Donald Society of NSW, for example, includes as its first objective "Loyalty to the Crown".⁸⁰ The Highland Society itself, while not including this in its constitution, sent annual messages of loyal greetings to the monarch. In 1951 they "proclaim[ed] devoted loyalty to [their] Gracious Sovereign, His Majesty King George VI" and rejoiced (rather prematurely) that their prayers for the King's health had been answered. They would continue to pray for a complete restoration of his health, which might "culminate in the proposed visit to Australia."⁸¹ The following year, loyalty and devotion to the new Queen was recorded,⁸² but the minutes of the AGM in the coronation year represent the extreme of loyalty. In seconding the proposal to send a message to the Queen, the minutes record that "Mr McNiven said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion of loyalty to the greatest Lady in the World, for he felt that humanity would be lifted to higher heights [*sic*] under her leadership than the world had known for a very long time." The motion was carried unanimously.⁸³ In 1956, after the successful royal visit, the Highland Society stated categorically that "All feel we are part of the British Empire."⁸⁴ Meanwhile, a member of the Burns Club had already lamented the "hideous shades of checked material" which some Sydney stores were showing as "authentic tartan and labelled with Royal titles". He explained that they were not authentic, that the Lord Lyon King of Arms "had no knowledge of any such [royal] titles of tartan", and that

⁸⁰ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03486, Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Further Records, 1929-1985: *The Clansman*, (Magazine of the Clan Donald Society of Australia), NSW Branch, 1979, p.4.

⁸¹ SAC HS: "The Seventy-Third Annual Report for the Year to 30th June 1951".

⁸² SAC HS: "Seventy-Fourth Annual Report for the Year to 30th June 1952".

⁸³ SAC HS: Minutes of AGM, 7 September 1953.

⁸⁴ SAC HS: Minutes of AGM, 11 September 1956.

to display or, by extension to buy, such travesties "could ... be considered a sign of disloyalty to the Crown."⁸⁵

Feeling "part of the British Empire" was an unequivocal statement of identity, but one which stopped just short of proclaiming that they actually felt British. Gordon Mackley went the extra step. At the University of Sydney's Summer School of Political Science, a speaker lamented that Australians lived on borrowed traditions, and that British customs were no longer appropriate for post-war Australia.⁸⁶ Mackley responded in a newspaper article, saying: "Mrs. Kelly seems to deplore the fact that we have coloured our way of life on [the] British pattern". He asserted that "if she could define for us an Australian tradition and culture, and plan for its development", she would find most Australians supporting her. In the meantime, he planned to "walk the path of life on British standards".⁸⁷

Mackley's conservatism was evident in a number of ways. For him, Scotland equated to Britain. The Scots were the pioneers in science and learning, and in Empire-building and democracy. He was no Scottish nationalist: "Scotland's willingness to join the Union ... may well be described as 'an unequalled example of the surrender of sovereignty for the greater good of mankind.'"⁸⁸ Scotland's greatness could be measured not only by its self-sacrifice, but by "the character of the

⁸⁵ BCA: unidentified, undated newspaper article clipping, written by Gordon Mackley, probably from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, c. 1952.

⁸⁶ The paper was given by Caroline Kelly, about whom nothing seems to be remembered. Hers was an increasingly frequent criticism among intellectuals (especially left-wing intellectuals) after the war. See, for example, Bolton, *op. cit.*, ch. 5; White, *op. cit.*, ch. 9, esp. pp. 148-157.

⁸⁷ BCA: unidentified, undated newspaper article clipping, written by Gordon Mackley, probably from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, c. 1952.

⁸⁸ BCA: unidentified, undated newspaper article clipping, written by Gordon Mackley, probably from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, c. 1952.

men and women"⁸⁹ who "share the colonisation of the Dominions, help in the government of the people ... and blaze a trail for democracy".⁹⁰ He concluded many of his newspaper articles, whether they were on Scotland, the Empire, or Australia, with thoughts such as: "The name of Scotland remains unstained. Scotsmen may well boast of their ancient heritage."⁹¹ The Scots were, in short, the most dynamic, inventive, creative race on earth.⁹²

Mackley's trumpeting of Scottish genius has more than a hint of the ideology of racial superiority about it. The Scots were presented as an elite group, and therefore, by extension, Mackley himself was just that little bit better than a mere Australian. He was certainly happy to be associated with important people. When visiting Scotland in 1951, he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and took part in "a Scientific Expedition in Scotland". He took with him letters of introduction from both the Lord Mayor of Sydney and the Prime Minister, Robert Menzies.⁹³ When in Edinburgh, he visited the Lyon Court and ultimately matriculated a Coat of Arms.⁹⁴ Perhaps his most unusual act, given his devoted loyalty to the crown, was to write to the Duke of Windsor in 1954 asking him to

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ BCA: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 July 1945.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² Mackley did indeed refer to the Scots as a "race" on a number of occasions. See, for example, *ibid.* It should be emphasised that there was nothing unusual in this position, among people of his generation.

⁹³ BCA: Letter of introduction written by E.C. O'Dea, Lord Mayor of Sydney, 20 February 1951 (from which the quotation is taken); Certificate of Introduction signed by Robert Menzies, 20 February 1951.

⁹⁴ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, September 1982, p. 3.

convey greetings for the Burns Club's St Andrew's Day celebration that year – a request with which the Duke had "great pleasure" in complying.⁹⁵

Whether Mackley was at the rally in Sydney in 1946 for the "Stand By Britain Movement" is unknown. However, as it was attended and supported by a number of Scottish Societies, including the Highland Society, and it expressed sentiments with which Mackley was obviously very comfortable, that is likely. The movement was launched at what was described as a "Patriotic Rally", in May 1946, by people concerned about the activities of "those in our midst whose allegiance leans towards a foreign order". A pledge was taken to "confound the disruptionist elements" who were undermining the "moral, social, economic and political principles upon which our traditional civilisation is based." Their motto was "Be British, Talk British, Buy British."⁹⁶ Launched in the climate of Labor's decision to seek immigrants from outwith the British Isles and in the context of post-war devastation of the British economy, Stand By Britain exposed the apparently newly divided loyalties of Australians. Its intense conservatism is very evident in its overt linking of foreigners and their sympathisers – code for Communists and the Australian Labor Party left – with a threat to traditional Australian values.

The movement's statement, however, does not openly specify against which foreign order they were pledged fight. The 1940s, however, was the high point for

⁹⁵ BCA: Letter from Edward, Duke of Windsor, to Gordon Mackley, 29 October 1954. In fairness to Mackley, Edward Windsor's closeness to the German Embassy while he was King, his arguably treasonable conduct at the time of the fall of France in 1940 and that his subsequent Governorship of wartime Bermuda was in effect a form of preventive detention, were in 1954 and long after closely guarded secrets.

⁹⁶ SAC HS: "Stand By Britain Movement", *The Scottish Australian*, Vol. VII, No. 51, July 1946, pp. 2f. A more complete transcription of the main tenets of the Movement can be found as Appendix 1 to this thesis.

the Communist Party of Australia.⁹⁷ In the 1943 Federal election, they won 2 per cent of the national vote, the highest poll they had ever achieved, and the highest they would ever achieve at federal level.⁹⁸ This built upon their success in the Victorian State election of 1943, where Communist party candidates polled 12 per cent in Ballarat and between 20 and 40 percent in some inner Melbourne suburbs.⁹⁹ In 1944, the party purchased premises in central Sydney, naming them Marx House. By 1945, the party claimed the sympathy of over half a million workers through its substantial influence in the trade unions, although there were only 23,000 paid-up members.¹⁰⁰ It could claim a significant number of Australian intellectuals among its members. Their academic nationalism was expressed both in the histories they published in the post-war era and in the cultural journals, such as *Meanjin* and *Overland*, which were launched after 1940.¹⁰¹ After World War II, the communists in Europe were perceived of as a threat, particularly by Churchill and Roosevelt, who tried to keep Stalin in the dark as much as possible after the victory in Europe. The Communist

⁹⁷ White, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁹⁸ Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 21. The only successful CPA candidate was Fred Paterson, who was elected to the Queensland Parliament in 1944.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* At the same time, membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain was around 50,000 out of a population six times that of Australia – W. Thompson, *The Long Death of British Labourism: Interpreting a Political Culture*, (London: Pluto Press, 1993), pp. 46f. Thus Communist Party membership was more widespread in Australia than in Britain. Add to this the fact that some left-wing ALP members and parliamentarians were probably Communist Party moles, as in Britain, (see L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labor Party, 1901-1951*, (London and Melbourne: Longman, Green and Co., 1955), pp. 176-181) and the quite extensive fringe of what McCarthyism labelled "fellow travellers" – people, mainly intellectuals and cultural figures who while not members, avidly and vocally supported the party – and the true dimensions of CPA influence emerges more clearly still. Finally, unlike in other conventional parties, a very high proportion of CPA members were extremely active in party affairs. Indeed, those who were not were usually expelled. See also F. Farrell, *International Socialism and Australian Labour: The Left in Australia, 1919-1939*, (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1981).

¹⁰¹ White *op. cit.*, pp. 153f. White draws attention to the similarities between this academic nationalism and the literary nationalism (his terms) of Norman Lindsay, Henry Lawson, Miles Franklin, *et al.*, in the 1890s, pp. 152ff.

Party of Australia and its international allies were clear targets of the Stand By Britain Movement.

However, the war had seen Australia turn towards the US, "free of any pangs", under Curtin; a policy followed by his successor Ben Chifley. In 1946, Labor won a third successive Federal election, improving even on their 1943 landslide. The Australia Labor Party, among the oldest and most successful such parties in the world, was never especially influenced by Marxism.¹⁰² Certainly, Labor's victories could not be attributed to a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the capitalist world-system. Members of the Chifley Cabinet were not agents in a Stalinist plot. Labor was, however, more overtly nationalistic than Menzies' conservative United Australia Party (UAP), at a time of growing Australian self-confidence. This was very much in the interests of the newly internationalised America which emerged from its isolationist inter-war past. Americans were intent on breaking up the trading arrangements of the British Empire by encouraging Australian individuality and distinctiveness from Britain: for example, by mocking the Anglophilia of the Melbourne establishment and promoting the virtues of American civilisation and sophistication.¹⁰³

The perceived Americanisation of Australia was a much more immediate and serious threat to Australia's British nationalists than the CPA or the ALP. By supporting the Stand By Britain Movement, the Highland Society placed itself against the tide. It was an overt statement of where the loyalties of the organisation and, by

¹⁰² It is a truism that the ALP caused Lenin to despair, as a successful party of the workers proved itself so comfortable in the capitalist world system, and showed no desire for large-scale nationalisation of industry. In fact, the post-war Chifley Government did nationalise much of Australia's heavy industry, but was foiled by the High Court in its attempt to nationalise the banks. In effect, the ALP was always a party of constitutional social democracy.

¹⁰³ White, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

extrapolation, most of its members lay. Their identification with Scotland thus acquired a different meaning. While Gordon Mackley praised the virtues of the Scots and their descendants, he paradoxically reasserted the supremacy of the British in "civilising" the world. For him, "Scottishness" was in effect the acme of "Britishness". It is, in some respects, quite a complex position. It recognised that "England" and "the English" had become negatively loaded terms in Australia after the war. They carried with them a certain baggage which "Scotland" and "the Scottish" did not. It is no surprise that Mackley wrote: "The name of Scotland remains unstained."

"Through the heather on the hill": Impressions of Scotland

Just outside Berwick [our coach] crossed the border into Scotland, and we knew we were 'home'. All aboard the bus burst into song; 'You take the high road and I'll take the low road and I'll be in Scotland afore ye.' ... It was really wonderful to see, South Africans, Aussies, Kiwi's [*sic*], Canadians, even a Jewish couple from Israel, greet the homeland of their forefathers in such a spontaneous way – with a song!!

No political barriers here!!¹⁰⁴

And so Fred Grant-Burgess' account of his trip to Scotland for the International Gathering of the Clans in 1981 begins. His is in many ways a typical account of a tour of Scotland. His tourist gaze lands on the unexpected and the extraordinary, just as it has been trained to do.¹⁰⁵ From the beginning, Grant-Burgess' account is of an

¹⁰⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689, Scottish Australian Heritage Council: F. Grant-Burgess, "1981 World Clan Gathering", *Official Newsletter – Clan Grant Society of New Zealand*, No. 7, (February 1983).

¹⁰⁵ The concept of the "tourist gaze" was first used by J. Urry in his *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: Sage, 1990). Urry drew on Foucault's "medical gaze", in which the doctor is not simply a neutral observer, but sees that what the doctor sees is structured and justified by the institutionalisation of medicine. So too, the modern tourist is conditioned, or trained to see things which the ordinary observer, for instance, the local people, cannot see. See McCrone, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 34f for an excellent account of the institutionalisation of tourism.

imagined Scotland, and the spontaneous song into which his coachload of tourists burst is a distinct echo of *Brigadoon*: for Grant-Burgess, as for Lerner and Loewe, Scotland is a place which makes people's hearts sing.

The treatment of tourist as semiotician, "reading the landscape for certain pre-established notions or signs",¹⁰⁶ has a distinguished, although quite recent, history. For Australians, particularly around the middle decades of the twentieth century, the trip to Europe, and specifically to Britain, was as much a spiritual as a physical trip. It was Australia's Camelot, Mecca, El Dorado.¹⁰⁷ Their expectations of Britain were largely informed by English and Scottish literature, and by citizenship of the Empire, of which Britain was the metropole.¹⁰⁸ Within the metropole, "the wonderful old country of Scotland"¹⁰⁹ was the ultimate destination for the Scottish-Australian tourist.

Most have found exactly what they wanted to find, while others have presented the realities of Scotland as just a little disappointing. Grant-Burgess, for example, once he had arrived in "Dear old Edinburgh", went to pick up the kilt which he had ordered. He records: "How proud I felt walking back to the hotel in full highland dress; the ribbons [in] my Glengarry flying in the breeze." However, he quickly came back to earth: "not another Kilt in the whole of Princes Street could I

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ R. White, "Bluebells and Fogtown: Australian's First Impressions of England, 1860-1940", *Australian Cultural History*, 5, (1986), p. 44. White expands this theme in "The Retreat from Adventure: Popular Travel Writing in the 1950s", in J. Murphy and J. Smart, (eds.), *The Forgotten Fifties*, a special ed. of *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, 109, (1997), pp. 90-105.

¹⁰⁸ R. Pesman Cooper, "Majestic Nature – Squalid Humanity: Naples and the Australian Tourist 1870-1930", *Australian Cultural History*, 10, (1991), p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ "Message from the National President, Allan J. Campbell", *Cruachan*, No. 50, (September-December 1990), p. 2.

see. Every eye seemed to be on me". On this occasion, Grant-Burgess was to be spared further embarrassment, as a "venerable old gentleman", dressed as he was, strode towards him. Grant-Burgess' record of what transpired epitomises the construction of tartanry, and, no doubt, the deepest desires of many Scottish-Antipodeans: "Drawing abreast he doffed his bonnet and said: 'Good morning to you Mr Grant'." From his tartan's set this man had recognised him, and Grant-Burgess was able to return the complement: "Luckily I recognised his tartan, it was Mackay." Grant-Burgess and Mackay met on several other occasions, and they always parted company with "we forgive you for reiving [*sic*] our cattle".¹¹⁰ Whether this encounter occurred in the way Grant-Burgess described it is inconsequential. What is significant is that he chose to present the episode in this form in his clan's newsletter. His account reinforces the legitimacy and the recognisability of the Grant tartan, the clan and its history. This, then, is what his Scotland is all about. Their tourist gaze leads similar visitors to find exactly the Scotland they expect.

Parallel sentiments were expressed by Stewart Anderson when reflecting on his two trips to Scotland: "I suppose every Australian whose forebears came from England or Scotland must be tempted, on seeing those countries for the first time, to launch forth into a lengthy description of that many-faceted beauty and charm."¹¹¹ This Anderson went on to do. In his article on Australians' first impressions of England, Richard White begins by identifying the "disturbance of memory" felt by Sigmund Freud when he first saw Athens from the Acropolis. Freud knew that Athens really existed, but subconsciously found that he had doubted it until he did see it. For White, the first impressions of tourists, such as those of Freud, are particularly

¹¹⁰ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Grant-Burgess, *loc. cit.*

¹¹¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03483: Letter from Stewart Anderson to David Scotland, 4 December 1981.

important because "they form the crucial bridge between imagination and experience. They form the basis ... for later attitudes; they are also the culmination of prior expectations."¹¹² Anderson expressed this feeling explicitly: "No wonder descendants of far-wanderers are deeply moved when the imagined-at last becomes real: when, for the first time, they see and hear the sights and sounds of an ancestral country."¹¹³

The ancestral connection was of great significance to the Scottish-Australian tourist. Anderson concludes his letter with the aphorism: "There is a magic of Kinship and breed that continues in the blood and in the bone though we stray all over the world".¹¹⁴ Clan newsletters abound with tales of trips to Scotland and the wondrous time had by the traveller. Bev Campbell's "lasting impression" of her trip to Scotland with her husband was "the fact that we were amongst our family – not just those closely related to us, but also our very large extended family. We were greeted as kin by people we have never met before and [were] treated with great warmth and family hospitality."¹¹⁵

Scotland is often viewed through rose-coloured glasses: "Glasgow has cleaned up is [*sic*] image and is now a lovely city – what a difference it makes to the delightful architecture when the grime is removed!"¹¹⁶ Very rarely are the realities of life – crime, poverty, homelessness – mentioned in relation to Scottish holidays. Peter Alexander is one of the few who do paint a less than happy picture of Scotland.

¹¹² White, "Bluebells and Fogtown", p. 44.

¹¹³ Letter from Anderson to Scotland, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* Note, once again, the thinly-veiled appeal to race.

¹¹⁵ B. Campbell, "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 50, (September-December 1990), p. 3.

¹¹⁶ P. and J. Campbell, "A Memorable Journey", *Cruachan*, No. 48, (March 1990), p. 21.

Reporting on his trip to Jura and Islay in 1982, his impression was that "Scotland was a sad place – the economy ruined, with industries closing down and the people apathetic and demoralised."¹¹⁷ In another account, he expanded on this theme, writing of the "consequential but effective continuing Clearance of the Highlands and Islands, also affecting Jura".¹¹⁸ Alexander, however, has a reason for this unflattering, even hopeless, portrayal of Scotland. He was, and is, a staunch supporter of the SNP, and a frequent correspondent with the editors of *The Scotsman*, *The West Highland Free Press* and *The Scots Independent* regarding Scottish nationalism.¹¹⁹ His reference to the clearances is deviant to the mainstream discourse of Scotland in clan newsletters. Significantly, his accounts were not for a clan society audience, but for the Council for Scottish Gaelic.

The inspiration of "Scotland the Brave", however, dominates the Scottish-Australians' discourse on Scotland. This is true even, and perhaps especially, when the writer is not reporting on a visit to Scotland but commenting on events there from an Australian vantage point. This is particularly true when Edinburgh, or Scotland, features prominently on Australian television. Traditionally, for example, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) screened the Edinburgh Tattoo on New Year's Day – a practice discontinued in the late 1980s, much to the consternation of

¹¹⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2) Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Records, 1981-1986: Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannaich, Minutes of Meeting, 5 November 1982.

¹¹⁸ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Padruig Alasdair [Peter Alexander], "JURA of the HEBRIDES", nd, 1982.

¹¹⁹ He also has quite a dim view of the Scots in general, being of the opinion that the only Scots left in Scotland were the unenterprising ones. He recalled "being in Islay and talking to a young man who was managing a pub ... and he was saying how bad things were, how nothing was done, so I said, 'Well, why don't you do something about it politically, join one of the parties?', and his reaction was: 'What, me?' There was a hopelessness about it. However, despite all that, I guess the energies are there. It has to be said of course that there's a view ... that they are an unenterprising mob and that the genes of enterprise emigrated from Scotland with our ancestors. I wrote that to *The Scotsman* ... I don't know whether they published it or not." – Peter Alexander, interview with the author, 10 August 1995.

several Scottish Societies. Their official complaint was that a long-standing tradition had been broken. In reality, they were more concerned that an event in Scotland had lost its hallowed place in Australian television.¹²⁰ The Commonwealth Games, hosted by Edinburgh in 1986, was another major showpiece for the city on Australian television. These Games are a very important part of the Australian sporting calendar – second only to the summer Olympics in international competition¹²¹ – and Edinburgh was therefore guaranteed almost blanket coverage for the fortnight even without the impact of the Brisbane Commonwealth Games four years previously. The Edinburgh Games were also one of the most controversial in recent years. The majority of the African nations boycotted them over Margaret Thatcher's continued refusal to impose sanctions on South Africa, a policy in which the rest of the Commonwealth led the world. For the Burns Club, though, the Edinburgh Games were a triumph: "We've no doubt you all watched the ... fun and friendliness of The Edinburgh Games". The Club's assessment was that "we certainly put on a good show and, inspite [*sic*] of the controversy, and the silly boycotting, they were still 'The Friendly Games'".¹²² The Burns Club ignored the serious issue of apartheid in

¹²⁰ It has been argued that the desire to return to the "Motherland", which most people realise that they cannot do (or really do not wish to do), is transferred onto the creation and maintenance of symbolic traditions, of which the ABC's broadcast of the Tattoo is an example – H.J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1, (1979), p. 9. This specific complaint against the ABC was frequently mentioned to the author in casual conversations in Australia.

¹²¹ The reason for this is obvious. Within the Commonwealth, Australia is one of the three sporting giants – in terms of the number of medals won – alongside England (the Commonwealth Games being one of a handful of international events in which the four constituent countries of the UK compete separately) and Canada, although the re-admission of South Africa since 1994 may see another major competitor in the future. While Australia's contribution to, and participation in, the Olympics has been among the best in the world (Australia is one of only five countries to have been represented at every modern Olympics), it is never going to win more medals than anyone else. At the Commonwealth Games, however, Australia is frequently outscores the other teams. The Winter Olympics are scarcely even considered in Australia.

¹²² BCA: *The Burns Club News*, (August/September 1986). Note also the ambiguity in the choice of "we ... put on a good show" – this could either be taken to refer to the Australian team, which, while certainly putting on a "good show", did not repeat the overwhelming success of the Brisbane Games,

South Africa to present a Scottish event as a triumph. To dismiss the African nations' boycott as "silly" aligned the Burns Club with Margaret Thatcher.

Ignorance of political controversies, whether actual or feigned, is common when Scottish-Australians present Scotland to their society audiences. 'Flower of Scotland' replaced 'Scotland the Brave' as the anthem for Scottish Rugby Union matches. It has since crossed over to Scottish soccer, although "Scotland the Brave" is still the customary national anthem,¹²³ used at the Commonwealth Games. The adoption of 'Flower of Scotland' by the SRU was a response to the nationalism of the terraces. It is controversial among some Scottish intellectuals for reducing Scotland to "a wee bit hill and glen". Most other Scots are not fussy what is sung, "so long as that helps us to beat England at Rugby and get into the World Cup final."¹²⁴ For the Burns Club, the popular nationalist use of the song was unimportant. They "received several telephone calls" after the Scotland-England game at the 1991 Rugby World Cup regarding "the lovely music played before and during" the game. This led straight to the announcement by the Burns Club that a 'Flower of Scotland' tartan had been created, "a subtle blend of various 18th century tartans" as a tribute to Roy Williamson, the song's composer, who died in 1990.¹²⁵ Once again, something with a hint of controversy was defused for the Scottish-Australian audience.

This, too, has its echoes in the minor controversy of the Australian national anthem. 'God Save the Queen' had served from Federation until the Fraser Liberal

or, as is more likely, Scotland, which put on a good show in hosting the Games. England headed the final medals table.

¹²³ But not the official anthem. Unlike Wales, Scotland does not have an official national anthem.

¹²⁴ A. Calder, *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*, (London and New York, 1994), p. 232.

¹²⁵ BCA: *The Burns Club Newsletter*, (December 1991).

government held a referendum in 1977, which selected 'Advance Australia Fair' (ahead of a new version of 'Waltzing Matilda') as the national song. When Labor was returned to power in 1983, 'Advance Australia Fair' displaced 'God Save the Queen' as the National Anthem. 'Advance Australia Fair' has been described as a song with mediocre lyrics and a mediocre tune, and was certainly considered by many conservative Australians a poor substitute for the imperial grandeur of 'God Save the Queen'. It was considered bad form to criticise the new anthem publicly, so criticisms were usually couched in the way one observer did of the singing at a Scottish function at the Sydney Opera House forecourt: "I feel sure you and your Committee must have been as embarrassed as I was of how few people knew the words." The observer quite openly admitted that she herself fell into that category, explaining that she usually carried "a typed version in my wallet so that I can at least know the words if asked." She ended by offering the opinion that "if 'God save [sic] The Queen' had been sung there would have been a resounding contribution."¹²⁶

"I'll go home with Bonnie Jean": The problem of "home" in presenting Scotland

When Fred Grant-Burgess and his travelling companions burst spontaneously into song, it was because they "knew [they] were 'home'." "Home" was Scotland. Yet the travellers on the coach, by Grant-Burgess' own admission, included nationals of several Commonwealth and other countries. Grant-Burgess himself was a New

¹²⁶ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from Miss Helen MacDougall to the SAHC, 2 January 1984. Bolton argues that 'Advance Australia Fair' only gained widespread acceptance during the Bicentenary, and even then "through familiarity if no other cause" – Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 285. Compare this, however, with the poignant image from the *Melbourne Age* on the occasion of the Queen's 1992 visit to Australia: "The older generation sang only 'God Save the Queen'. The schoolchildren knew only the words to 'Advance Australia Fair'. – *The Age*, 25 February 1992. Hawke's legislation which saw 'Advance Australia Fair' actually become the national anthem was in part responsible for the Liberal Party's declaration, during the 1984 election campaign, that they supported the retention of the flag and the monarchy as traditions which were "binding influences in our society" – quoted in P. Kelly, *The end of certainty*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), p. 134. This is one of the reasons that the Liberals have found responding to the republican agenda so difficult.

Zealander. His use of inverted commas for "home" indicates very clearly what he meant by the word. For him, New Zealand was his everyday home but Scotland was his ancestral virtual home, the place where he could find his roots. Similarly, if with more nuance, when talking of his first visit to Jura, Peter Alexander says, "I tend, inaccurately, to refer to it as my return".¹²⁷ Sometimes the presentation of Scotland as "home" is more problematic. The tradition in the Burns Club is to refer to Scotland as home without irony or metaphorical inverted commas. Meetings include a "Home News" segment, when a member reports on recent items of interest about Scotland. This is extended so that visits to Scotland are referred to as trips home.¹²⁸

Until the Second World War, Australians visiting Britain considered that they were going home.¹²⁹ This changed very quickly after the war, and particularly from the 1970s when Britain joined the Common Market and abandoned the favoured trading status of the Commonwealth and automatic rights of entry and residence for Australians.¹³⁰ For trips to Scotland to be presented without irony as trips home in the late 1980s is an anomaly. The Burns Club had many members born in Scotland, but the use of home was universally applied to any member's tour there. Thus, contrary usages, such as: "It was good to see Patron Jean Loudon *home* safe and

¹²⁷ Alexander, interview.

¹²⁸ See, for example, the segment on tourist attractions in Edinburgh entitled "Going home?" in *The Burns Club News*, (August 1989), p. 3.

¹²⁹ There are people in Britain today who still consider visitors from the old (that is, white) Commonwealth to be making a trip home. The author's late grandfather, for example, was originally from Orkney. He spent twelve years working in New Zealand's merchant navy in the 1930s-1940s, before settling in the central belt town of Grangemouth. He would often ask if Australian-born friends who were visiting had "been home before".

¹³⁰ Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 212. This had several psychological effects, not least of which was that the Australian tourists (who continued to flock to London in ever-increasing numbers) had to queue at passport control with other foreigners, while Germans and Italians were admitted without restriction.

sound after her 'flying' *visit to Scotland*",¹³¹ suggest a rather contradictory consciousness.

Scotland for most Scottish-Australians is no more than a home of the imagination.¹³² When they visit it, it is no more than a metaphorical journey "home". In reality, Scotland is no more home than, for example, Pakistan, Bangladesh or India are to many South Asians born in Scotland.¹³³ The Macneil of Barra, Chief of Clan Macneil and, until the late 1980s, a professor of law in Chicago, attributed the rise in interest in clans and kinship in North America to the "fabulous success of 'Roots,' the TV dramatisation of Alex Haley's family history from its African origins."¹³⁴ For the protagonist of *Roots*, Africa was presented as home, and the final trip as a physical, as well as a spiritual, return. In contrast, there are very few Scottish-Australians with any intention of making Scotland a permanent, or even a semi-permanent, home. Their true home is, in most cases, Australia.¹³⁵

¹³¹ BCA: *The Burns Club News*, (February 1989), emphasis added.

¹³² This, too, has its echoes in *Brigadoon*. Lerner and Loewe made no pretence of having extensively researched Scotland before writing it. Lerner had spent some time in Oxford, where he knew a Scot, but claimed no other knowledge of the country, which he never visited. Loewe spoke more frankly about the creative process: "I probably have a kind of adaptability to locale. I never do any research. ... My background [in music] ... was serious, studying Chopin as well as Beethoven or Bach or Ravel and Debussy. And so you get a general feeling for the music. Now the nationality of it, one just has to close one's eyes and dream about it. I would say that if we had ever gone to Scotland, we would never have written *Brigadoon*." – quoted in Lees, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹³³ On this see, for example, B. Maan, *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), esp. ch. 7.

¹³⁴ ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1813, MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Further Papers: "Clan Gathering", a liftout with *The Scotsman*, 29 April 1977, p. iv.

¹³⁵ There are obviously exceptions to this. Since the early 1990s, for example, Rosemary Nicolson Samios has divided her time between Sydney and the Isle of Skye, spending roughly half the year in each.

Conclusion: "There my heart forever lies". But where exactly?

We believe we may have rendered great service to the world and that it makes it all the more important for us to preserve our national characteristics. Scotland in these latter years has a rather poor time and it is very necessary, therefore[,] that we should be banded together to do what we can to restore her fortunes.¹³⁶

For Dave Keers, President of the Highland Society in the 1980s, the role of Scottish Societies such as his was to preserve all that was best of Scottish culture: "our national stories ... our national dishes and ... our national whiskey [*sic*] ... our national songs, ... music and ... dances in the national dress of the Gaul [*sic*]."¹³⁷ The celebration and remembrance was of a culture on the opposite side of the world: one which was apparently under threat, and which could be helped by expatriates and their descendants. The Scottishness of the members of any of these societies cannot be denied. It is, however, a self-determined Scottishness enacted by self-assertion. If Scotland itself were in some danger, and there is certainly a feeling among many societies that it is, although this danger was rarely given a name, the Scottishness of the societies' members certainly was not.

There is also a very considerable Britishness to this Scottish identity – so much so that it could be called British identity in a kilt. It is typical of conservative, unionist identity among Scotland's own elites in the 1950s and '60s.¹³⁸ However, while Scottish elites' unionism was forward looking, and rejected pre-Union Scottish

¹³⁶ ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1777: D. Keers, "A Message from the President", *Highland News*, (Newsletter of the Highland Society of NSW), (September 1983).

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

¹³⁸ D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1993 [1992]), pp. 156-159.

history as a past to be rejected,¹³⁹ it was for Scottish-Australians backward looking, a glorification of the myth and romance of Highlandism, as much as a celebration of the achievements (so rendered) of Scots in the Empire. Scotland is both a place of mystery, remote from the lived experience, and at one with Britain, the bastion of civilisation and tradition.

For some, "Britain" and "Scotland" are interchangeable concepts. In 1991, for example, the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW voted to stop using the term "Anglo-Celtic" to describe Australians with British or Irish ancestry. This decision was reprinted without comment in the *Cruachan*.¹⁴⁰ After the 1993 Federal election, when Paul Keating was returned against almost all predictions, his republican agenda had to be addressed by those on both sides of the debate. A side issue to the main topic was the possibility that the Australian flag might be changed to coincide with the institution of the republic. Specifically, it was felt that the Union Jack's presence on the flag of an Australian republic would be an anomaly even greater than its presence on the flag of the present Commonwealth. On this, *Cruachan* certainly did have something to say: "Keep your hands off our flag; the flag which acknowledges the part our British pioneer ancestors played in the development of this country!"¹⁴¹ Here was a defence by a committed Scottish-Australian of the Union Jack, a flag for which there is little love in late-twentieth century Scotland, and of Britain's role in the pioneering of Australia.¹⁴² There is none of Gordon Mackley's use of Scotland as an indirect glorification of the British.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 200f.

¹⁴⁰ "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 54, (December 1991), p. 1. A full account of this may be found in Chapter 5.

¹⁴¹ Bev Campbell, "Editorial", *Cruachan*, No. 60, (June 1993), p. 1.

¹⁴² In Australia, the term "pioneer" has been appropriated to the founders of large pastoral properties, not, as in the USA, rural settlers in general. Scots abounded among the founding big pastoralists, as

Ultimately, the place where the "heart forever lies" is Australia. The Scottishness which is presented by the members of these societies is, for most, an adjunct to everyday life; a little something extra, a society they belong to, along with the bowling club or the CWA.¹⁴³ It has been and still largely is a conservative identity, and very masculine, despite the positions of authority, particularly within the Clan Societies, held by women. In many ways, it was an identity which has been and is an eminently clubbable identity. It was never going to threaten the conservative status quo but go to the ramparts, or at least the letters page of the newspaper, to protect it. It was the identity of a comfortable, middle class group, at ease with itself and its new-found affluence in the 1950s carried on into the 1970s and beyond. Its values and morals were British, and the Scottish patina made it more interesting, more romantic, more colourful. This is not to charge this identity with insincerity but to approach it analytically.

What this identity did not proclaim was separate ethnicity. There was no concept that the Scots might be a distinct ethnic group in Australia. They were part of the dominant culture, and proud of it. However, after the Second World War, Australia was becoming increasingly diverse, culturally and ethnically. This accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, when Australia became a multicultural society in reality and to some extent officially. The increasing ethnic diversity slowly began to be seen as a threat to the position of Scottish-Australians. By 1981, some leaders within the Scottish community felt that it was time to respond.

any glance through the earlier columns of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* abundantly reveals. The discourse of the Scottish-Australians privileges such success stories: by contrast, humbler Scottish immigrants, convict or free, are forgotten.

¹⁴³ The Country Women's Association: a very conservative association linked to the churches, similar to the Women's Institute in Britain.

CHAPTER 3

**Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Scottish-Australians:
The Foundation of the Scottish Australian Heritage
Council**

This is what our multicultural policies are aimed at: the lending of support to all ethnic groups to maintain their traditions, and the fostering of a fair, harmonious and progressive society in which all groups have the same rights, responsibilities and opportunities.

Bob Hawke¹

Introduction: Ending the White Australia Policy

Australia's policy on immigration, the "White Australia" policy (a term never actually used in legislation), had existed from the earliest days of the Commonwealth, and had enjoyed support across the party political spectrum. It was a policy that dealt not only with immigration, but also with Australian identity, the so-called "Australian way of life".² The policy survived until it was quietly phased out in the late 1960s. In the thirty years since, Australia's official treatment of, and to some extent popular attitude to, immigrants from outside Europe has changed radically, although in the case of popular attitude, not completely. From 1945 until the 1960s, the policy was one of assimilation. Southern European immigration was tolerated when it became apparent that Britain and Ireland were not going to provide as many immigrants as they once did, despite the Australian Government's assisted migration scheme. Assimilation was the original policy towards these so-called "new Australians". The intent was that basic widely-held tenets of Australian identity, especially that Australia would remain a homogeneous society based on British traditions and

¹ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Bob Hawke, "Message from the Prime Minister on the occasion of Scottish Week celebrations for 1985".

² On the "White Australia" policy and immigration in general, see, for example, S. Castles, *et al.*, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Australian Nationalism*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992); R. White, *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]); D. Horne, *Ideas for a Nation*, (Sydney: Pan Books, 1989); J. Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History*, (London: Longman, 1989 [1988]); J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).

institutions, would be preserved. The assumption was that continental Europeans were assimilable, Asians unassimilable.³

The Whitlam Labor Government (1972-1975) is generally credited with the introduction of multiculturalism as a distinct policy. Indeed, Whitlam's Immigration Minister, Al Grassby, used the term in a 1973 speech entitled "A Multicultural Society for the Future", now more commonly known as the "Family of the Nation" speech. It was the first explicitly to reject assimilationism: "the increasing diversity of Australian society has ... rendered untenable any prospects there might have been twenty years ago of fully assimilating newcomers to the Australian way of life".⁴ However, "multicultural" did not appear in the index of Australia's *Hansard* until 1977. To the Whitlam Government, migrants were another disadvantaged group, despite over twenty years of economic prosperity in Australia. For that government, welfare and education reform were paramount to facilitate contact between migrants, their welfare groups and the centres of political power. This was known as the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP), and it directly contributed to the emergence of ethnic leaders and ultimately to the construction of ethnic communities, equipped with an institutional voice that might influence government policy, particularly on welfare. The most tangible result of the AAP was the formation of the Ethnic Communities Councils of South Australia and Victoria in 1974 and of New South Wales in 1975.⁵

³ Castles, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁴ A. Grassby, *A Multicultural Society for the Future*, (Canberra: Immigration Reference Paper, Australia, Department of Immigration, 1973), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵ Castles, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61f.

The Scottish Australian Heritage Council

The Scottish Australian Heritage Council (SAHC) was formed at a meeting held in the offices of Qantas in Sydney on 18th June 1981, attended by various leaders of Scottish community organisations, including representatives of many Scottish clubs and societies. The Sydney press was also present. The SAHC's foundation has been attributed variously. Rosemary Nicolson Samios claims that the impetus for a meeting to discuss a new Scottish group came from her husband, James Samios, then Chairman of the Ethnic Communities Council of NSW, a Greek-Australian, now a NSW Liberal politician. He recommended that the Scots and their descendants in Australia should take advantage of the services offered by the ECC.⁶ In a letter to an interested party, the then deputy chairman of the SAHC, David Scotland, wrote that in 1981:

the Hon. A. Grassby, through his Community Relations work, came into contact with a number of Scots who [*sic*] he believed were not influenced by ties to particular organisations or had the foresight to look ahead [*sic*]. ... [A] meeting of 10 or 12 persons [was convened] to discuss the idea of a Scottish organisation that would unite all Scottish Activities, whilst allowing each Organisation to operate independently.⁷

In a 1983 article, Geoffrey Ferrow wrote that the meeting had been called to discuss "the problem" facing Scots in Australia, namely the "widespread feeling that Scots and the Scottish Culture were being submerged in the rising tide of what is called variously 'multiculturalism' and 'ethnic diversity'."⁸ On this version of events, it

⁶ Rosemary Nicolson Samios, interview with the author, 19 September 1995.

⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from David Scotland to R.A. Layton, 14 June 1982.

⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): G.B. Ferrow, "The Scottish Australian Heritage Council and Genealogy", 1983, p. 1.

would appear that some in the embryonic SAHC were reacting defensively to social changes they disliked, rather than embracing multiculturalism as in itself positive.

The objectives of the SAHC, however, which were agreed at that meeting, do not make specific mention of ethnicity. These objectives break down into four main sections.⁹ The first, most general, aim is concerned with fostering Scottish heritage, culture, language and music in Australia. The continuity here with the agendas and core activities of earlier Scottish-Australian societies is apparent. The second outlines the various ways in which Scottish culture can be strengthened: by establishing scholarships for Australians of Scottish descent for studying piping and highland dancing in Scotland; cultural exchanges between the two countries; researching and writing a history of Scots in Australia; encouraging genealogical research; and establishing a Chair of Celtic Studies at an Australian University. They also planned to lobby the federal authorities or State governments, as appropriate, over import tariffs on tartans, the high incidence of skin cancer among Celts and recognition of the bagpipe as a musical instrument for High School examinations. The third objective concerned raising wider public awareness of Scottish-Australian identity, by holding an annual Scottish Week in Sydney, with a March of the Clans as a principal feature. This was to be the precursor for an All-Australia Gathering of the Clans in 1983, a Southern Hemisphere Gathering in 1985 and, to coincide with the Bicentenary in 1988, an International Gathering of the Clans. Fourthly, they committed themselves to assisting other Scottish societies, from Clan associations to dancing groups and pipe bands. Most of these ideas were developed after the meeting, and some were thought up on the spot in response to questions from journalists who were in attendance.¹⁰ The objectives are a significant departure from

⁹ For a full list of the Objectives of the SAHC, see Appendix 2.

¹⁰ Samios, interview.

those listed by such groups as the Highland Society of NSW, the Clan Donald Association or the Commonwealth Club, founded in Britain by an Australian of Scottish descent, which began their respective objectives with a fervent declaration of loyalty to the Crown.¹¹

Although formed as an ethnic group, supported by ethnic leaders and affiliated to the ECC, the SAHC presented itself from the outset to existing Scottish societies as an umbrella organisation to which they would be invited to affiliate, in order to co-ordinate Scottish activities in Sydney year round. It was not the first to attempt to do so, nor would it be the last. The Highland Society of New South Wales had played this role to some extent early in the century, and then the Combined Scots had taken on the mantle when they took over the New Year's Day Highland Games. After the International Gathering in Scotland in 1977, there had been an unsuccessful proposal to establish an International Society of Scots, "based in Scotland's capital city to provide a range of services specifically for Scots at home and abroad". The services were to include a quarterly magazine, preferential terms for travel and at selected shops, membership of an Edinburgh club and assistance to Scottish organisations and societies worldwide.¹²

The SAHC had some success with its role as an umbrella organisation. Membership was made up of representatives from each affiliated Scottish society. Scottish Armigers, those who hold a coat of arms granted by the Lyon Court in Edinburgh, were allowed to apply for Honorary Membership. (Until 1989, Armigers

¹¹ SAC HS; ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03486: Brochure advertising the Commonwealth Club; reprinted from the Constitution of the Clan Donald Society of Australia in *The Clansman: Magazine of the Clan Donald Society of NSW*, 1979, p. 4.

¹² ML MSS 3829 Box 3(3): "An International Society of Scots?", questionnaire and letter from Lt Col H.C. Paterson, Director of Information, Scottish Tourist Board, to M.K. Westacott, Secretary, Clan MacNeil Assoc., 16 December 1977.

did not have to pay a membership fee.¹³) Other individuals could become associate members, which could be transferred to full membership after a two year period. The umbrella role caused some problems for the Heritage Council. Some groups, especially clan societies, were reluctant to join because of it. The Clan MacLeod, for instance, joined belatedly, explaining to its members that:

there have been quite a number of would-be 'mother' organisations created mainly, it would seem, with the object of administering combined Clan functions, but it was soon evident that this was an organisation solely devoted to creating a Scottish Week, on a national basis, for Australia, and was not interested in 'taking over' as it were, any existing societies, so we gave it our full, if belated, support.¹⁴

David Scotland suggested that such fears were based on misinformation about the motives of the SAHC. In his acting chairman's report after the first Scottish Week, he wrote:

I believe it is now known that this Council was not established to take over any other Organisation or their task, but rather to ensure that all Scottish Activities in this State are given the recognition they deserve, [which] can only be achieved with the understanding and co-operation between all Organisations.¹⁵

Membership in the early period grew quite rapidly, until there were 102 affiliated societies and a total individual membership of 629 in 1986.¹⁶

The concept of Scottish ethnicity in Australia, namely that Scots immigrants and their descendants have the same rights as other ethnic groups which arrived later, has been problematic for Scottish-Australians. Certainly, the SAHC made little

¹³ ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): SAHC, *Newsletter*, July 1989.

¹⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: *Clan MacLeod Society of Australia (NSW) Newsletter*, November 1982, p. 3.

¹⁵ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03482: SAHC Acting Chairman's Report, December 1981.

¹⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): SAHC *Newsletter*, October 1986, p. 1.

mention of it in early documents and publications. The first Souvenir Programme in 1981 does not mention the word once, nor does it mention the Council's affiliation to the ECC. As the specifically ethnic nature of the identity constructed by the SAHC became more apparent, Scottish-Australians were forced to respond, even if that meant rejecting it. For some, it was accepted as a means to access support and eventually some funding from government bodies. Other rationalised it in a variety of ways. In an article entitled "The Importance of being Ethnic" in the newsletter of the Clan MacLaren Association, the writer tried to strike a balance between Scottish ethnicity and the post-war migrant experience:

In our so called 'Multi-Cultural Society' ethnicity seems to have become all important. Governments now legislate to provide for the special needs of ethnic groups. Ethnic dress is free from sales tax. Ethnic radio broadcasts music and information from the homeland, together with local community news. One almost gets the impression that, if you're not ethnic you're nobody.

The writer adopts the position that to maintain equality with later immigrant groups, the Scots have had to present themselves as ethnic, and attempts to defuse the word "ethnic" for its clan society readers:

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines 'ethnicity' as 'gentile, heathen; of a specified racial, linguistic group, etc'; the word is derived from the Greek, 'ethnikos', meaning heathen. Under one or other of these definitions the Scots have been found to be ethnic and so they qualify for air time on ethnic radio.¹⁷

By stressing ethnic radio facilities as the goal of Scots' recognition as an ethnic group, the writer displays exactly the sort of ethnicity with which he or she is comfortable, and with which the clan members should be comfortable. Others were more forthright in their denial of Scottish ethnicity. The widow of a former SAHC

¹⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: "The Importance of being Ethnic", *Clan Labhran in Australia Newsletter*, November 1984, p. 8. The definition given is incorrect, and does not appear to come from the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. "Ethnic" is actually derived from the Greek "ethnos", meaning nation.

chairman claimed that the Scots were "not really" ethnic but had to keep up with the "mid-eastern people and other races".¹⁸ An elected office-holder of the SAHC said that the "Scots are not ethnic, never were" and that they would not be permitted affiliation with the ECC.¹⁹

Scottish ethnicity is also problematic because, those descended from Scots in Australia, like the English, the Welsh and, in the twentieth century, the Irish, are not an ethnic minority in the way the Australian Assistance Plan envisaged when the various Ethnic Communities' Councils were established. People in these four groups did not face active discrimination on the basis of colour, language, or even religion by the latter decades of the twentieth century.²⁰ They did not tend to congregate in large numbers in the same suburbs, nor were they in any way excluded from the political process. In short, while individuals with backgrounds in Britain and Ireland may have faced discrimination on many levels, as a whole, these people were part of the dominant so-called "Anglo-Celtic" culture of Australia. The AAP, and subsequently the ECC, was set up to help and encourage ethnic minorities who were marginalised by virtue of not speaking English, or of their religious beliefs, or their

¹⁸ Gwen MacLennan, interview, 10 August 1995.

¹⁹ Jon Fowler, interview, 24 August 1995.

²⁰ Catholics, especially working class Catholics, continued to feel discriminated against until very recently, and in country towns, some prejudice still exists. This can be seen in Australian politics: few Liberal politicians, and no prominent ones, were Irish-Australian Catholics in the 1950s and 1960s. This element voted overwhelmingly for the Australian Labor Party (ALP), and for the breakaway Democratic Labor Party (DLP – now defunct). Irish-Australians were strongly entrenched in these parties' hierarchies. One problem for the ALP in these "wilderness" years, when they were out of government at Federal level from 1949-1972, was the relentless anti-Catholicism of the ALP Left faction. This was particularly marked in Victoria, where the Left dominated the ALP, making the DLP an attractive option for many Catholics who were former ALP voters. In NSW things were different. The Catholic Right faction dominated the ALP there and the DLP made little electoral impact. Sussex Street, the NSW ALP headquarters, was neither hostile to the Vatican nor the hierarchy. Indeed, the political truism is that the Labor governments of NSW in the 1950s and '60s contained token Protestants in their ministries. On these political crises within Australia Labor politics, see G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 5, 2nd ed., (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1990]), pp. 142-146.

race. In many ways, the ECC was, and is, about equality: equality of access to services, both public and private, to information and to government; equality of access to everything taken for granted by the dominant culture: in Bob Hawke's words, fostering "a fair, harmonious and progressive society".

It is unsurprising, then, that this has presented several problems for the SAHC, not least the low level of acceptance of ethnic minority status among Scottish-Australians used to basking in the advantages of dominant majority status. They have also had to balance a constructed ethnicity with emphasis on the important role played by various Scots in founding and developing post-1787 Australia. Malcolm Broun, a former chairman of the SAHC and a prominent Sydney barrister explained that his role had been to:

maintain a Scottish image, keep Australians aware of the fact that the Scots were of rather more significance in the nation than the Greeks and the Italians, who have perhaps a higher profile, or the Chinese who maintain a very low profile but nonetheless are very numerous and more obvious, and to rebut the suggestion that the Scots were just some sort of small fringe.²¹

He explained that not only were the Scots the third largest ethnic group in Australia, behind the English and the Irish, they were also "much more important in the history of Australia than either the English or the Irish." Significantly, Broun continues the tradition of privileging the Scots in Australian history:

Of course, the Scots were the ones who were the professionals, the educated ones, the merchants, the bankers, the engineers, the doctors, the school teachers, the university professors, were Scottish to an astonishing percentage, and perhaps the explanation is that the English who came tended to be either in the early stages convicts or in the later stages remittance men ...

²¹ Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 28 July 1995.

Broun ends with the opinion that "of all the various ethnic groups who have done things in Australia, arguably the most important have been the Scots"²², revealing another problematic issue of Scottish-Australians and ethnicity. Much of what the SAHC has done since its foundation has nothing to do with equality, or even of equality among Scots. Much of the pageantry of Scottish Week and of other functions throughout the year, effectively presented Scottish-Australians as a cut above the rest, and Scottish-Australians as hierarchically ranked among themselves. Those with titles, chief or chieftain status and the armigers were presented as being natural superiors, to whom deference was due.

Scottish Week in Sydney

The first Sydney Scottish Week was held between 21 and 30 November 1981, only five months after the inaugural meeting. It set the tone and format for the succeeding Scottish Weeks, which has changed little in nearly twenty years. Each year some guests are flown out from Scotland for the week. More often than not, indeed almost exclusively in the early years, they were Clan Chiefs. Chiefs resident in Australia were invariably included among the official guests. In 1981, for example, the guest list included three Australian chiefs, Peter Lamont of that Ilk, a student Catholic priest in Sydney; Ian Nicolson of Scorrybreac, who lived on the north coast of NSW; and the Menzies of Menzies, a Western Australia avocado farmer. Also present were two Australian chieftains, Torquil MacLeod of Raasay and William MacLennan; an Australian Scottish peer, the Earl of Dunmore, a retired postman from rural northern

²² *ibid.* In this, Broun finds himself agreeing with much of Malcolm Prentis's work. In *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland 1788-1900*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983), for example, Prentis presents an unproblematised view of the Scots as elites in nineteenth century Australia – p. 2; and essentialises them as clannish in their "mutual attachment amongst themselves" – p. 8. Working class Scots he dismisses in two sentences because "Scots did not necessarily regard a lowly position as permanent, and did not see themselves as class-bound." – p. 275.



II. *The March of the Clans, 1994*

The leader of the March is carrying the Scottish-Australian flag



Photographs: C. Johnston

III. *The March of the Clans, 1994*

The Massed Pipe Bands arrive at Darling Harbour

Tasmania; and two Scottish chiefs, MacDonell of Glengarry and Alistair Forsythe of that Ilk. Each of these dignitaries had biographies printed in the Souvenir Programme, and was feted by Council members throughout the week.²³ At the Grand Scottish Ball, held on the Friday closest to St Andrew's Day each Scottish Week, the chiefs entered in procession while those in attendance shouted "Hail to the Chief" three times.

The presence of Scottish chiefs in Sydney for Scottish Week was, from the beginning, controversial. Often the chiefs selected for each year were connected to existing Clan Societies. Others were brought in to encourage the formation of new clan societies. Yet others were chosen because they were available at the time, or had been recommended by previous visitors. Particular attention was paid to the programme leading up to the International Gathering proposed for 1988. In a letter to one of the Council's patrons, Lord Forres, a racehorse breeder from Grenfell in NSW, Geoffrey Ferrow explained that:

When we consider the suitability of different Chiefs or other distinguished Scots for any one year, we should perhaps consider all factors in the framework of a three-year programme. As you know, the annual programme culminates in 1988, but the other high point is **1985**, the **Southern Hemisphere Gathering**. As the main areas of Scottish colonisation south of the equator are, beyond Australia, **South Africa**, **New Zealand**, **Chile**, **Argentina** and **The Falkland Islands**, we would need to keep in mind the relevance that one or another of the Chiefs might have to one or another of those countries. The presence of a popular 'national' figure may well be an incentive to come out to S.W. [Scottish Week]²⁴

Ferrow also revealed more ambitious plans leading up to 1988. He declared himself "particularly anxious" to have Lord Airlie, Chief of Clan Ogilvy, as a guest "to enable the Royal Family to gain a first-hand report as to what the Week is all about, thereby

²³ SAHC, *Sydney Scottish Week Souvenir Programme*, 1981, *passim*.

²⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Letter from Geoffrey Ferrow to Lord Forres, 3 November 1982.

paving the way for acceptance of invitations for future years, especially the two big years 1985 and 1988."²⁵ Shortly after this correspondence, the Executive of the SAHC drew up three lists of chiefs: "suitable chiefs", "not quite as suitable" and "unsuitable for various reasons". The latter list included the Duke of Hamilton, as he was chief of two clans, and the Earl of Southesk and the chief of Clan Galloway, both of whom simply have "M." placed after their names. Struan Robertson was also on the "unsuitable" list, although this was subsequently amended.²⁶

By 1985, faced particularly with the criticism that the money spent on airfares and accommodation for chiefs and their spouses could be better used elsewhere, the Executive of the SAHC found itself having to defend the official visits of chiefs to Sydney. In the Secretary's Report in 1985, Rosemary Nicolson Samios addressed some specific comments to those "one or two lone voices raised against" the chiefs and chieftains, reminding members that the media was fascinated by the chiefs and the unique "tribal or Clan system" they represented, thus generating much-needed media coverage. On the point of the Highland Clearances, she had this to say: "Only some Chiefs took part in the clearances. No man can be held responsible for the deeds of his ancestors. Up to date, our guests have worked hard during Scottish Week, they have performed well on radio and television" and, perhaps most importantly, "they have managed to generate the publicity required by our sponsors."²⁷ In the SAHC Newsletter, the view was reiterated that the chiefs "constitute for the Council a major source of good will and publicity in Scotland and

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Lists compiled 3 December 1982.

²⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Secretary's Report, 1985.

around Australia".²⁸ This pragmatic line has been held to ever since and there is no evidence that chiefs and chieftains have ever objected to its instrumentality.

Much emphasis was placed on procuring chiefs with titles to visit, although many who visited did not have titles. Among the early guests were the Earl and Countess of Erroll, the Countess of Sutherland,²⁹ the Earl of Lauderdale, Sir William Jardine of Applegirth, Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochnaw and Lord Strathspey. In general, the chiefs from Scotland seemed much more supportive of the efforts of the SAHC than they were of similar events in Scotland. Some chiefs have made several visits to Sydney, including the Earl of Erroll (1984, 1988), John Shaw of Tordarroch (1988, 1990), Iain Gunn of Banniskirk (1984, 1992) and, having been removed from the list of blackballed chiefs, Struan Robertson (1986, 1988). Robertson was in fact especially honoured by the SAHC, as they arranged for him to meet one of his better-known clansmen at the Highland Games in 1986, Sir Ninian Stephen, then Governor-General of Australia. All visiting chiefs wrote effusive letters of thanks, of which Andrew MacThomas of Finegand's is typical:

... may I place on record how much I enjoyed my time in Australia and to thank you for inviting me to Scottish Week. Without doubt, it is a unique annual festival for, to my knowledge, nothing similar occurs anywhere else in the world. You & your Council are, therefore, to be congratulated on creating, within a relatively short number of years, an event of this size and organising it so well. ... Personally, I could not have been looked after better and I was most appreciative of the extremely warm welcome I received.³⁰

²⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): SAHC Newsletter, March 1985, p. 2.

²⁹ Significantly, no word of protest was raised against inviting this controversial figure. Once again, domestic politics in Scotland did not infringe upon the Sydney Scottish Week festivities. An example of how hated the Countess and her family are by many in Scotland may be found in the *West Highland Free Press*, 15 January 1988, p. 3.

³⁰ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from Andrew MacThomas of Finegand to SAHC, 18 December 1983.

The chiefs resident in Australia perhaps did not receive quite the same treatment. As "locals", they were almost expected to turn up every year. However, the SAHC was not as generous with expenses to them as they were to the overseas chiefs. Nicolson of Scorrybreac always paid for his own accommodation in Sydney, and the Council suggested to the Clan MacLeod Society that they should pick up some of MacLeod of Raasay's bill. The society replied by pointing out that it was a matter between Raasay and the SAHC, and that while they did their best to provide his sword and banner bearers, these people were beginning to feel obliged to turn up wherever and whenever because Raasay did so: "Because the S.A.H.C. sees fit to invite him each year it does not follow that the Society should turn up in quantity at every event involved.... we could well do with a year free of obligations".³¹ Lamont was excused many of the functions as he usually had examinations at that time of year, but he was still expected to appear at the Ball, the Highland Games and the Kirkin' o' the Tartan.

David Menzies of Menzies was born in Edinburgh and first spent time in Perth, Western Australia, as aide-de-camp to the Governor, General Sir Charles Gairdner, in 1958. As the only Scottish-born figure among the resident chiefs, his views are particularly interesting. He succeeded his father as chief in 1961, and returned to Australia later that decade to run an avocado farm near Perth. He appears to have had little to do with the clan society founded by his father in Scotland in 1957, and he had never previously been feted like he was by the SAHC in 1981 and subsequent years. After the first Scottish Week, he wrote thanking the SAHC for inviting him, and indicating that he would be available for future Scottish Weeks. He was, however, somewhat dismayed by an over-enthusiastic clan member whom the SAHC had arranged to be his host for the week. Menzies and his wife immediately

³¹ ML 1550-84 Box 2(19): Letter from Harold MacLeod to SAHC, 11 December 1985.

realised that: "he wasn't ideal for the job; continuously during Scottish Week he would embarrass us both, I think unintentionally, but that was the sort of chap he was, pushing and thrusting all the time." The clan member called himself the Convener of Clan Menzies, "another of his self appointments", and took it on himself to invite his chief back for Scottish Week 1982. So dismayed was the Menzies that he wrote to his clan president in Edinburgh to seek advice, commenting that he expected it to be difficult "to stop him performing in this ridiculous [*sic*] manner if he so wishes ... [as he] is one of these people who do not take no for an answer; I know I shouldn't say it, but in it for personal gain, little else."³² In a subsequent letter, he made it clear that he and his wife did not want this clan member "to look after [us] should we be invited to Sydney again."³³ Aside from this problem, the Menzies, a former military man, felt quite at home with the role the SAHC had given him. When Ferrow wrote to ask his permission to have his personal standard manufactured as a banner for Scottish Week 1982, the Menzies was happy to agree, though carefully reminding Ferrow that the standard "must only be used on occasions of suitable pageantry when I am present."³⁴ Clearly, the Menzies did not intend to become a "brand name" controlled by others.

Like many Scottish societies before it, the SAHC included several of the "great and good" as patrons. In 1984, for example, as well as the customary telegram from the Queen, the Souvenir Programme listed Sir Iain Moncrieffe, then chief of his Ilk and Albany Herald at the Lyon Court, as "National Patron in Scotland" and the

³² ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: Letter from the Menzies of Menzies to SAHC, 14 April 1982.

³³ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: Letter from the Menzies of Menzies to SAHC, 11 May 1982.

³⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: Letter from the Menzies of Menzies to SAHC, 9 September 1982.

Governor of NSW, Sir James Rowland, as Patron-in-Chief of Scottish Week in NSW. There were three further patrons of Sydney Scottish Week: the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Doug Sutherland; Lord Forres; and a former Deputy Premier of NSW, Laurie Ferguson. The official guests were listed in order of rank based on extensive correspondence with Sir Crispin Agnew at the Lyon Court.³⁵ The four chiefs were listed first, and the style recommended by a previous Lord Lyon, but largely rejected in Scotland, was used lavishly. Lamont was therefore listed as "The Much Honoured Peter Lamont of that Ilk", the Countess of Sutherland as "The Much Honoured The Right Honourable the Countess of Sutherland". The third Scottish chief laboured under the titles "The Much Honoured, Most Noble and Puisant [*sic*] Prince, The Right Honourable the Earl of Erroll, Hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland and Senior Great Officer of the Royal Household in Scotland" in both the list of chiefs and of peers.³⁶ It is hardly surprising that the MacThomas clan society, obviously not entirely comfortable with the extensive titling of the chiefs, felt it necessary to advise its members how their chief should be addressed in person and in writing.³⁷ Great emphasis was placed on the chiefs' accoutrements and retinues – on how many feathers they wore on their caps, how many henchmen, swordsmen and banner bearers attended them. This was considered of particular importance for the Grand Scottish Ball and the March of the Clans. In the programme sent to MacDonald of Clanranald for his visit in 1985, he was advised that for the Grand Scottish Ball:

Swordsmen, bannermen required. Evening wear, Decorations. ... Please bring feathers. (We are aware that feathers are not normally worn indoors, but many people have travelled thousands of miles to see a Chief for the

³⁵ See, for example, ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from Islay Herald to G.B. Ferrow, 27 August 1982.

³⁶ SAHC, *Albannaich Astrailia: Annual Review for Scots in Australia*, 1984/85, p. 4.

³⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: "Editorial", *The Magazine of the MacThomas Society*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1984.

first time in full regalia. Feathers and cromach are only required for the parade).³⁸

So that no-one need be in any doubt about the etiquette of feathers in caps (or coronets if appropriate), the SAHC produced an information sheet on the subject.³⁹

Sydney Scottish Week has included several invitation only events, including a Vice-Regal reception at Government House; Mayoral receptions; and a Premier's reception. Often an exclusive luncheon at the Australian Jockey Club or a similar city club has been arranged. In short, the visiting chiefs were treated as akin to royalty. Lord Strathspey, the elderly chief of Clan Grant, attended Scottish Week in 1983, and wrote a long letter with his impressions of Sydney, Scottish Week and Australia in general. He obviously enjoyed the treatment he received, and professed himself "extremely grateful to you for inviting me. It was the experience of a lifetime & Australia was the least 'foreign' country & people I have been to." He also advised that he thought it

essential for visiting chiefs to move around the crowd without fear of rebuff, & they should be instructed to this end at the outset. I found the Australians so exceptionally anxious to be friendly. Failure to do this I feel leads to disappointment & anti Pom feeling. I tried to greet as many as I could & now feel I should have done more than I did. U.K. reserve you know.

³⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): "The Much Honoured Ranald MacDonald of Clanranald Programme for Sydney Scottish Week 1985", p. 2.

³⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): SAHC Information Sheet No. 6. The attachment to the symbols of rank – specifically the wearing of feathers – is an interesting echo of much of the amateur anthropology of the early-twentieth century. In 1930 Wilfred Thesiger, for example, recorded in his *Danakil Diary*, (London: HarperCollins, 1996), that he "never felt any desire to see [the Danakil] brought under alien control and civilised", but that he would "set about recording as much as [he] could discover about their tribal customs" – p. 66. He wrote a detailed account of the decorations a tribesman could wear based on the number of men he had killed: "A man who has killed ties one thong ... to his knife or rifle for each man killed. ... No man may put an ostrich feather or even grass in his hair until he has killed at least once. ... I could not find out for certain how many men it is necessary to kill before you can wear an ivory bracelet above the elbow. Most people said ten, but Ali declared it was only one. I myself think ten is probably correct. More than ten men: signified by a narrow iron bracelet with a small hump. This is the highest decoration which an Asaimara can obtain." – p. 67.

His "U.K. reserve" also led him to add that "the 'Hail to the Chiefs' was very kind but I felt slightly embarrassed. I suggest a 'Hail' before or after all the introductions." Reflecting on the role and future of the SAHC and clan societies, and the difficulties they faced, he mused:

Where your Heritage Council go & Clan Societies for that matter – I don't know, & have often wondered. Why not get Australian Scottish Societies to 'think' & let you know what they come up with. Sadly 'Clan Societies' all over are seldom of interest to the 'Top Echelon', as most members are ordinary people who lack ambition & drive. How can this be remedied. [sic] The Culture & customs they gladly keep up.⁴⁰

Elitism and Scottish ethnicity

The relationship between the "Top Echelon" and the "ordinary people" was of more than passing interest to some in the SAHC. The clan societies were always willing to stress the links between clansfolk and their chief. In 1984, the *Clan Cameron Newsletter*, for example, reminded the members that:

Every clan member was bound to the chief by ties of blood or obligations of loyalty. ... All could claim a close connection with the chief, if not by blood then by oaths of loyalty or allegiance, which allowed them to bear the chief's name. As one clan historian put it, 'each clansman regarded himself as part of its aristocracy, sharing in 'the great antiquity of the family and the heroic actions of the ancestry.'⁴¹

In 1986, the Clan Davidson went further:

In Scotland, where theoretically all members of a Clan descend from the ancient founder of the Clan, it follows that all the Clan, whatever their situation in life, share the 'nobility' of their particular line. There never was in Scotland the division between 'noble' and 'churl' to the extent that produced the bitter class-consciousness of English society. How could

⁴⁰ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from Patrick, Lord Strathspey, to SAHC, 8 December 1983.

⁴¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03486: Neil Cameron, "Camerons Then and Now", *Clan Cameron Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Dec 1984, p.10.

there be – when all were members of the ‘clann’ – the family? ... This was the state of affairs in 1707 ... and at that time, more than half the 1 1/4 million population of Scotland were considered to be part of the Scottish aristocracy.⁴²

The impression given here was that pretty well everyone in Scotland, and therefore by extension, anyone descended from Scots, was aristocratic. It was obviously written to appeal to clan members, and to soothe any fears that rank-and-file members were inferior. The sentiments contained in it might in part explain the controversy concerning precedence of clans in the "parade of the Scottish noblesse"⁴³ at the Grand Scottish Ball. The late Lord Strathspey, who despaired at the lack of ambition and drive among ordinary people, would certainly have contradicted the sentiment.

It would not, however, have been contradicted by Geoffrey Ferrow. He was one of the founders of the SAHC, a barrister and a leading figure in the NSW Liberal Party. Sadly, he died suddenly from epilepsy in 1984. His obituary in the SAHC's Annual said that "he had a fervent loyalty to the Monarch, to tradition, and to history."⁴⁴ These commitments were displayed in several ways within the SAHC. He was the prime mover behind some of the SAHC's more conservative actions, including the messages of loyal greeting to the Queen each year. He was convinced

⁴² ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): "Proud as a Scot", *Clan Davidson in Australia Newsletter*, Vol. II, No. 1, April 1986, p. 1.

⁴³ As well as the official Guests of Honour, including the clan chiefs, the Governor of NSW and, at least in the early years, a representative of the Prime Minister and of the Premier of NSW, Scottish armigers and the High Commissioners and Commissioners of clans were permitted to march behind their banners at the Ball, a tradition supposed to date back to Highland Balls held by Victoria at Balmoral Castle: see ML MSS 1550/84 Box 6(19): SAHC Secretary's Report, 10 February 1986. The order of precedence was a hotly contested issue. See, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Ian Johnston, Commissioner for Clan Johnston/e and SAHC secretary, Rosemary Samios, 24 October 1986, regarding the order of precedence given in SAHC Information Sheet No. 54

⁴⁴ SAHC, *Albannaich Astrailia: Annual Review for Scots in Australia*, 1984/85, p. 15. He would have found it fitting that his death was drawn to the Queen's attention in the message of loyal greeting from William MacLennan "laid before" her in 1984. In his reply, her private secretary, Robert Fellows, wrote that the Queen had commanded him to "express her sympathy to ... your Council and to Mr. Ferrow's family." – ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from Robert Fellows to William MacLennan, SAHC, 27 July 1984.

that the Queen could be styled "Chief of Chiefs", despite denials from the Palace.⁴⁵ He devoted much of a paper on genealogy to the historic links between the chief and his clansfolk:

Of all the nobility in Scotland, the most important by far were the Clan Chiefs, whose authority before the Union ... over their clansfolk was of a nature that is perhaps beyond our comprehension in this place and age. Each Chief represented the welfare of his entire clan ... the Chief was central to the life of his clan. No wonder then that those families not included in the noblesse had as a matter of loyalty to be able to recite the genealogy of their Chief.⁴⁶

The paper purported to be about encouraging individuals to research their own genealogies, but his emphasis on the role of the Lyon Court in establishing genealogies for the purposes of matriculation of coats of arms cannot be overlooked. In a paragraph on the workings of the Lyon Court, he concluded:

Of course matters of heraldic law play their part in the outcome of each case, but the first step to proving a claim to the coat of arms of someone who lived fifty or five hundred years ago is the vital genealogical record. ... So for Scots, or those of Scottish descent, interested in genealogy, the study may be of a practical nature.⁴⁷

For Ferrow, it appears that the goal in researching family history was to become armigerous, to have a coat of arms granted by the Lyon Court, or better still, to find an ancestor's arms and matriculate them, thus establishing a branch of the "noblesse" of Scotland in Australia. This has distinct echoes of the moves in the 1840s to restrict

⁴⁵ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from Robert Fellows, on behalf of Sir William Heseltine, Private Secretary to the Queen, to G.B. Ferrow, 15 October 1982. He was not alone, however, in giving the Queen this style. In 1968, the Countess of Erroll, (mother of the current Earl, then actually the peer in her own right and Hereditary High Constable of Scotland) wrote: "We are all one family of Scots, the branches of the family being the clans and Names, and the Chief of Chiefs our Queen." – Quoted in D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1993 [1992]), p. 128 (incorrectly ascribed to the *Duchess* of Erroll.).

⁴⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): G.B. Ferrow, "The Scottish Australian Heritage Council and Genealogy", 1983, pp. 2f.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 3.

the franchise for the elections to the newly elective NSW Legislative Council (Upper House) to very rich propertied men and to appoint an hereditary element, in order to check the power of the newly established Legislative Assembly (Lower House) which had an almost universal (male) franchise. At the time, till it was laughed out of countenance, there was a notion that an Australian aristocracy, the so-called "Bunyip Aristocracy", might be created in NSW.⁴⁸

By the mid-1980s, the SAHC's obsession with rank and precedence outstripped even that of the Lyon Court itself. In reply to another letter regarding the order of precedence of clans and armigers, the Unicorn Pursuivant pointed out that:

The date at which personal arms were granted does not, in my view, enter into it [precedence]. Many families of real importance and distinction have never taken out arms, which anyway in Scotland is a practice open to anyone of good repute and the necessary cash.... Noone [*sic*] has effectively imposed an order of precedence on the Clans ... and although I have the highest opinion of your efficiency I think it may be beyond you too!

In a gently chiding manner, he also wrote that arms no longer conveyed rank "in the context of precedence as laid down in Victorian times when the subject was one of importance."⁴⁹

In 1986, the Company of Armigers, under the patronage of the Norroy and Ulster King of Arms was formed and affiliated to the SAHC. Its aim was to "encourage loyalty to the Queen, to protect the interests of Armigers and to establish

⁴⁸ See, for example, G. Martin, *Bunyip Aristocracy: The New South Wales Constitution debate of 1853 and hereditary institutions in the British colonies*, (Sydney and London: Croom Helm, 1986).

⁴⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from Alistair Campbell of Airds, Unicorn Pursuivant, to SAHC, 22 September 1987.

a bond between Armorial families throughout the Commonwealth Countries."⁵⁰ It claimed that armigers needed their interests protected as they comprised "an hereditary rank hitherto disregarded".⁵¹ The Company, with its Deputy Armiger Principal and Gold Mace for Australia, J. Howard Wright, Esq.; and Armigers Provincial in each State, with all their Masonic overtones, found a welcome home in the SAHC, which became a source of application forms for the matriculation of arms for the Lyon Court.

Much of this reflects the conservatism of the founders of the SAHC, but not necessarily of the members, as the founders might have liked to think. Most members were not armigers, but most did enjoy and defend the "colour and pageantry" of the chiefs in full highland dress, with banners and coats of arms "fluttering in the wind". They might have felt differently about the overtly political, right wing action taken by at least one member of the SAHC during the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas Conflict. A message was sent to the Queen and to Margaret Thatcher expressing the Council's "support for the [British] Government's decision to resist the unprovoked military aggression against Her Majesty's Falklands Islands possessions"; its "hope for a decisive victory to rid the Falklands of the fascist regime of Argentina"; its "concern for the residents of the Falklands, many of whom are of Scottish origin, including the Scottish Chief Constable of the Falklands"; and its "anxiety for the well-being of the British armed services and merchant seamen on duty in the South Atlantic, and especially for HRH Prince Andrew and the Scots

⁵⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Company of Armigers, copy for the SAHC's Annual, 1986, by Jim Lumsdaine, Deputy Registrar.

⁵¹ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): Company of Armigers leaflet, attached to letter from Jim Lumsdaine to SAHC, 13 February 1986.

Guards".⁵² The motion was apparently debated at a quarterly meeting on 31st May 1982,⁵³ but knowledge of the motion, or of a debate, was denied by several people during interviews and casual conversations. Only the former Honorary Secretary was able to shed any light on the subject: "That would have been Geoffrey [Ferrow]".⁵⁴ It is implied that he acted on his own, without the consent, or even the knowledge, not only of the membership but also of much of the executive. This action can only be interpreted as being at odds with the objectives and aims of an organisation devoted to Scottish ethnicity and, in David Scotland's words, "ensur[ing] that all Scottish Activities in this State are given the recognition they deserve".⁵⁵

Ferrow, however, could show remarkable political insensitivity at times. When considering guests for the Southern Hemisphere Clan Gathering proposed for 1985, the Earl of Dundonald seemed to him a good possibility. He was descended from Lord Cochrane, whom Ferrow described in a letter to their patron Lord Forres as:

one of Chile's two national heroes.... I remember from a few years back that the present Earl was the chairman of the Anglo-Chilean Society in London. He would be an obvious short-list name for 1985, and General Pinochet may well see fit to have Lan Chile fly him out for us – it would be good PR for a man in need of same.

This was the same man who only months earlier had condemned General Galtieri's regime as fascist. He also considered the Duke of Montrose, as he was "still

⁵² ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03489: Reprinted in "Kennedy's Corner", *The Australian*, 3 June 1982, p. 2.

⁵³ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): See memo for meeting, 31 May 1982, "Motion to be moved in General Business"

⁵⁴ Samios, interview.

⁵⁵ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from David Scotland to R.A. Layton, 14 June 1982.

something of a hero among the whites of Southern Africa for his days in Ian Smith's breakaway cabinet (Minister for Defence)". Ferrow's idea was for the SAHC to be able to "get quite a net of those in respect of whom we can ask different governments to pick up the fare",⁵⁶ although quite which government he expected would pick up Montrose's fare was unclear. Perhaps it is kindest to conclude that despite his position within the NSW Liberal Party, Ferrow was a naive political eccentric in international affairs, and considered so by many other leading figures in the SAHC.

Resistance to the SAHC

This elitism, so at odds with multiculturalism and the ECC, was obnoxious to many members of Scottish societies and provoked much of the resistance to the SAHC. An early inquiry from the Clan MacGillivray society and the subsequent correspondence presents a telling picture of how some received the Council's elitism. The acting secretary of the society, Ian MacGillivray, wrote to the SAHC in September 1981 asking about their plans with "a Highland flavour" for November. He and his society were keen to participate from the start, and had high expectations. In his next letter, he could not disguise his disappointment.⁵⁷ His sophisticated criticism of the SAHC was on several levels. First and foremost, he identified their "strong obsession with the aristocracy" as his central reason for not wishing to participate in Scottish Week. While agreeing that many chiefs could be personally charming people, he was on the whole not comfortable with them. His ancestors, he explained, had been Highland peasants cleared "by the very people whose heirs and successors now parade as chiefs". For him, this was a class issue. The modern

⁵⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Letter from Geoffrey Ferrow to Lord Forres, 3 November 1982.

⁵⁷ For a fuller text of this letter (ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: Letter from Ian MacGillivray to SAHC, 14 October 1981), and of the subsequent letter (ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03483: Letter from Ian MacGillivray to SAHC, 23 October 1981), see Appendix 3.

chiefs, he said, "apart from wearing feathers in their bonnets are indistinguishable from the chinless scions of English nobility", and the thought of his wife having to curtsy to Lord Forres filled him with revulsion. Of his own society, he said that they did not have a chief, nor did they want one, and that their family traditions recalled the fact that chiefs only "did one worthwhile thing for us – forced us to migrate after burning down the humble cottages in which they [*sic*] lived." He resented the appropriation by Lowlanders of Highland culture and dress, as they had "no comparable dress [of their own] which could evoke such emotions, or attract tourism". Since the Clearances, Scotland was the last place to find Highlanders in large numbers. He recommended that the SAHC should look for Highlanders in Nova Scotia, Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand. There, "Highland pride ... has survived generations of separation from the ancestral fatherland". In the meantime, the chiefs should "invite sheep to their festivities." His most crushing comment he kept for the end of his letter:

If ever this message penetrates the minds of your Heritage Council, there is a hope that one day we might assemble at a less pretentious festivity, where all are equal and there is no class demarkations [*sic*]. I hope I am wrong, but you give me the impression of an organisation dedicated to the preservation of a way of life which has no relevency [*sic*] to modern times, or the Australian environment.

MacGillivray's comments on the esteem in which the SAHC held the chiefs are akin to Paul Keating's about the monarchy and its supporters in Australia, and antedate Keating's public republicanism by only nine years. It is an explicit recognition that Australia, a mature modern democracy with its own history and traditions, does not need outdated institutions to give legitimacy to current events or celebrations. MacGillivray was probably more in line with a genuine Scottish ethnic sentiment in Australia than the majority of the SAHC leadership, although he made no such claims and indeed would probably not have expressed it in those terms.

His denunciation of the elitist and class-based aspects of the first Scottish Week, and its successors, was received with some distaste by the SAHC. Although there is no copy of their reply extant in the archival material, MacGillivray's next letter makes it clear that they took a line of attack as the best form of defence. MacGillivray, undaunted, responded at even greater length, beginning: "You seem to be under the impression that I have been bottling up a five generation bitterness!" He could not, he asserted, be bottling up bitterness, as no-one in his family had ever mentioned anything about their genealogy, despite Scottish influences as he was growing up. His aunts, he explained, were Highland dancers and his mother was "reputed to be Australia's first lady piper". It was only after their deaths that he took it upon himself to research the family tree. As his family had taken "extraordinary measures" to ensure he did not learn about their emigrant forbears, he assumed that "they must have arrived as 'ringbolt passengers' in the convict days". However, there were none in the convict records. "They came up", he said, "squeaky clean!" Having denied the charge of bitterness which the SAHC obviously levelled at him, he did agree that he was "more than a mite cynical ... about the English, the Clans and their often stupid chiefs, and the mawkish sentiment which today is hawked around as 'our heritage'." He examined the anomaly that the same people who hawked this "mawkish sentiment" were also patronising towards Australians, calling them colonials. Worse still, "they cannot forgive our outlandish accents. Even you make reference to them." Australian English, he said, was "a dialect of which you might disapprove, but to which we are completely entitled, as the Yanks are to theirs." His deconstruction of this socio-linguistic point, and of the emphasis so many Scottish societies, including the SAHC, placed on Gaelic, was particularly astute. Very few of the Scottish immigrants to Australia in the nineteenth century were Gaelic monoglots, and from the time they arrived, Gaelic was discouraged at home and at school. The

language of advancement in the new society, and therefore of instruction, was English, and Gaels for the most part encouraged this. MacGillivray was dismissive of the SAHC's attempts to start Gaelic broadcasts on Sydney's ethnic radio station, 2EA, proposing instead that "the first thing to do would be to ascertain how many people want to learn the language and organise the sessions as lesson periods." The SAHC, in its reply to his first letter, evidently had listed its objectives regarding Gaelic and a Chair of Celtic Studies, rebuking him that the Clan MacGillivray Society had done nothing towards achieving these aims. He graciously conceded that many of these ideas had not previously occurred to him: "you do raise some good points, which boil down to a simple question: What role are we as a Clan Society prepared to take to implement the programs you mentioned. [*sic*]" He promised to raise these matters at their next annual meeting and added that they "may also form the material for an article in our 1982 journal."

MacGillivray emphasised that his clan society existed "to be an instrument whereby once or twice a year all the descendants of the many MacGillivray families who had migrated here could meet and discover relationships they never suspected, or time had erased from memory." They were, he insisted, non-political and non-sectarian, "just a bunch of happy folk meetings [*sic*] as kinsmen and women", who had "stumbled on a formula for survival". Indeed, he admonished the SAHC that as their letter revealed "serious divisions in your ranks", it might do well to emulate his clan society's example. Though MacGillivray wished the SAHC and its members well, they were warned not to wait for him to join them: "whilst we carry on as we have done, I for one will be content. Later perhaps we might play with the notion of doing bigger things in larger arenas, and hobnobbing with the aristocracy and all the rest. I hope we don't!"

Clearly, these criticisms stung the SAHC and its formidable secretary. Ian MacGillivray stuck to his principles, and his society did not join the SAHC at that time. However, in 1984, the SAHC received a letter from Peter MacGillivray, who styled himself "Hon Chief" of the Clan MacGillivray Society, Australia. In an about-turn, now this organisation wished to affiliate with the SAHC. The "Hon Chief" concluded the letter by referring to the SAHC's 1983 Annual: "There is a reference ... to 4 Chiefs resident in this country – apart from Scorrybreac, The Menzies, and Peter Lamont, who is the fourth one?"⁵⁸ Ian MacGillivray's principles had apparently cost him his position, and influence, on the executive of the clan society. The SAHC's cachet through its aristocratic connections had triumphed. It must be supposed Peter MacGillivray had carried most of the Clan MacGillivray Society's members with him. It can therefore be concluded that Ian MacGillivray's conception of an ordinary people's kinship-based identity – something close to an ethnic identity – had either been a minority position, or at least his support had crumbled at the prospect of associating with the very aristocrats whom Ian MacGillivray so reviled. More broadly, this turn of events suggests that an ideology of Scottish superiority, even if asserted through the ECC's mechanisms, had a potent appeal.

Successes of the SAHC

If the SAHC received much criticism and opposition early on, it has also enjoyed success and popular support. Scottish Week has been a success story for the SAHC on a number of levels. From the start it adopted flexible guidelines laid down in Scotland by the Scottish International Gathering Trust. Between 1981 and 1987, Scottish Weeks were considered dress rehearsals for the Australian International Gathering of 1988, the first such event to be held outwith Scotland or North

⁵⁸ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487: Letter from Peter MacGillivray to SAHC, 1 May 1984.

America.⁵⁹ The SAHC had to meet all the costs of Scottish Week each year, including air fares, venues, advertising, accommodation and so on. In 1984, for example, Scottish Week cost the SAHC \$45,000.⁶⁰ Corporate sponsorship was therefore of prime importance. Over the years, sponsorship was secured from the Westpac Banking Corporation, the Royal Bank of Scotland, Teacher's Whisky, and at different times from Qantas, Singapore Airlines, Air India and British Airways. In 1985, the International Gathering was recognised and endorsed by the Australian Bicentennial Authority, which meant that it covered the cost of advertising 1988's Scottish Week events.⁶¹ This is certainly a record of highly successful marketing by the SAHC leadership. Equally, it suggests that the SAHC's style and agenda were entirely comfortable to Australian and foreign big business. While this study has identified conservative, even archaic aspects of institutionalised Scottishness in New South Wales, in this instance something more interestingly complex is operating. The archaic, in the form of chiefs, nobles, clans, armigers, bannermen, arranged in full tartan fig, turns out to be a highly acceptable marketing package in the age of deregulated globalisation. While big business may have no sentimentality about these archaic figures in themselves, it understands very well their flexible utility in a postmodern age as a set of brand representatives.

⁵⁹ The Lt. Colonel H.C. Paterson, Executive Chairman of the Scottish International Gathering Trust, believed that International Gatherings had the potential to "do for the Scots and Scotland what the Olympic Games have done for sport" – ML 1550/84 Box 9(19): Letter from H.C. Paterson to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 29 September 1987. This was a highly idealistic view. However, a successful Gathering could provide a massive boost for the local economy. The 1987 Gathering in Nova Scotia bolstered the province's economy by C\$30 million – ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Newspaper articles from *The Chronicle-Herald* and *The Mail-Star*. Unlike the planned Australian Gathering which would run for little over a week, the Nova Scotia Gathering ran over the whole summer and attracted over 140,000 visitors, according to the *Mail-Star*.

⁶⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios to J. Adams, Vice-chairman of the Scottish International Gathering Trust, 6 April 1985.

⁶¹ *ibid.*



Photograph: C. Johnston

IV. Highland Games and Gathering, Scottish Week 1994

In terms of raising the profile of Scots in Australia, the early Scottish Weeks were particularly successful. The Sydney newspapers ran many stories and even timetables of events, and the March of the Clans was covered on television and radio news. The now defunct *Sun* newspaper in Sydney promised to publish throughout one Scottish Week "a list of names of the sects [*sic*] and clans."⁶² Its successor, the *Sun-Herald*, included a four-page Scottish Week liftout six years later.⁶³ The March of the Clans, which terminated at the Sydney Opera House, regularly attracted some 20-25,000 people.⁶⁴ The Highland Games and Gathering in 1985 attracted a crowd of 12,000 competitors, clan members and others.⁶⁵ 1985 did not turn out to be quite the comprehensive Southern Hemisphere Gathering that the organisers had originally hoped, but over 100 people came from New Zealand for the week. In general, Scottish Week has been particularly successful in fostering links between Scottish-Australians and their New Zealand counterparts through mutual support of one another's events and the Queen of the Heather competition.⁶⁶

The SAHC also had some success running other functions at different times during the year. Tartan Day, on 2nd July, the anniversary of the repeal of the Proscription Act, became another focus for media attention. In 1982, the 200th

⁶² ML MSS 4363 Box 1(2), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Records: Clipping from the *Sun*, 20 November 1981, p. 6.

⁶³ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Liftout from *Sun-Herald*, 29 November 1987.

⁶⁴ G.B. Ferrow, "Discover Your Heritage", SAHC, *Albannaich Astrailia: Annual Review for Scots in Australia*, 1984/85, p. 15. See also photographs on pp. 21f of the same Annual for crowds in 1983, photographs on p. 24 of the 1988/89 Annual for crowds in 1987, and ML Pic Acc 5742, Scottish Australian Heritage Council Picture File, *passim*.

⁶⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): Secretary's Report, 10 February 1986.

⁶⁶ The Queen of the Heather competition: Open to all "girls of Scottish heritage and over the age of 18" (SAHC *Newsletter*, July 1995, p. 7). The competition is more akin to a citizenship competition than the beauty pageant the conjured up by the title. Women are nominated by Scottish societies, and each year the winner, the Queen of the Heather, is announced at the conclusion of Scottish Week. Her role is ambassadorial: she represents Australian Scots during Scottish Week in Dunedin, New Zealand and hosts her New Zealand counterpart during Sydney Scottish Week.

anniversary of the Repeal, Peter Alexander spoke on ABC and 2GB radio in Sydney, commenting that he had "walked the streets of Sydney and was unable to find another man wearing the kilt. There were many women wearing kilts but this was probably due to the vagaries of fashion."⁶⁷ Malcolm Fraser, then Prime Minister, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sir Billy Snedden, both appeared in kilts that day, although only Snedden did so in public, Fraser preferring a private press photocall at his farm in Victoria. Fraser's appearance thus attired was ironic, as kilts and bolts of tartan material, were subject to import duties. Ethnic dress was specifically excluded from duty, and the Scots could now legitimately call themselves ethnic. Australian Customs, however, classed the kilt as a British form of dress and, reasoning that Britain had no ethnic dress, imposed duty. The SAHC campaigned to have this duty removed. A long campaign of letter-writing ensued, including letters to the President of the ECC, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs and to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.⁶⁸ Shortly before Tartan Day in 1982, nevertheless, Fraser's government increased the "tartan tax" from 34% to 50%.

The SAHC also hosted some visits from Scottish chiefs at other times of the year. In 1982, Sir Iain Moncrieffe was in Sydney as a guest of Debrett's for their Ball in Sydney Town Hall. The executive of the SAHC feted him during his stay. Unfortunately a speech Sir Iain gave at the Ball in, allegedly, a "tired and emotional state", included several farmyard impressions and a claim "to have Australian blood ... being one-eighth Australian on his great-great-grandmother's side, and as far as he

⁶⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Council for Scottish Gaelic, Minutes of meeting held on 9 July 1982.

⁶⁸ This correspondence, and more in a similar vein, can be found at ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03489,: Letters from D. Scotland to J. Samios, 6 May 1981; Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Malcolm Fraser, 5 April 1981; Rosemary Nicolson Samios to John Moore, 15 July 1981; and from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Ian Macphee, 8 March 1982.

was concerned, 'the rest of you can get ...' But as Sir Iain was slurring his words, it was hard to make out the last word."⁶⁹ In 1986, Cameron of Lochiel visited Sydney. The SAHC hosted a luncheon at Parliament House, at which they hoped "that as many armigers as possible [would] attend, so that they may, attended by their bannermen, stand on the steps of Parliament House to welcome Lochiel in the traditional manner."⁷⁰

Gender and Scottish identity in Australia

The identity publicly paraded by the SAHC relies very heavily on aspects of what has been called variously "Brigadoonery" and "tartan tomfoolery" by hostile commentators. Because it focuses on the themes of clanship, chiefs, pipe bands and marches, it is also a very masculine identity, despite fairly equal levels of gender participation in these societies. Like the clan societies before it, the SAHC did little to address this paradox. They reproduced the same article that had done the rounds of the clan societies' magazines and newsletters, "Ladies: How to wear your sash at the Grand Scottish Ball" as Information Sheet No. 29.⁷¹ To ensure no mistakes were being made with the advice, Ferrow "checked it for accuracy in Innes of Learney's book," and decided it was correct. Then he "saw in The Tatler photos taken at the Caledonian Ball. Would you believe it, half of the ladies were wrongly dressed! Even some Chiefs' wives wore it incorrectly."⁷²

⁶⁹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03489: Cutting from *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 20 September 1982, p. 6.

⁷⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): Notice and Agenda for SAHC AGM to be held on 10 February 1986.

⁷¹ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19).

⁷² ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from G.B. Ferrow to Ian Nicolson of Scorrybreac, 20 July 1983.

Only from 1986 did the SAHC allow women to march in the Grand Kilted Parade at the Highland Games during Scottish Week; provided they were dressed appropriately. This consisted of a tartan skirt, shoes and stockings, tweed or dark plain jacket (optional), beret or "country style" hat and a white blouse or shirt. They were advised that "T-shirts may be very sexy, but they won't pass the eagle eye of the organisers", and reassured that they were not being treated unfairly, as a man "wearing thongs⁷³ and T-shirt, even with the Australian Tartan, wouldn't get past the gate."⁷⁴ There seems to have been little questioning of the assigned gender identities, despite the very prominent role of Rosemary Nicolson Samios in the SAHC. On the Silver Jubilee of the Australian Pipe Band Federation in 1985, the Federation President's wife was presented with a gift by the SAHC. In her letter of thanks, she stated that "as the Wife of the President ... I am delighted and honoured to accept the Gift of the Australian Tartan Shawl ... I shall take great pride in wearing the Shawl when I accompany my Husband ... in his duties ...".⁷⁵ Such acceptance is borne out by the number of women requesting information about their husbands' clan societies.⁷⁶ The only overt recorded challenge to the established order appears to be a tongue-in-cheek reference in a letter from a woman who requested information about the visit of her clan chief for Scottish Week in 1986. She wrote, "I note, with interest,

⁷³ Thongs: in British English, flip-flops.

⁷⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): SAHC, *Newsletter*, October 1986, p. 2.

⁷⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Letter from Moyna Scotland to R.N. Samios, 26 July 1985.

⁷⁶ See, for example, ML 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from Judy Taylor to SAHC, 4 December 1984; ML 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03486: Letter from Grace Hay to SAHC, 16 September 1984; ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): Letters from Mrs L Cash, 25 May 1989, Mrs H.J. Slade, 5 June 1989 and Mrs E.H. McIneeney, n.d. to SAHC; ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4), Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990: Letter from Val Anderson to Peter Alexander, Convener of Clan MacAlister, 5 September 1988.

that His Lordship is requesting clansmen to attend him at all functions. This would preclude me from participating as I am a 'Kinswoman'!"⁷⁷

Conclusion: The Ethnic Agenda

To convince the Scots of their ethnicity (in the official multicultural policy sense) was always going to be the Council's hardest task, since most of its executive and membership did not believe in it except as an instrument for their real purposes. The different agendas being followed by different people served only to increase the difficulty of the task and even to alienate potential supporters. All agreed that the prime objective was to raise the profile of Scottish-Australians, reminding all Australians of the Scots' role as pioneers in Australia. An institution such as the SAHC would not, indeed could not, have existed any earlier than it did. Like much of the current debate on Australian identity, the Bicentenary proved a catalyst for action. After a decade of government multicultural policies, too, there was a feeling that somehow the older settlers, in this case the Scots, were being left behind. The SAHC thus appears, above all else, a defensive reaction to multiculturalism, although this, too is denied by many of its members. While Rosemary Nicolson Samios and David Scotland acknowledge the impact of multiculturalism, and the ECC, on the formation of the SAHC, Peter Alexander, in a submission to the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services on behalf of the SAHC in the mid-1980s, explained that "the outward expression of Scottish identity has grown rather than diminished." He wrote that this "may or may not relate to the noticeable arrival of other cultures. The writer of this submission does not think that is the case – rather it

⁷⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): Letter from Mrs B. Richmond to SAHC, 20 May 1986.

relates to the emergence of individual community leaders."⁷⁸ In this submission, Alexander was no doubt being politic in stressing the important role of community leaders, rather than multiculturalism, as the cause of increasing awareness of Scottish identity. To have admitted that Scottish ethnicity was a response to multiculturalism could have led to the SAHC's motives being questioned or even, perhaps, the defensive nature of much of their constructed ethnicity being laid bare. When later interviewed, Peter Alexander agreed that multiculturalism was "probably a factor" in the revival of Scottish identity in Australia.⁷⁹

The SAHC followed several programmes to raise the awareness of Scots and their descendants in Australia. It had numerous problems with ethnicity and its acceptance among Scottish-Australians, and with differing agendas and perceptions within the Council itself. By the mid-1980s, nevertheless, Scottish Week was as firmly entrenched in Sydney's cultural calendar as Chinese New Year and St Patrick's Day. Alexander commented that the SAHC had brought Australians to such a position that the "enhanced sense of Scottish identity is likely to remain, as it is rooted now in Australian-born generations."⁸⁰ In the Australian Bicentennial year, 1988, the SAHC hosted the International Gathering of the Clans. It was to prove a watershed year for the Council.

⁷⁸ ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): SAHC Submission to the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, n.d., p. 1.

⁷⁹ Alexander, interview.

⁸⁰ ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): SAHC Submission to the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, n.d., p. 1.

CHAPTER 4

**Multiculturalism and the Australian Bicentenary:
Developing Scottish ethnicity, 1988 and beyond**

'It's just a pity you're going to miss everything. ... The Bicentennial. All the special events. Expo. Everything.' ...

I said, 'I think I can live with the loss.'

'Really? I hear that while Expo is on all the pubs in the town'll be open twenty-four hours a day.'

I considered that.

'I didn't say it would be easy.'¹

Introduction: Commemorating the Passage of Time

One consequence of industrialisation in the west has been the adherence to a strict measure of time, as the factory could not tolerate the seasonably variable, task oriented approach of pre-modern agricultural work with its periods when little labour was performed. With this increase in consciousness of measured time came an increased awareness of the measured passing of time. Hence, in the modern west, few things are as universally important as anniversaries. At the most parochial level, the coming of age at 18 or 21 and the 10th, 20th, silver or golden wedding anniversary are important for their own sake. On a larger scale, towns, cities and countries celebrate anniversaries as a memorial to the venerability of this or that institution or event. In the case of major anniversaries, the feeling was, and is, that the bigger they are, the better. Perhaps the biggest is the centennial, a national anniversary celebration invented for the late nineteenth century: that of the American Revolution in 1876 began the trend, and that of the French Revolution in 1889 reinforced it. The celebration of these centenaries, of the hundred years of tradition and history behind them, gave these liberal revolutions the legitimacy of antiquity.²

¹ Andrew McGahan, *1988*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995), p. 22.

² E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1995 [1987]), p. 13.

For this reason, celebrations of this sort are, perhaps, more important to countries which are either themselves relatively new – the United States – or which have seen radical revolutionary change – France.

In Britain, there was less emphasis on celebrating national anniversaries. Those which were celebrated tended to be less than successful. Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in June 1887 was used to revive interest in, as well as the popularity of, the Queen-Empress and her Empire. It began with the Colonies and India Exhibition, opened in 1886. At the public ceremonies the following year, held against the background of domestic unrest and high unemployment, large crowds were in attendance, although the people were motivated as much out of relish for the street theatre as out of fealty.³

Australia in the late-nineteenth century had an ambivalent relationship with anniversaries. Celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee in 1887 was tempered by concern about imperial federalist overtones with which the event was laden in Britain, and by sectarianism and gender and class conflict.⁴ 1888, the centenary of white

³ The London Workingmen's Clubs remained strongly republican, having been involved in the 'Bloody Sunday' demonstrations in Trafalgar Square where their main demand was freedom of speech. They also made their opposition to the monarchy known in 1887. See L. Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 69; J. Taylor, *From Self-Help to Glamour: the Workingmen's Club, 1860-1972*, (Oxford: History Workshop Pamphlets, 1972), pp. 48f.

⁴ This conflict was encapsulated by the Mount Rennie rape case, in which nine men were found guilty of raping 16-year old Mary Hicks. Unlike Britain, NSW retained the death penalty for rape, however the Governor, Lord Carrington, exercised the royal prerogative. Six of the men were sentenced to hang, while three had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment, the first three years in irons. Two of the six subsequently had their sentences commuted, the remaining four were hanged in January 1887. The public were divided over the fate of the men, but more significantly over the role of the Governor – the imperial representative in the colony at a time of assertive Australian nationalism. The contrast between a "brutal" Australia, still defined by its convict past, and a "civilised" Britain was juxtaposed with the emerging masculinist context of Australian nationalism. On the rape case, see Trainor, *op. cit.*, pp. 74ff; J. Allen, *Sex and Secrets*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), ch. 2; D. Walker, "Youth on Trial: The Mount Rennie Case", *Labour History*, 50, (1986), pp. 28-41. On the construction of gender identity in late-nineteenth century Australia, see J. De Groot, "'Sex' and 'Race': The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century", in S. Mendus and J. Rendall,

settlement, was more important and therefore more contentious. The First Fleet landed in Sydney Cove in January 1788, so the centenary was really only that of New South Wales, not of the other five colonies. Ultimately most of the celebrations took place there, although Melbourne hosted an international exhibition, a celebratory event pioneered by the United States in 1876, proposed for France in 1889 and rejected by NSW. It was also felt that colonial sensibilities might be offended by celebrating the arrival of convicts, coming less than forty years after Victoria had become a separate colony, proudly boasting that it was free from the "convict stain", and even less after Queensland had separated from New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land had become Tasmania in efforts to shed their respective convict pasts.⁵ The centenary passed as a low-key affair, centred on Sydney, where the biggest public event was the opening of Centennial Park, reclaimed from swamp land in the eastern suburbs and subsequently Sydney's biggest public park. Significantly, this too was a scaled-down version of Henry Parkes' original vision for "Queen's Park", which would have included a fine avenue for stage coaches, leading to a State House, which was to have been a mausoleum for dead statesmen, a focal point for state occasions and home to a museum of Aboriginal archaeology and significant historical records.⁶ Around Australia there were other small functions, co-ordinated

(eds.), *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary studies of gender in the nineteenth century*, (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 89-128; M. Lake, "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation – Nationalism, Gender and other Seminal Acts", *Gender & History*, 4, 3, (1992), pp. 305-322.

⁵ See T. O'Connor, "A Zone of Silence: Queensland's Convicts and the Historiography of Moreton Bay", in I. Duffield and J. Bradley, (eds.), *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 124-141; H. Reynolds, "That Hated Stain": The Aftermath of Transportation in Tasmania", *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, 14, 53, (1969); T. Johnson Woods, "Virtual Reality", in Duffield and Bradley, (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49; T. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), ch. 5.

⁶ Trainor, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

by the Australian Natives Association⁷ working through the Victorian government. Australia's centennial celebrations were also muted by the continuing problems in relations with the Aborigines: in Western Australia and Queensland, the state of relations could only be described as open, if undeclared, warfare.⁸

Australia's twentieth century anniversaries did not fare particularly well, either. The inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia on 1st January 1901, which officially occurred when the first Governor-General, Lord Hopetoun, signed his oath of allegiance to the Queen, took place in Centennial Park, Sydney, using the same table that Queen Victoria had used seven months earlier when signing the royal consent to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Bill and so bringing it into law. Inter-state rivalry ensured that the celebrations were less than enthusiastic in Melbourne, which, despite being Australia's premier city at the time and the temporary seat of the new Federal Parliament, was not the site of the inauguration. Likewise in Hobart, for no Tasmanians were included in the first Federal Cabinet. Federation was concerned more with realigning relations between the Australian colonies and the Imperial Parliament, and amongst the colonies themselves, than with the culmination of patriotic Australian nationalism.⁹ The sesquicentenary of white

⁷ Not, as its name might suggest, anything to do with Australian Aborigines. The Australian Natives Association was formed in 1871, partly to oppose the idea that only British immigrants, rather than native-born Australians, made a significant contribution to Australia. Part of the movement of patriotic nativism evident in the Australian colonies at the time, it was led by young businessmen and became particularly influential in the 1880s, when it supported Australia's own imperialism in New Guinea and the South Pacific. See, for example, R. White, *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]), pp. 73, 75.

⁸ The problems of the centennial, Australian nationalism and British imperialism are covered in some detail in Trainor, *op. cit.*, ch. 6. For frontier violence in late-nineteenth century Queensland and Western Australia, see R. Evans, "'The Nigger Shall Disappear ...': Aborigines and Europeans in Colonial Queensland", in R. Evans, K. Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975), pp. 55-121; H. Pedersen and B. Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra and the Bunuba Resistance*, (Broome: Magabala Books, 1995); H. Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998), chs. 5-9.

⁹ White, *op. cit.*, pp. 110f; B. Scates, *A New Australia: Citizenship, Radicalism and the First Republic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Introduction & ch. 1; S. Macintyre, *The Oxford*

settlement in 1938 was entirely overshadowed by the depression and the looming resumption of war, and the half-century of Federation in 1951 was dominated by rhetoric about the "Australian Way of Life" and post-war immigration.

The Australian Bicentenary

Preparations for the Bicentenary began years in advance, and 1988 was presented as a celebration of all the peoples of Australia, a "Celebration of the Nation".¹⁰ Interstate rivalries were put aside as events all over the country were endorsed by the Australian Bicentennial Authority (ABA). Sydney was inevitably the focus for the premier Bicentennial event, the First Fleet re-enactment, which sailed into Sydney Harbour on Australia Day, 26th January,¹¹ marking the beginning of the year-long nationwide programme of events. Brisbane hosted the International Expo '88 (although it had been unsuccessful in its bid for the 1988 Olympics, despite hosting a very profitable Commonwealth Games in 1982) and Canberra saw the completion and opening of the new Parliament House on the site set aside in Burley Griffin's original plans for the city. Fittingly, Peter Carey won the Booker Prize for *Oscar & Lucinda*.

The Bicentenary, however, was not without its critics, particularly among Aborigines who saw nothing to celebrate after 200 years of white settlement. Neither was Australia's ambivalence towards anniversaries successfully countered. Andrew McGahan, quoted in the epigraph above, caught this feeling in his novel *1988*, which

History of Australia, Vol. 4, *1901-1942: The Succeeding Age*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 77ff & ch. 5; G. Melleuish, "Universal Obligations: Liberalism, Religion and National Identity", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 51f.

¹⁰ Title of the official Bicentennial Song.

¹¹ The First Fleet landed in Sydney Cove on 26th January 1788. From the earliest years of the settlement, it had been commemorated as Anniversary Day, with drinking and merriment among the officers and their guests at least.

has nothing to do with the Bicentenary: the main action is set on a remote weather station in the Coburg Peninsula. His character's main concern with missing Expo and the Bicentenary was that he would not benefit from Brisbane's extended opening hours. The Australian Bicentennial Authority (ABA) had been charged to "... plan, co-ordinate and promote a year long programme of local, national and international activities and events to celebrate Australia's Bicentenary and to involve 16 million Australians in the celebrations and events of 1988."¹² The theme of the Bicentenary was "Living Together", and Australians were encouraged to:

Plant shrubs, hedges and trees ... make community litter bags ... Re-enact an episode from [their] district's past ... Make a census of the headstones ... Organize an Australian Trivial Pursuit Game ... Bake an Australia-shaped cake for a raffle ... Plan to have a meal from a different culture at least once a month in 1988 ... Paint a giant Bicentennial Living Together sign ...¹³

In short, it was to be multicultural, inclusive, national, and completely uncontroversial. The ABA was obsessed with consensus and with avoiding, even suppressing, dissenting voices which raised controversial images from Australia's white history.¹⁴

The single biggest impact of the Bicentenary was to focus the attention of Australians on their identity in the late-twentieth century. Although, in Richard White's words, "Australia has long supported a whole industry of image-makers to

¹² Australian Bicentennial Authority, *Fact Sheet*.

¹³ Australian Bicentennial Authority, *How to Make it Your Bicentenary*, (1987).

¹⁴ On the Bicentenary, and the ABA's discomfiture with controversy, see S. Castles, *et al.*, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Australian Nationalism*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992), pp. 4-6, 154-159; J. Murphy, "Conscripting the Past: The Bicentenary and Everyday Life", in S. Janson and S. Macintyre, (eds.), *Making the Bicentenary*, special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, 91, (1988), pp. 45-48.

tell is what we are",¹⁵ the Bicentenary moved the debate from the intellectual arena to homes, workplaces, clubs and pubs in a way which no other event or celebration had done before. Multiculturalism had been emphasised throughout the advertising and publicity campaign leading up to the Bicentenary, and was stressed from the beginning of the bicentennial year itself. At the Sydney Opera House on 26th January 1988, Bob Hawke, then Prime Minister, described Australia as "a nation of immigrants" only seven or eight generations old.¹⁶ He assured the assembled dignitaries and the crowd: "In today's Australia, our very diversity is an evergrowing source of the richness, vitality and strength of our community."¹⁷ The event was pure theatre and spectacle, ideally suited to Hawke's rhetoric and style.¹⁸ He saw the Bicentenary as the high point of his public career, and perhaps even felt that he had become unassailable in his position at the head of a pantheon of great Australian statesmen.¹⁹ Paul Keating's assessment of the Bicentenary was more prosaic: "This is

¹⁵ White, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

¹⁶ quoted in A. Atkinson, *The Muddle-Headed Republic*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 70. While Hawke was using the occasion to make a point about the importance of multiculturalism in Australia, his remark was disingenuous. Firstly, it ignored at least 60,000 years of Aboriginal inhabitancy on the day of the biggest gathering of Kooris for 200 years (if not ever). Between 15 and 40 thousand protesters, black and white, marched on Sydney Harbour where they booed and jeered the dignitaries and upset the re-enactment of Governor Phillip's landing at Sydney Cove – see Castles, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 155f. Secondly, it brushed over the forced nature of immigration – transportation – in the early years of the colony.

¹⁷ quoted in Castles, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁸ It has been pointed out that Hawke's Prime Ministership was marked by public events rather than Parliamentary episodes. Examples are the Economic Summit of 1983, the Tax Summit of 1985, the Australian victory in the America's Cup in 1983 and his Government's dramatic response to the Gulf War in 1990-91. See J. Uhr, "Prime Ministers and Parliament: Patterns of Control", in P. Weller, (ed.), *Menzies to Keating: The Development of the Australian Prime Ministership*, (London: Hurst & Co., 1993 [1992]), p. 91.

¹⁹ Hawke's own account of his Prime Ministership in *The Hawke Memoirs*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1994), is particularly revealing. See, for example, his account of various Bicentennial activities, including: the Queen's visit, pp. 443ff; and his pledge to work towards reconciliation of black and white Australia in the Barunga Statement, pp. 435f. Perhaps most ironic is his account of the leadership challenges from Paul Keating in 1991. After Keating's first (unsuccessful) challenge, various Cabinet ministers advised Hawke that he ought to resign. Hawke's own version of events is that: "I could see how this might be in my interests but not how it could be in the interests of the

Australia. It's not the United States in 1976. There'll be euphoria for a day and then it will be forgotten."²⁰

The celebrations on 26 January were the beginning and the end of the Bicentenary for most people. It did, however, make Australians think about their origins, and, by extension, about the relevance of multiculturalism. This in turn led to a public reassessment of Australian identity and its place in the world. Although republicanism, for example, did not come to the forefront of public debate until Keating became Prime Minister in 1991, it was given an enormous boost by the parade of royal guests who visited during 1988. The Queen and Prince Philip, the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Duke and Duchess of York merely headed the list of royal guests carrying out duties for which, incongruously, no-one in Australia was apparently qualified.

The International Gathering of the Clans

The Scottish contribution to the Bicentenary was co-ordinated by the SAHC. Hosting an International Gathering of the Clans was one of the objectives of the Council from its inception, and, having met the ABA's criteria, they had obtained official endorsement for the event in 1985.²¹ As well as the International Gathering of the Clans, the ABA also endorsed events such as the Australian National (Scout)

Government. I appreciated the spirit in which they were talking to me, as friends. But there was no way I could embrace the idea of a staged exit." – p. 554.

²⁰ M. Gordon, *Paul Keating: A Question of Leadership*, 2nd ed., (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1993), p. 78. Hawke had contemplated delaying the Federal Election until after 26 January 1988, hoping to ride the tide of enthusiasm to a record 3rd term. Keating persuaded him to go to the polls early, in July 1987, as his budget in May of that year predicted economic figures good enough to ensure a victory over the divided opposition. See J. Edwards, *Keating: The Inside Story*, (Melbourne: Viking, 1996), p. 311.

²¹ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios to J. Adams, Vice-chairman of the Scottish International Gathering Trust, 6 April 1985.

Jamboree, the International Geographical Congress,²² and some more corny or tongue-in-cheek parochial events, including the Australian Bicentennial Goanna Pulling Championships, the Festival of Left-Handed Golfers, and the Great Gumnut Underarm Throwing Contest.²³

The International Gathering of the Clans was to be the culmination of the Scottish Week programmes which had been run since 1981 in order to "strengthen the bonds of kinship among and between Scots and those of Scottish descent within and beyond this Country".²⁴ International Clan Gatherings were co-ordinated by the Scottish International Gathering Trust (SIGT), based in Edinburgh.²⁵ Subsequent gatherings had been held in Scotland, the USA and Canada. In 1988, Australia became the fourth country to host one. After seven trial runs, the Scottish Weeks of 1981-1987, the SAHC was particularly well prepared for the Bicentennial event. In his welcome printed in the SAHC's 1988/89 Annual, Duncan MacLeod, by this time a Commissioner of the Ethnic Affairs Commission, wrote:

Where once Scotland was represented in Sydney in a piecemeal fashion there is now a Scottish Week recognised by the State Government [of NSW] and attended by government officials, Clan Chiefs from Scotland and Australia, and literally thousands of people.²⁶

²² ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): *Bicentenary '88: Newsletter of the Australian Bicentennial Authority*, 6, 2, (June 1986), p. 12.

²³ ABA, *Bicentennial Briefing*, Issue 25, (20 July 1987); Issue 27, (17 August 1987); Issue 29 (14 September 1987).

²⁴ SAHC Objectives: see Appendix 2.

²⁵ The SIGT was in fact the product of the early attempt to set up an international umbrella organisation of Scottish societies with several ambitious plans – see ch. 3, above.

²⁶ D. MacLeod, "Welcome to the International Gathering of the Clans and to a Finale to the Bicentennial Celebrations", *Albannach Astrailia: The Scottish Australian Heritage Council 1988/89 Annual*, (1988), p. 3.

For the Bicentenary, the SAHC outdid itself in lauding its "Much Honoured" guests, who included three of the Australian chiefs (Lamont, Scorrybreac and MacLeod of the Lews); four Scottish chiefs (Shaw of Tordarroch, Struan Robertson, the Earl of Erroll and the star attraction, the Duke of Argyll, or MacCailein Mor); and thirty-four assorted Clan Commissioners, High Commissioners and Armigers. Jim Jennings, then Convener of Strathclyde Regional Council, was also present. He was described as "represent[ing] the people of Scotland at the International Gathering in Sydney",²⁷ and as the nearest thing to a Prime Minister Scotland had, as he was the leader of Scotland's biggest council, with nearly one-third of Scotland's population.²⁸ The Week included the customary pageantry and round of events, including marches, ceilidhs, the Ball, exhibitions and displays. The guests from Scotland also attended events in Melbourne, Bendigo and Canberra in the days leading up to Scottish Week. The International Gathering attracted visitors from around Australia, and from New Zealand, Canada and the US. It was one of the most successful gatherings during the life of the SIGT, which was particularly welcome after the "fiascos" in Scotland and Texas in previous years.²⁹

The SAHC had approached the International Gathering of the Clans not only through several trial runs, but by encouraging the formation of new clan societies in Australia. Despite the early resistance to the SAHC from some clans, notably the Clan MacLeod and the Clan MacGillivray Societies, others were enthusiastic from

²⁷ "Some Highlights of Australia's Scottish Year", *Albannach Astrailia: The Scottish Australian Heritage Council 1989/90 Annual*, (1989), p. 19.

²⁸ Attr. to Rosemary Nicolson Samios – Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 26 July 1995.

²⁹ Described as such by the editor of *The Highlander* magazine, USA, Angus J. Ray, in a letter to SAHC, 20 June 1988: see ML 1550/84 Box 11(19). International Gatherings frequently fared badly in Scotland. The Inverness Gathering in 1989 reported a loss of £30,000 – ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Jerry Jardine, Chairman of the Gathering of the Clans Committee, San Fransisco, 24 June 1989.

the outset, including the Campbells and the MacNeils. In 1986, the Council announced in their newsletter that in the five years of their existence, they had had "a finger in the formation" of sixteen clan societies, and that their ambition was to have "a society operating for every existing clan" by the Bicentenary.³⁰ Indeed, number 20 in the SAHC's list of Information Sheets was entitled "How to Raise a Clan".³¹ 1987 saw the founding of the Clan Mackay Society of Australia, and in a letter to Rosemary Nicolson Samios informing her of its formation, John McKay wrote, "here it is ... and you're primarily responsible ... You are now down in the annals [*sic*] of Clan Mackay history as the 'seed-planter'".³²

The clan pageantry of previous years was meant to come to fruition during the Gathering. It had been Geoffrey Ferrow's hope that by 1988, the Heritage Council would have "acquired the complete collection" of the heraldic banners of the clan chiefs.³³ He was encouraged by the enthusiastic support of the Lyon Court in this venture. The Islay Herald, J.I.D. Pottinger, was "delighted to hear that ... such an extensive use of heraldry" was proposed, and assured the Council that they would be "rewarded by the sight of the splendid display eventually."³⁴ By 1988, however, this plan had been abandoned in favour of having organised clan groups.

³⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): SAHC Newsletter, July 1986, p. 1.

³¹ For a full list of SAHC Information Sheets, see ML 1550/84 Box 6(19). The Information Sheets produced by the SAHC also support this study's view of their elitism. No. 5 provides the scale of fees for the matriculation of Arms at the Lyon Court in Edinburgh; No. 14 concerns ancestry research available through the Lyon Court; No. 18 lists the officers of the Royal Household in Scotland; No. 19 is entitled "The Personal Banner"; and No. 31 explains how to address the Governor-General. Others are on subjects ranging from Scottish history (for example Nos. 7, 9 and 27) to Scottish Highland dress (for example Nos. 25 and 30).

³² ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from John McKay to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, n.d., 1987.

³³ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Geoffrey Ferrow, "The Heraldic Standards of the Scottish Chiefs and Chieftains", handwritten draft, 1982.

³⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from J.I.D. Pottinger, Islay Herald, to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 24 August 1981.

Their obsession with titles and honours, on the other hand, continued unabated. Rosemary Nicolson Samios entered into a lengthy, and instructive, correspondence with the Duke of Argyll's Chief Executive Officer, Alastair Campbell of Airds, Yr.³⁵ As Campbell had been appointed Unicorn Pursuivant of the Lyon Court in 1986,³⁶ his interest in clan history and heraldry, and in styles and procedures was both personal and professional. Argyll had accepted an invitation early in 1986, and arrangements began to be made soon thereafter. His programme had to be sanctioned by Airds, who, while approving in general of the first draft, had several warnings for the Heritage Council. Argyll, the executive were informed, would expect their co-operation in arranging the travel to suit him, but that they could expect "excellent 'value for money'" from him, as he had "enormous experience of these affairs across the world". His experience had taught him, though, to "react against anything where he is afraid he is merely being used as a paid entertainer in a showbusiness affair."³⁷ Rosemary Samios had also asked what style and titles Argyll would prefer, asking him to bear in mind that his "clansmen would wish it to be made obvious ... that you are a great Chief."³⁸ The Unicorn was adamant about the style and title Argyll was to be given: "Please ON NO ACCOUNT prefix his name with 'the much honoured'". Airds described this as an "archaic style resurrected by the late Sir Thomas Innes of Learney for lairds and chieftains of lesser rank and without a peerage". The Duke of Argyll, Airds explained, was "a simple and humble man" with a "rooted objection to anything that smacks of self aggrandizement or humbug",

³⁵ Or, Campbell, Yr of Airds – i.e., the heir to the title of Campbell of Airds.

³⁶ *Cruachan: The Clan Campbell in Australia*, 37, (March 1987), pp. 1ff.

³⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell of Airds, Yr, to Rosemary Samios, 10 May 1986.

³⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios to the Duke of Argyll, 25 April 1986.

and that his status should not "be seen to depend on how many instantly mustered members of a so-called 'tail' appear with him in public." Perhaps unwisely, he also added an aside to the effect that the Lord Lyon addresses Dukes on official occasion as "Most High and Potent Prince".³⁹ In his next letter to the SAHC, Airds had to make it clear that "although entitled to it, His Grace would be most grateful if you would at all times avoid having him referred to as 'Most High and Potent Prince'". He added, "I wonder if [the Lord Lyon] would have counselled this usage if a member of the Royal Family had been present?"⁴⁰

Airds was also particularly concerned about "the more flamboyant manifestations of Scottishness that have proliferated quite lately".⁴¹ This was a theme close to his heart, and one on which he had written at some length, both before and after 1988.⁴² For him, Scottishness was something to be celebrated in a fit and proper way, drawing on centuries of existing tradition, rather than inventing new traditions, although he expressed a fondness for some new traditions, such as the Kirkin' o' the Tartan.⁴³ *Brigadoon*, however, he would ban "from every stage and screen in the land!"⁴⁴ In the context of the invention of tradition, Airds presents an interesting case. As Unicorn Pursuivant, he was (and is) at the heart of the most elite manifestation of Scottish tradition and a member of the Queen's Household in

³⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Samios, 10 May 1986.

⁴⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Samios, 11 August 1986.

⁴¹ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Samios, 10 May 1986.

⁴² see for example, Alastair Campbell, "Traditions", *Cruachan*, 49, (June 1990), pp. 6-10.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 6.

Scotland.⁴⁵ As David Cannadine points out, the monarchy is the one institution which has most successfully, and most frequently, invented new traditions which manage to emphasise both stability and continuity.⁴⁶ Airds therefore has a vested interest in preserving the traditions he sees as fit, and in trying to stamp out rogue (or "flamboyant") ones. The SAHC passed his test: after the International Gathering, he wrote to compliment them on "a splendid manifestation of The Overseas Scot."⁴⁷ The mode of representation of Scottishness was highly acceptable, and he was impressed by the display of clan heraldry, something, he said, which was rarely done in Scotland.⁴⁸ As one who was disconcerted so much by some manifestations of Scotland, particularly outwith Scotland – and here it is safe to assume that the worst of his wrath is reserved for clan gatherings in the US after his favourable impressions of Sydney Scottish Week – it is ironic to find Airds repeating one of the "Aussie" stereotypes so obnoxious to Australians. When writing to Rosemary Samios about the ceremony to mark departure from Leith of the stones destined to make up the Scotland-Australia Cairn, he said: "I have an irresistible urge to associate the Oz High Commissioner [former ALP senator, Doug McClelland] with Dame Edna's chum, Sir Les Patterson, the Cultural Attaché who was unaccountably absent..."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ G. Rosie, "The Establishment and the Aristocracy", in M. Linklater and R. Denniston, (eds.), *Anatomy of Scotland: how Scotland works*, (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992), pp. 34ff.

⁴⁶ D. Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]), pp. 160ff.

⁴⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Samios, n.d., 1989.

⁴⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Malcolm Broun, 29 January 1989.

⁴⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Samios, 14 April 1988.

The Scotland-Australia Cairn

The Bicentenary was marked by official international gifts. Several countries gave Australia presents and tokens to mark the occasion. Britain's gift was the Brigantine *STS Young Endeavour*.⁵⁰ China provided several million dollars worth of fireworks for Australia Day. The Irish government sent microfilms of all documents in the Irish State Paper Office relating to the transportation of convicts. Perhaps the only other memorable gift came from Scotland: a cairn composed of 1,750 stones, being one from every parish in Scotland.

The project was conceived independently in Scotland and Australia. The SAHC decided early in 1987 that a cairn would be an appropriate memorial for Scots in Australia, as well as being symbolic and eye-catching enough to generate enthusiasm for the project.⁵¹ In Edinburgh, the Scotland-Australia Bicentennial Committee was formed, chaired by the Very Rev. Professor John McIntyre, a former Moderator of the Church of Scotland, distinguished theologian and former Rector of St Andrew's College (University of Sydney).⁵² Its membership included Scottish business people, including the Edinburgh and Skye merchant banker Sir Iain Noble, academics, Graeme South, the Australian Consul-General in Edinburgh, and David

⁵⁰ The Sail Training Ship (STS) *Young Endeavour* is a 44 metre, square rigged, two masted ship, now the flagship of the Royal Australian Navy's sail training fleet and an integral part of the RAN's youth outreach programme. It carries out a series of 10-day tours for groups of up to 24 16-23 year olds and nine RAN staff crew. Since 1988, over 4000 young Australians have sailed on the ship. It has also carried out a number of official naval duties. In 1990 it made its first international voyage from Australia to attend New Zealand's sesquicentennial celebrations and the Commonwealth Games in Auckland, and in 1992 it circumnavigated the world as Australia's contribution to the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage to North America. In 1995, the *Young Endeavour* circumnavigated Australia and took part in Indonesia's 50th anniversary of independence. Since 1993 it has been the official radio relay vessel for the Sydney to Hobart yacht race. See the RAN's Internet site, URL: <www.navy.gov.au/9_sites/youngendeavour/bgrnd.html>.

⁵¹ Rosemary Samios, interview with the author, 19 September 1995; Duncan MacLeod, interview with the author, 11 August, 1995.

⁵² ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): Letter from the ABA to the SAHC, 26 May 1987.

Bruce of the Scottish Film Council. They too felt that a cairn was the best gift.⁵³ When each body realised what the other was up too, they agreed to combine their efforts, the SAHC co-ordinating the Australian end, and the Cairn Sub-Committee of the Bicentennial Committee, headed by Sir Iain Noble, getting the project off the ground in Scotland.⁵⁴ The Heritage Council originally wanted each clan to provide a stone for the cairn, but they were happy to agree to the Edinburgh committee's plan for the stones to be collected by parish ministers throughout Scotland. The majority of the stones that make up the cairn are nondescript. Six, however, stand out. There are four stones from Scottish cathedrals, including one inscribed "Blackadder Aisle" from Glasgow Cathedral and one simply inscribed "Ayr". The stone from Stornoway was very smooth, and painstakingly inscribed with a hand-drawn map of the Hebridean Islands. It was not included in the final cairn, but kept in the Mosman Council Chambers with their story of the Scotland-Australia Cairn. The cairn is topped with a finial stone, carved into a Celtic Cross, from the Isle of Ulva, birthplace of Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales from 1810-1821.

For the Heritage Council, and its energetic and highly effective secretary, Rosemary Samios, the cairn provided an opportunity for publicity which was too good to miss. Their first task was to find a suitable location for the cairn. In each Scottish Week since they were inaugurated in 1981, the March of the Clans was one of the premier events. It began in the Domain, part of which forms the Royal Botanical Gardens in Sydney, and ended at the Sydney Opera House, where a concert was held on the forecourt. The Heritage Council therefore approached the Botanical

⁵³ Dr Ian Duffield, who was deputy chairman of the Scotland-Australia Bicentennial Committee, informs the author that at a chance meeting of Sir Iain Noble and David Bruce, they independently thought of a cairn constructed of stones collected in Scotland as a symbolically suitable gift from Scotland – a nation but not a sovereign state – to Australia.

⁵⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): SAHC Minutes of executive meeting, 7 September 1997; ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Sir Iain Noble to SAHC, 10 August 1987.

Gardens and the Domain Trust about erecting the cairn there. Jim Samios, an opposition back bencher, also asked a question on notice in the NSW Legislative Council asking if the Premier would permit building in the Domain.⁵⁵ The then Planning Minister, Bob Carr, after consulting with the Domain Trust, advised that they were "supportive of the erection of a temporary cairn in the Domain for an appropriate period of time in 1988."⁵⁶

For the Heritage Council, this was like a red rag. A modern cairn, held together with mortar and cement, often mounted on a plinth, by nature cannot be erected only temporarily. If the Domain Trust was only going to grant a temporary home to the cairn, the Council was going to have to look elsewhere. They swung into action, and quickly secured the Australian High Commissioner in London, Doug McClelland, the NSW Agent General Kevin Stewart, also in London, and the Consul in Edinburgh, Graeme South, behind their publicity campaign.⁵⁷ In Australia, various municipalities competed for the right to give a home to the cairn, including Glen Innes in the Northern Tablelands of NSW, Maclean on the mid north coast and Scone in the Hunter Valley.⁵⁸ Daylesford, in Victoria, which hosts that State's largest clan gatherings, also bid for the cairn, but was never seriously considered by the Sydney-based SAHC. In response to this rebuff, the "People's Army of Daylesford" wrote a letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald* with mock threats to steal the cairn, and warning the people of Sydney: "Your throats will parch for lack of our mineral water;

⁵⁵ See copy in ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): WARD/K 2 June 1987 6.10 LC147 LC-89 "Scottish Clans Gathering" – Question on Notice, The Hon J.M. SAMIOS.

⁵⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Bob Carr to SAHC, 15 October 1987.

⁵⁷ See ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Douglas McClelland, Australian High Commissioner, to Kevin Stewart, NSW Agent General, 14 December 1987; ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Graeme South, Australian Consul General to SAHC, 21 December 1987.

⁵⁸ Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 26 July 1995; Peter Alexander, interview with the author, 10 August, 1995.

your Opera House looks ugly and we hope your Bridge falls down."⁵⁹ Various newspapers, scenting with relish a public row, covered the "slight" to the Scottish community in Australia.⁶⁰ Finally the NSW Government offered a site "on top of one of the two hills in the new Sydney park", as well as offering to pay for the cost of erecting the cairn.⁶¹ In a letter to Alastair Campbell, Rosemary Samios admitted that "the site really wasn't much of a problem, but behind the scenes I was negotiating with the Government, so had to keep fanning the dispute until they came to the party over the costs."⁶²

She spoke too soon. A State election intervened in March 1988, and the Labor Government was defeated. The incoming Liberal/National Coalition administration insisted that Carr's commitment was not binding, and that the \$50,000 he had promised could not be spared.⁶³ Worse still, the site in St Peters, a "slum area of Sydney" according to one member of the Heritage Council's executive, was sinking by approximately one metre per year. By this time, Rosemary Samios was in

⁵⁹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1988, p. 15. None of these towns actually had a chance of getting the cairn, as the committee was determined that it would be sited in Sydney. The competition between country towns merely gave more free publicity to the project. Not to be outdone, however, the three NSW towns all ended up with their own monuments. A committee called "Maclean, the Scottish Town in Australia Association Inc.", which appears to be Maclean's de facto Chamber of Commerce, commissioned their own cairn for the Bicentenary. The construction was supervised by a retired Scottish stonemason from Canberra, and as news of the project spread, "Scots throughout Australia sent stones from their local areas for inclusion in the construction. Included in the constructions were a number of rocks from Scotland itself." – Maclean, the Scottish Town in Australia Association Inc., "The Maclean Bicentennial Memorial Cairn.", 1988. Construction of the cairn took four weeks, and it was dedicated on 3rd December 1988. Scone was presented with a "carved piece of stone from the ruins of Scone Abbey in Perthshire" – *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 September 1988, p. 11. Glen Innes became the site of a far more ambitious monumental project, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁰ see clippings from *The Australian*, *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Scotsman* and *The Oban Times*, ML 1550/84 Box 12(19).

⁶¹ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from SAHC to Bob Carr, accepting the offer, 9 February 1988.

⁶² ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios to Alastair Campbell, 18 February 1988.

⁶³ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1988, *loc. cit.*

negotiation with the Mayor of Mosman, Barry O'Keefe, like her husband, a Liberal. Mosman Council included Rawson Park, which overlooked Sydney Harbour from the north. This Council was still looking for a Bicentennial project of its own, and the deal was sealed when Samios promised O'Keefe a Duke for the opening ceremony. The Council committed \$80,000 to landscape the area; as so often Rosemary Nicolson Samios's drive and negotiating skills won the day.⁶⁴ The Sub-committee in Edinburgh had also been busy. The stones, collected by parish ministers and collected by the Royal Mail, were delivered to the Edinburgh warehouse of the freight company Chariot. The Australian National Line shipped them to Sydney, where a Gaelic-speaking cairn mason from the West Highlands, Duncan Matheson, flown to Australia courtesy of Qantas, built the cairn in time for the opening ceremony on St Andrew's Day, 1988.⁶⁵ A man of great presence and charm and a traditional story-teller, Duncan Matheson enchanted not only the local press, but also innumerable casual visitors to the site of the works.

Having secured an appropriate permanent location, Rosemary Samios also fought for the timing and guest of honour of her choice. The Edinburgh committee were resolved that the unveiling of the cairn should not take place during the International Gathering of the Clans: that the cairn "should be given separate prominence".⁶⁶ The SAHC had always wanted the cairn to be part of Scottish Week. Given that they were in control at the Australian end, where the cairn was to be built,

⁶⁴ *ibid.*; Rosemary Samios, interview with the author, 19 September, 1995.

⁶⁵ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1988, *loc. cit.*; 3 June 1988, p. 3; 29 September 1988, p. 7.

⁶⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Scotland-Australia Bicentennial Committee, 'The Cairn' Sub Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 3 November 1987, p. 2.

the Heritage Council got their way on timing.⁶⁷ Control over timing was also the key to ensuring the duke of Rosemary Nicolson Samios's choice. The SAHC executive had approached Buckingham House to try to arrange for the Duke of York to unveil the cairn. They were referred to the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in Canberra.⁶⁸ At the same time, Malcolm Broun was writing to Malcolm Rifkind, then Secretary of State for Scotland in the British Cabinet, to invite him to the International Gathering or, failing that, to the Duke of York's unveiling of the cairn. Broun's preference was for Rifkind to come during the International Gathering, rather than the latter. He explained, without irony, that if Rifkind were to attend the unveiling, his "presence [might] be overshadowed by the Australian enthusiasm for members of the Royal Family."⁶⁹ By May 1988, NSW Premier Nick Greiner was able to confirm that the Duke of York, "kilted we hope" would "be pleased to unveil the SCOTLAND-AUSTRALIA CAIRN",⁷⁰ which met with the approval of both the SAHC and the Cairn Sub-Committee in Edinburgh. However, Rosemary Samios was still telling Airds that she had "always wanted the Duke of Argyll to dedicate [the Cairn] during the Gathering."⁷¹ No doubt there was some expediency in Samios's letter to Airds. Nevertheless, she genuinely preferred the clan connection of Argyll to the Duke of York's more tenuous link to Scotland by virtue of being Earl of Inverness.⁷² In the end, the Duke and Duchess of York cut short their visit to

⁶⁷ Samios, interview; ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from SAHC to Malcolm Wilson, Royal Botanical Gardens, 5 September 1995.

⁶⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Lt Col Sean O'Dwyer, Buckingham Palace, to SAHC, 7 January 1988.

⁶⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from Malcolm Broun, SAHC, to Malcolm Rifkind, 1 February 1988.

⁷⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): SAHC Notice of Council Meeting to be held on 9 May 1988, p. 2.

⁷¹ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios to Alastair Campbell, 16 July 1988.

⁷² Samios, interview.

Australia. The Duke of York was left to dedicate the site on which the cairn was to be built, while Argyll got the honour of unveiling the cairn during the International Gathering.

Once again, there was friction in the leadership over the central role a clan chief was to take in Australian Scottish affairs. As was usually the case with official guests from Scotland, the SAHC agreed to pay for Economy Class air fares for two. The guests were welcome to upgrade their tickets themselves, and on some occasions Qantas had offered free upgrades to Business Class in return for free advertising during Scottish Week. Argyll, however, insisted that he and the Duchess, as well as Airds and his wife, were all flown to Australia First Class at SAHC expense. This was very unpopular when broached at the SAHC executive meeting, and was only resolved when Clan Campbell Society representatives David Campbell and Colin and Bev Campbell offered to deal with the Duke's travel arrangements.⁷³ Some months later, an article appeared in *The Bulletin* pointing out that the Heritage Council had a potential problem on its hands, since Sir Iain Noble was said to be an avowed nationalist, and Argyll a Unionist. It also pointed out that Argyll was worth £83 million. Duncan MacLeod sent a copy of the article to Rosemary Samios, with his own addition: "Did you ever see this? You think he could afford his fare!"⁷⁴ There was also some concern that Argyll would spend more time marketing his Clan Campbell whisky than attending Scottish Week functions – a fear that was unfulfilled.

⁷³ Samios, interview; Bev and Colin Campbell, interview. The details are not known, but Clan Campbell in Australia paid a portion of the fare, and the Duke paid for Airds and his wife.

⁷⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): "Cairn of worms: Scotland divided", *The Bulletin*, 29 October 1988. The wealth of the Duke of Argyll is confirmed (although no figure is given) in Rosie, *op. cit.*, p. 31.



Photograph: C. Johnston

V. The Scotland-Australia Cairn

The unveiling of the Scotland-Australia Cairn by the Duke of Argyll took place on St Andrew's Day, Wednesday 30 November 1988. The National Anthems of Australia and Scotland ('Scotland the Brave' rather than 'Flower of Scotland') were played, and a toast was drunk to the Queen.⁷⁵ The dedication was in many ways the culmination of the pageantry, pomp and ceremony which the SAHC had spent the previous seven Scottish Weeks perfecting. It was attended by several hundred people, including most members of the SAHC, representatives of most of Sydney's active clan societies, Mosman Councillors, pipe bands, representatives of the Scotland-Australia Bicentennial Committee from Edinburgh, the Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church of Australia and a representative of the Catholic Church (although the Uniting Church of Australia was not represented), and all the official Scottish Week guests, headed by Argyll and the Earl of Erroll.

Sir Iain Noble, chairman of the Cairn Sub-Committee, made a speech, "present[ing] this Cairn as a gift from the people of Scotland to the people of Australia ... a Cairn of Peace not strife ... permanent. When the 400th anniversary of the first European landings in Australia arrives, perhaps this will be the only Bicentennial gift still surviving".⁷⁶ The Duke of Argyll also spoke, dedicating the cairn, although no transcript appears to be extant. His speech was then repeated in Gaelic by Duncan MacLeod, who caused some controversy by suggesting that perhaps some future Duke of Argyll might be able to translate his own speech into

⁷⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios, SAHC, to Neil Morrison, MC of Cairn dedication ceremony, n.d., 1988; ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Order for the Dedication of the Scotland-Australia Cairn at Rawson Park, Mosman, 30 November 1988.

⁷⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): "Text of Sir Iain Noble's speech at the opening and dedication of the Scots Australian Cairn", 30 November 1988.

Gaelic, but this was the only minor upset on an otherwise trouble-free day – the culmination of some 18 months' work.⁷⁷

The Scotland-Australia Cairn was distinctly, and a little self-consciously, an ethnic monument for the Bicentenary, Australia's first distinct and rather self-conscious, ethnic/multicultural national event. A growing awareness of multiculturalism was the biggest impact of the Bicentenary. The SAHC continued to try to find an acceptable definition of Scottish ethnicity for themselves – a task which had been ongoing since the Council's inception. Rosemary Samios emphasised the point several times during the preparations for the International Gathering, not least in a letter to Iain Noble regarding the importance of having both English and Gaelic in any documents relating to Scotland-Australia matters: "... if we are to apply for Australian Government funding we must seem to be under the most significant umbrella – the Department of Ethnic Affairs. ... There's money in being 'Ethnic' out here. In Australian eyes [Gaelic] ... all looks definitely ethnic."⁷⁸ Fortunately for the SAHC, Noble is an enthusiast for Gaelic, speaks it fluently and uses it to conduct one of his businesses. Few Scottish financiers and landed proprietors were so ready, willing and able to respond to this point.⁷⁹

The Cairn has become widely known in Sydney and further afield as the site for various Scottish events, particularly the Highland gathering and Games held there

⁷⁷ The Clan Campbell in Australia were particularly upset by what they saw as a slight on their chief's integrity, although there is no evidence that Argyll or Airds were unduly concerned: Bev and Colin Campbell, interview with the author, 21 August 1995.

⁷⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from Rosemary Samios, SAHC, to Sir Iain Noble, 2 March 1988.

⁷⁹ Sir Iain Noble conducts the business of his landed estate in the Sleat district of the Isle of Skye in Gaelic; estate employees who are not fluent in the language are encouraged to acquire fluency; estate correspondence is conducted in Gaelic. This is a rarity, possibly the only contemporary instance of its kind. For people like Duncan MacLeod, this was a distinct contrast to the English monoglotism of Argyll.

on the final Sunday of Scottish Week each year and as the site for some unauthorised revels at Hogmanay.⁸⁰ It represents a new, pragmatic construction of Scottish identity in the face of growing multiculturalism in Australia. The Scottish community as represented by the SAHC and the Cairn, is very much one of Benedict Anderson's imagined communities. The Cairn, however, probably also represents a more recognisable and accessible Scottishness than Burns, for example, does now. By contrast, when a statue of Burns was raised in Sydney (some 30 years after it had first been proposed in 1893⁸¹), there was no question that this was the most appropriate monument to represent Scottishness. In the modern context of the construction of identity, the statue has really lost its relevance – it is merely another statue in a city of statues. As a more abstract, symbolic monument, the Cairn is now a more relevant and identifiable image of Scotland in Australia.

Its semiotics are susceptible to complex responses. The monument itself has a simple solidity (hence Noble's comment on its potential longevity) and its heterogeneous rough stones not only represent innumerable specific places in Scotland but also the human and cultural variety of the immigrants themselves. Yet it is not triumphalist: it combines elegiac nostalgia and hints of the mutability of human affairs with reassurances of enduring ties between ordinary people at the opposite

⁸⁰ see ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): Duncan MacLeod, "The Scotland-Australia Cairn", SAHC Newsletter, March 1989; and responses: ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): Letters from Mrs Ann McKeon, 24 April 1989; Fr Fred Van Gestel, n.d; Maureen Goldston-Morris, 28 April 1989; Robin MacKenzie Hunter, 20 April 1989; Ronald MacKenzie, 24 April 1989; and Noel Murdoch, JP, 16 May 1989.

⁸¹ Minute Book of the Burns' Monument Fund Committee: Minutes of Meeting, 21 April 1893. This Committee had a short, unsuccessful life. It was formed in Sydney on 21 April 1893 and resolved that "the time has come for the erection in this city, of a national monument in honor [*sic*] of Robert Burns ... and that a general appeal be forthwith made to the public ... for funds, for the accomplishment of this national undertaking." – *ibid*. It was very active throughout 1893, attracting the patronage of the Premier, Opposition Leader and President of the Legislative Council of NSW – Minutes of Meeting, 17 June 1893 – and of Henry Parkes – Minutes of Meeting, 27 June 1893. However, by 1896 the Committee was considering amalgamating with the Burns Centenary Committee – Minutes of Meeting, 10 July 1896. From 1897, it was in negotiation with the Highland Society of NSW, with which it finally merged in 1899 – Minutes of Meeting 2 February 1899.

ends of the world. Add to this the excellent location, commanding a view of the heads of Sydney Harbour, through which so many Scottish immigrants arrived, and it is not a surprise that revellers choose to congregate there at Hogmanay, rather than in one of Sydney's hundreds of watering holes.

The plaque which adorns the Cairn's site includes a verse by David Bruce's late father, the poet George Bruce. Although written in Scots, it is easily understood by an Australian audience: "Here frae a' the airts, stane upon stane / Haud thegither thru wind and rain / Minders o' Scotland that aince was hame." The verse epitomises the semiotics of the Cairn. It is also a radically different discourse to the typical output of clan newsletters or SAHC Information Sheets. Here is a monument which is not elitist. It does not rely on its links to clan chiefs, titled or otherwise, nor does it attempt to elevate Scottish immigrants (and hence their descendants) to a privileged position in Australia. Out of all the achievements of the Heritage Council, this is the one which most closely conforms to the ideals of Australian multiculturalism, celebrating and commemorating a link to the former homeland.

Scottish-Australians, Aborigines and Bicentennial Anxieties

One of the reasons for the ambivalent attitude towards the Bicentenary was the state of relations between the "recent settlers" of Bob Hawke's speech and Australia's original inhabitants. The ABA was acutely aware of the potential for friction, or even conflict, over bicentennial events, particularly the First Fleet re-enactment. 1988 was designated the "Year of Mourning" by Koori groups.⁸² As well as a protest march on Australia Day, there were several other Koori protest actions between 20 and 26 January 1988. When Hawke launched John Molony's *Penguin Bicentennial History*

⁸² see E.M.D Fesl, *Conned!*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1994 [1993]), p. 2, fig. 1.

of Australia, which had been funded by the ABA, Billy Craigie, a Cowra Koori, launched a copy somewhat more literally into Sydney Harbour, while an unidentified woman shouted at Molony that he was wrong about the extinction of Tasmanian Aborigines.⁸³ On Australia Day, while the First Fleet once again sailed into Sydney Cove, Burnam Burnam stood on the white cliffs of Dover and declared "I, Burnam Burnam, a nobleman of ancient Australia, do hereby take possession of England on behalf of the Aboriginal Peoples."⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in Sydney, Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gerry Hand boycotted the celebrations, with the blessing of the Cabinet, allowing the Government to have it both ways.⁸⁵ In La Perouse, in Sydney's eastern suburbs, an alternative Australia Day event, organised by Aboriginal groups, was held – a tradition that continues to this day.

In 1988, white Australia was acutely faced with its dreadful past and unpleasant present concerning indigenous Australians. While the majority simply ignored the problem or even denied it, a significant minority felt that the Bicentenary was not an entirely appropriate celebration. Sensitivity to criticism, particularly international criticism, was common. The SAHC had its fair share of exponents of both views. Early in 1987, the editor of the SAHC's *Newsletter*, Gordon Stott, commented that while he was in favour of the International Gathering of the Clans being held in Sydney, he was concerned that it was being held concurrently with the

⁸³ For the survival to modern times of descendents of pre-colonial indigenous Tasmanians, see L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1981), chs. 15 and 16; C. Pybus, *Community of Thieves*, (Melbourne: Minerva Australia, 1992 [1991]), ch. 10.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Castles, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Burnam Burnam was born Harry Penrith in 1936, one of the "lost generation" of Koori children. At three months he was taken from his parents and placed in the United Aboriginal Mission in Bomaderry, before moving to the Kinchela boys' home in Kempsey at the age of ten. He was one of the first Kooris to matriculate, to graduate from University, and to work in the Public Service. He changed his name in the mid-1970s. He died in August 1997. See obituary in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 August 1997, p. 1.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 155f.

Bicentenary, "a year when Australians celebrate two hundred years of occupation of this land, during which [time] they have destroyed and/or polluted everything they have touched, perpetrated one act of genocide and set another well on the way."⁸⁶ Several SAHC members were upset by Stott's editorial comment, and sent lengthy, often abusive letters. Others listed the good works their ancestors had done "for the welfare of Aboriginals."⁸⁷ The Council's correspondence secretary, David Campbell, responded to each of the disgruntled members. A copy of only one reply is extant in the archives. His response was supportive of his colleague:

conscious of and sympathetic with the sentiments expressed by Gordon ... No reasonable person dare deny that ... for whatever reason was perfectly 'reasonable' at the time, the Tasmanian aborigines [*sic*] WERE exterminated, and the Australian aborigines [*sic*] – through European contact and corruption – have all but lost their own heritage of harmony with their environment.⁸⁸

In the following *Newsletter*, Stott was even more adamant. He explained that he had been called a racist and abused by respondents who felt he was personally maligning their families. He wrote that people could be proud of their Scottish ancestry, but that it was "quite beyond the bounds of credibility to set them apart from other races on the grounds of sweetness and docility." He stood by his remarks, and added that the "depredations experienced by those countries over-run by races giving themselves pretentious labels such as 'civilised', 'developed' and 'first world' are well and faithfully recorded". He offered the opinion that if the "billions of dollars" which were being wasted on "monuments to our politicians" – a thinly veiled reference to the burgeoning costs of the new Parliament House in Canberra – could instead be used to repair "some of the damage we have wrought, then there could possibly be a

⁸⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 9(19): "1988 Proposed SAHC Programme", SAHC *Newsletter*, January 1987, p. 3.

⁸⁷ see, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 9(19): Letter from Elizabeth Rein to SAHC, 9 January 1987.

⁸⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 9(19): Letter from David Campbell to Elizabeth Rein, 5 February 1987.

Triennale." Stott took the stand which David Campbell would not, indeed could not, as MacCailein Mor, his clan chief, was to be the guest of honour, declaring "here is one who will be taking no part in the coming celebrations."⁸⁹

This sensitivity to criticism was particularly acute when the critics were not Australian. On 17 January, a senior UN official compiling a report on the Aborigines said that "Australia appears to have violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its treatment of its indigenous people."⁹⁰ John Pilger's *The Last Dream* screened on British television, documenting and attacking "our historical amnesia" in relation to the Aborigines.⁹¹ While Government circles cringed at these descriptions and attempted to deny them, the Heritage Council was far more concerned by a Grampian TV programme on Scottish emigration, *The Blood is Strong*, also screened in 1988. According to the review in the *West Highland Free Press*, the programme told "in graphic and emotional detail of the anger, tears and tragedy" of the Highland Clearances, and then continued with an account of "the Highland emigrants who ruthlessly cleared the Aborigines in Australia to make way for sheep".⁹² William MacLennan, the Council Chairman, fired off an outraged letter to the *West Highland Free Press*, asking what evidence the researchers had for "such a statement". He explained indignantly that the British class system was transposed onto Australia, and that "those who received grants of land were usually those who dined at the

⁸⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): "Address in Reply", SAHC *Newsletter*, April 1987, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Quoted in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1988, p. 1.

⁹¹ Quoted in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 January 1988, p. 18. Of course, not all the British media coverage of the Australian Bicentenary was negative. Most of it neglected to mention the plight of the Aborigines, but only *The Sun* went as far as to editorialise that the Aborigines were "treacherous and brutal", and left to themselves they would have died out anyway, as they were savages who lacked any skills, arts or graces. See J. Pilger, *A Secret Country*, (London: Vintage, 1992 [1990]), p. 267.

⁹² *West Highland Free Press*, 26 August 1988, p. 5.

Governor's table." Those cleared from the crofts were unlikely to be among their number, he concluded.⁹³

A third response to Aborigines can be found in an Editorial in *The Southern Scot* in 1991. For the editor of this journal, Aborigines were to be included in the general raft of multicultural policy – a step further than, but a logical conclusion of, the ABA's position leading up to 1988. James MacLennan (no relation to the SAHC Chairman) wrote that multiculturalism was a positive thing, and that "All who come, including the Aborigines and our recent Asian settlers have a contribution to make to this future."⁹⁴

Each of these responses demonstrates a profound misunderstanding of the issue. Gordon Stott took a stand he felt was principled, but it was founded on at least one commonly-held misconception of Aboriginal history: specifically that the Tasmanian Aborigines had been wiped out in the late-nineteenth century. None of the writers escape the Anglocentric view of Koori history. The correspondent to the *West Highland Free Press* tried to clear Scottish Highland settlers of atrocities by pointing out their oppressed origins. This, along with the model of the enlightened, humanist Scottish settler, portrayed by Elizabeth Rein in her letter, is a common theme in much of the literature on Scottish settlement.⁹⁵ It does not challenge the

⁹³ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from William MacLennan to the Editor, *West Highland Free Press*, 1 September 1988. It is the author's opinion, based on internal evidence, that the letter was written, or at least drafted, by Rosemary Samios. The *West Highland Free Press* did not print it.

⁹⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 15(19): James MacLennan, Editorial: "Some More Thoughts on Multiculturalism", *The Southern Scot: The Magazine for Australian Scots*, 4, (May 1991), p. 38.

⁹⁵ Malcolm Prentis is perhaps the best-known proponent of this view. While he concedes, for example, that some Scottish settlers "led the offensive against the local tribespeople", he points out that others were victims of indigenous violence. However, he brushes over this in three sentences before devoting three paragraphs to the Scots who spoke out for "Aboriginal rights in the colonial era" – *The Scottish in Australia*, (Melbourne: AE Press, 1987), pp. 156f. The same sentiment can be found in fictional account of Highland emigrants. Morag MacDonald, the protagonist in Judith O'Neill's *So Far*

view that the Aborigines were (and are) inferior, nor the "myths which continue to justify acts of psychological and physical violence."⁹⁶ James MacLennan's inclusion of Aborigines with other immigrant groups (significantly, he singles out Asians) is staggering. Whereas immigrants want to be, indeed should be, absorbed into the multicultural Australian nation, Henry Reynolds points out the fundamental difference between them and indigenous Australians: ethnic minorities have rights of cultural preservation and an end to discrimination but they cannot legally demand self-determination.⁹⁷ However, the "status of indigenous people is now clearly recognised in international law. They are part of what has become known as the fourth world."⁹⁸ They have, therefore, the right and entitlement to self-determination within the Australian nation, as all indigenous people do within their own countries.⁹⁹

From Skye, (London: Penguin, 1993 [1992]), feels an empathy with the Koori girl Kal-Kal, whom she meets in Victoria, when she realises that they have both been forced from their land to make way for sheep – p. 177. The significant departure from this received wisdom is Don Watson's *Caledonia Australis*, (Sydney: Vintage, 1997 [1984]). The first half of the book is about the horrors suffered by Highland and Hebridean peasants in the first half of the nineteenth century and the pitiful state of many who emigrated to the Port Phillip District (Victoria). The second half ruthlessly exposes the brutal genocide and wholesale expropriation by the same immigrants of the Kumai people in Gippsland.

⁹⁶ Fesl, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ The same is true for other identities which are now considered part of modern nations. Dennis Altman argues that Australia's retreat from homophobia and its increasing (although by no means universal) acceptance of gay men and women coincided with the development of multiculturalism: "In some ways 'gay' has become another part of the multicultural mosaic, and events such as the [Sydney] Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras can easily be encompassed as another ethnic festival." – "(Homo)sexual Identities, Queer Theory and Politics", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 108.

⁹⁸ H. Reynolds, *Aboriginal Sovereignty: Reflections on race, state and nation*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), p. 181.

⁹⁹ Self-determination within an existing nation-state is a complex problem in the modern world-system. However, Reynolds draws on the example of Norfolk Island, which is officially classified as an external territory of Australia. It has a population less than 3000, its own Parliament with tax-raising powers and control of its international affairs within the Australian Federation. Reynolds concludes, therefore, that "there can be no in principle objection to the same rights being extended to indigenous communities." – *ibid.*, p. 182.

The SAHC and the Construction of Scottish Identity since the Bicentenary

Hosting the International Gathering of the Clans fulfilled one of the main Objectives of the Heritage Council. The question was, what next? In 1990 the unexpected death of chairman William MacLennan occurred, whilst attending another International Gathering in America, and Rosemary Samios retired from the executive. There was a feeling that somehow as the Council's leadership had changed, that its aims would have to be different.¹⁰⁰ Certainly in the subsequent Scottish Weeks, there has been less emphasis on having several titled chiefs as guests each year. In 1989, for example, Brian Wilson, the Scottish labour MP, joined the Marquis of Huntly on the guest list,¹⁰¹ while Highland historian and crofter James Hunter was present in 1992.¹⁰² In 1995, Donnie Munro, a native Gaelic speaker from the Isle of Skye, former lead singer of Runrig, and latterly a Labour parliamentary candidate, was the official guest along with the Earl of Cromartie.¹⁰³ Professor Michael Lynch of Edinburgh University's Department of Scottish History has been invited several times, but has been unable to attend.¹⁰⁴ In 1991, only John MacLeod of MacLeod came from Scotland for Scottish Week,¹⁰⁵ and in 1996, the Heritage Council was unable to afford any overseas guests.

¹⁰⁰ This was a feeling expressed to the author by several people who did not wish to be formally interviewed, and who would not give permission for the use of attributable quotes.

¹⁰¹ *Albannaich Astrailia: The Scottish Australian Heritage Council Annual*, 1989/90, p. 10.

¹⁰² *Albannaich Astrailia: The Scottish Australian Heritage Council Annual*, (Incorporating *The Southern Scot*), 1992/93, pp. 48f. Hunter is strongly identified with the cause of Scottish land reform in the interests of ordinary Highlanders and at the expense of big landowners, traditional and otherwise, including many of the SAHC's former guests.

¹⁰³ *The Scottish Australian Annual*, 1994, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Lynch, conversation with the author, 14 March 1996.

¹⁰⁵ *Albannaich Astrailia: The Scottish Australian Heritage Council Annual*, 1991/92, p. 15.

Of these post-1988 guests, two demand some attention. Airds advised the SAHC very strongly against political guests at a time when they were considering inviting Winnie Ewing. He stated, forthrightly, "I would NOT recommend Mr. [Brian] Wilson. He is of the far Left and you will get a very sour view of Scotland as it is today."¹⁰⁶ However, Wilson was at the time editor of the *West Highland Free Press*, probably Scotland's most lively local newspaper and certainly its most radical, and therefore of great interest to the Council. He was duly invited, and showed his interest in the Council's work on the Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal.¹⁰⁷ He even appeared at the Grand Scottish Ball in an Australian Tartan kilt, and subsequently the Council presented him with one of his own.¹⁰⁸ Wilson, despite his reputation in Scotland for being a dour and wooden speaker, proved to be a successful and complimentary guest who retains at least a passing interest in Australian affairs.¹⁰⁹

Donnie Munro and his wife Teresa were popular with many who encountered them in Sydney, as genial and convivial guests. Munro, however, ruffled some feathers by his detachment from the elaborately regulated Highland dress which had hitherto been *de rigueur* at SAHC events and at the heart of how the Council had presented and represented Scottishness.¹¹⁰ He attended all of the Scottish Week

¹⁰⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to SAHC, n.d., 1989. Few in Scottish Labour Party circles would see Brian Wilson "of the far Left", nor would the Scottish press. If he were, he would certainly not hold a Scottish Office ministerial post in Tony Blair's government. The only conclusion that may be drawn is that Airds is "of the far Right".

¹⁰⁷ The establishment of Celtic Studies, one of the SAHC's Objectives, is discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁰⁸ Broun, interview.

¹⁰⁹ In 1990, for example, he tabled a motion in the House of Commons congratulating Labor leader Wayne Goss on his victory in the Queensland State election, "end[ing] 32 years of corrupt right-wing rule" – ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): newspaper clipping: H. Thomas, "Scottish MP hits Joh over honors", *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), n.d., 1990

¹¹⁰ Before leaving Scotland for Australia, Munro was given a list of the functions at which he would be expected to wear a kilt, which he refused to do – Donnie Munro, conversation with the author, *Scottish Week*, Sydney, November 1994.

functions, and sang without prior notice at the ceilidh in North Sydney. Malcolm Broun felt that Munro:

made a real contribution, reminding us very much that Scotland has moved forward a very great deal. ... [Australians of Scottish descent] still look back to the Scotland which they've heard about, which was great-grandfather's Scotland, and Munro I think did a valuable service by emphasising that there was still a Scottish tradition, still a Scottish culture, but it has moved forward ...¹¹¹

On his return to Scotland, Munro wrote an amusing, gently critical "Diary" piece for *The Scotsman*, which was quickly circulated in Sydney.¹¹² The majority of the SAHC were not amused, and even those who understood his position felt that the article was inappropriate.¹¹³ It was not pleasant to be confronted with the fact that elaborate tartanry was more a subject of laughter than reverence among many in modern Scotland, including many Gaels. However, Broun's response to Munro indicates that at least some of the SAHC "old guard" were perfectly capable of adjusting to changing times and non-aristocratic Scottish celebrities.

The new emphasis on Scottish guests who were not connected with clan organisations was reflected in the increasing number of articles of historical interest in both the *Newsletter* and the *Annual*. The Council got more involved in Scottish events in the wider community, including organising a parade with pipers and a red carpet from the Queen Victoria Building to the cinema for the opening of *Rob Roy* in Sydney. SAHC secretary Sally Ross organised the event, after the cinema contacted the Council and asked them to organise "something Scottish". Similarly, the Australian National Trust turned to the Heritage Council for help in organising "a

¹¹¹ Broun, interview.

¹¹² "Donnie Munro's Diary", *The Scotsman*, 21 January 1995.

¹¹³ Stewart Henderson and Duncan MacLeod, interview with the author, 11 August 1995.

weekend of Scottish-Samoan celebrations [including] a combined kava/whisky tasting."¹¹⁴ Ross admits "thoroughly enjoying" these sorts of events, not least because "it's getting people to know".¹¹⁵

Conclusion: A Scottish ethnic identity?

In 1995, the executive felt it was necessary to print a slightly revised list of the Heritage Council's objectives, prefaced: "We constantly hear from Australians of Scottish descent that the cultures and traditions of the earliest white inhabitants of this Country are being forgotten and that too much is being made of latter-day immigrants."¹¹⁶ This is not the statement of an ethnic group, equal to all other ethnic groups, in a multicultural society. Rather, it is a cry of anguish at a perceived loss of status and, more importantly, influence. What, then, of the ethnic consciousness of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council and its founders?

In an encyclopaedia of the Australian people, published for the Bicentenary, a short piece appeared about the SAHC in the section on Scottish immigrants. The author stated that: "Its affiliation with the Ethnic Communities' Council indicates the SAHC attitude towards Scottish ethnicity."¹¹⁷ On the surface, perhaps it does, but in reality the Heritage Council is still struggling with the concept. In the years leading up to the Bicentenary, the pragmatic nature of their affiliation with the ECC was perfectly clear. During and after the Bicentenary, debates about multiculturalism and

¹¹⁴ Sally Ross, interview with the author, 23 August 1995.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ "The Reasons Why and What We're Trying to do About It", *SAHC Newsletter*, July 1995, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ I. Bain, "Post-war Scottish Immigration", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), p. 787.

ethnicity became much more frequent around the country. In an attempt at a definitive statement, the Ethnic Affairs Commission (EAC) wrote multiculturalism was "no more than a simple rule of thumb to make sure that traditional Australian values of fair go, of tolerance of each other, are applied to everybody – irrespective of one's culture, language or religion."¹¹⁸ Whilst this is a noble sentiment, and certainly captures the spirit in which multiculturalism is meant, it is far too simple to accommodate the diversity of Australian opinion. Some Scottish-Australians' view of ethnicity and multiculturalism is, in the final analysis, diametrically opposed to it. They are trying to reconcile an official ethnicity on the one hand with a claim to be part of the "silent majority" finally speaking out. They constantly remind anyone who will listen that the Scots, while an immigrant group themselves, oppressed by the Clearances, were actually better than other immigrants, "of rather more significance in the nation than the Greeks and the Italians, who have perhaps a higher profile, or the Chinese who maintain a very low profile but nonetheless are very numerous and more obvious".¹¹⁹ It is a cry from a section of those who regard themselves as the Australian mainstream, mostly fairly affluent people, certainly conservative, who feel their position among the elite is being threatened by multiculturalism. They are left, therefore, with the contradictory position of trying to define themselves as ethnic, while still defining the ethnic as "other". Without some compromise, some other level of identity, the project was doomed to failure. The Celtic revival, it was hoped, would be that compromise.

¹¹⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): "Multiculturalism under debate", Editorial, *Ethnos*, 64, September 1988, p. 2. For a fuller text of this editorial, see Appendix 4.

¹¹⁹ Broun, interview.

CHAPTER 5

**The New Celts:
Constructing a Modern Cultural Identity**

Introduction: The Celtic revival

The "Celtic revival" is as obvious in Australia as in Scotland or Ireland, the USA or Canada. Bookshops are selling Celtic books faster than ever before, and increasing numbers, in Sydney as in Edinburgh, have specialist Celtic sections. Tattoo parlours are inundated with requests for Celtic designs. Celtic craft shops (or perhaps, more accurately, gift shops) abound in towns and cities from Texas to Western Australia, New Zealand to Essex. Modified kilts were prime fashion items in London nightclubs and on Jean Paul Gaultier's models in the mid-1990s. Hollywood has not been slow to cash in on this revival: from low budget movies such as *Loch Ness* to blockbusters including *Rob Roy* and the epitome of the genre, and "Best Picture" at the Oscars in 1996, *Braveheart*, American film-makers have borrowed from Celtic mythology and history in search of a product that will sell. *Braveheart*, directed by and starring "Australia's own" Mel Gibson² as Scottish hero William Wallace, bravely leading his people against the tyrannical English (and impregnating the Princess of Wales), has become compulsory viewing for any Scottish sporting team before playing England, and it is *de rigueur* for Scottish supporter (and some younger Edinburgh revellers) to paint their faces in blue and white in the style of Gibson's Wallace. The "braveheart" imagery has also been appropriated by the Scottish

¹ Gaelic Will Not Die: see SAHC, *Albannaich Astrailia*, 1990/91, p. 12.

² Gibson spent most of his childhood in Australia, attended the National Institute of Dramatic Arts (NIDA) in Sydney and made his first movies there, however he never relinquished the American citizenship of his parents. Despite this, he is still considered something of a modern Australian icon.

National Party for election broadcasts and party meetings. At Scone Palace, sale of replica swords soared after the latter two films as fans sought to have their own part of the myth and to celebrate what the Countess of Mansfield called the "Scottish ethnic thing".³

The use of an American film (with significant Australian connections), made almost entirely on location in Ireland, by a Scottish political party reflects the dominant discourse of the creation of the Celt: it is part of a cultural construction of not being English, "an identity constructed around the requirements of modern geopolitics."⁴ Its origin lies in the construction of the Scottish Highland tradition, now popularised by the tourism industry.⁵ However, it does lead to a more complex identity than that of simply being Scottish. There is, we are told, Celtic unity between Scots, Irish and Welsh in opposition to the historic enemy of them all, the Saxon. In an *Independent* article on heroes and villains, Irish novelist Roddy Doyle recalled that as a child, his sporting hero was Charlie Cook, Chelsea winger in the 1960s: "He was Scottish, I was Irish; both of us weren't English."⁶ In a similar vein today, many Scotland fans admit to backing any team against England. This is certainly a knee-jerk, some would say racist, way of defining Scotland and Scottishness (or indeed Wales and Ireland, Welshness and Irishness), and is not without its critics in Britain. Billy Connolly dismissed *Braveheart* as "pure Australian shite" and *Rob Roy* in even more colourful terms.⁷ In a tongue-in-cheek

³ "Great House Wives", *Cutting Edge*, Channel 4 TV, broadcast 4 November 1996.

⁴ D. McCrone, *et al*, *Scotland – the Brand*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 57.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 3; G. Rosie, "Museumry and the Heritage Industry", in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp. 165f.

⁶ R. Doyle, "Charlie Cook", reprinted in *Heroes and Villains: An Anthology of Animosity and Admiration*, (London: Victor Gollancz in assoc. with *The Independent Magazine*, 1995), p. 77.

⁷ Quoted in *The Guardian: G2*, 17 April 1996, p. 9.

column in the *English Mail on Sunday*, which does not quite manage to hide the resentment lying beneath the surface, Jane Gordon lamented the fact "that the English have become so politically incorrect while ... Scotland [has] become unaccountably chic", thus by some leap of logic, leaving the English to "enjoy the status of a persecuted minority" in a country which "is nothing more than a Celtic colony."⁸

The Celtic Council of Australia and the Chair of Celtic Studies

An interest in Celtic matters has been at the heart of some in the Scottish Australian Heritage Council from the outset. While most of the Objectives of the Council were specifically of a Scottish nature, two dealt with more general matters: establishing a Chair of Celtic Studies at an Australian university and calling for medical research into "diseases peculiar to or especially affecting the Celtic race".⁹ To date, little has been done beyond lip service about the second of these objectives.¹⁰ The aim of establishing a Chair of Celtic Studies, however, has been the Heritage Council's main focus of effort, apart from Scottish Week.

Peter Alexander, while not present at the meeting in Sydney at which the SAHC was founded, was an early and enthusiastic member. He was also very well connected, being on the executive of the Returned Services' League (RSL)

⁸ J. Gordon, "The Celtic colony we call England", *The Mail on Sunday*, 14 April 1996, p. 37.

⁹ SAHC, *Objectives* – see Appendix 2.

¹⁰ In a press release in 1986, Peter Alexander urged "Aussie Scots" to wear the broad-brimmed felt hat made by the Akubra company rather than the "traditional Tam o' Shanter or Glengarry" which were impractical for "Australia's sizzling summers". The Akubra would enable Scottish-Australians "to protect themselves from Australia's 'Celtic killer' – skin cancer." See ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): SAHC, "Aussie Scots Urged to Discard their Bonnets", Press Release, 1986, p. 1.

Federation.¹¹ He was subsequently elected Cultural and Social Convener, responsible for the establishment of the Chair.¹² From the outset, he was well aware that the Chair "was not a purely Scottish thing".¹³ He received a letter from the editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, John Pringle, expressing great interest in the project, saying that "it should have been done long ago." Pringle advised that the other Celtic groups, especially the Irish, "numerically by far the most important minority in Australia", must be included from the beginning. He warned that to give the Chair a "Scottish slant" would be "fatal ... especially when it can be argued ... that the Scots are the least Celtic of the lot!"¹⁴ Alexander convened a meeting in 1982 of "the known organisations"¹⁵ of the Celts: several Irish groups, including the Irish National Association;¹⁶ Sydney's two Welsh societies; and the Cornish Society. At that meeting, the Celtic Council of Australia (CCA) was formed. Alexander was elected Convener – an office which he continues to hold – and a standing committee with representatives from all of the Celtic groups present was also elected. Once again, a number of the "great and good" were invited to be patrons, including the

¹¹ The RSL is similar to the British Legion but occupies a much more prominent position in Australia than does the Legion in Britain: in addition to representing former armed forces personnel it owns and runs social clubs throughout Australia. In the smaller country towns, the RSL Club is often the only licensed establishment other than the pubs. As licensed clubs, they tend to have later drinking hours, and the drinks and meals are heavily subsidised by the profits from one-armed bandits. Membership of the RSL, which is not restricted to the armed forces, is therefore very widespread, particularly outwith the cities where it is almost a right of passage at 18. It is essentially a non-political organisation, but makes no secret of its conservatism. Particularly in Victoria, it has been associated with some very reactionary right-wing politics.

¹² SAHC, *Sydney Scottish Week Souvenir Programme*, 1981, p. 12.

¹³ Peter Alexander, interview with the author, 10 August 1995.

¹⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 2(2): Letter from John Pringle to Peter Alexander, 24 January 1982.

¹⁵ Alexander, interview.

¹⁶ The Irish National Association was formed in Sydney by supporters of the Irish Republic. Until at least the mid-1960s it included several veterans of the 1916 uprising. See P. O'Farrell, "Writing the History of Irish-Australia", in O. MacDonagh and W.F. Mandle, (eds.), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 219; P. O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, (Sydney: NSW University Press, 1986), pp. 308f.

Catholic Archbishop of Sydney and Dame Joan Sutherland (although she declined the offer).¹⁷

The CCA was charged with raising the funds, then estimated at \$6-700,000,¹⁸ required to endow a university Chair. The Council first approached Wal Fife, the Federal Education Minister, through the Federal Member for Mitchell, A. Cadman. Fife forcefully explained that determining new courses was the prerogative of the institution itself, and that it was "not within [his] ministerial authority to attempt to influence decisions on such matters."¹⁹ The University of Sydney was in fact interested in the proposals, and two professors, Bernard Martin and Stephen Knight, drew up a potential academic programme for a degree in Celtic Studies, including language, history and literature.²⁰ It appears, however, that little else of substance was done for nearly another two years.

Despite the inclusive nature of the CCA in their approach to the Chair, the Scots, who were after all the instigators of the push, became the driving force behind it when it took off in the mid-1980s with an extensive letter-writing campaign soliciting donations. Once again, the Federal Government was approached, as was the NSW State Government. Both Senator Susan Ryan, the Federal Education Minister, and Neville Wran, Premier of NSW, were asked to consider making a "one

¹⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842: Letter from Dame Joan Sutherland to Peter Alexander, 5 July, 1984.

¹⁸ Approximately £300-350,000 at the usual exchange rate. The figure has risen dramatically since 1982: in 1995 Alexander quoted the required sum as \$1.5 million (approximately £750,000).

¹⁹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 2(2): Letter from Wal Fife to A. Cadman, MP, 6 May 1982.

²⁰ Alexander, interview.

off Government donation" to the Appeal.²¹ Both letters were couched in emotive terms. In her letter to Wran, Rosemary Nicolson Samios claimed:

It is not by accident that our Celtic history and culture is not studied at any University in Australia. It is by historic English design, so that even in Australia the subtle suppression of Scottish, Irish and Welsh culture continues. There is no surer way of wiping out our culture than by denying our children the right and opportunity to study our culture.²²

Both Governments refused financial support for the Chair, although both Wran and Ryan expressed their personal sympathies.²³ At the same time, letters were sent to various Scottish societies in Australia, in which the sentiment was purely Scottish, and the rhetoric very specific:

Do you want the history of your Scottish Society recorded for all time? Do you want your efforts to nurture our culture in this country to be remembered for all time? Do you want your Children and your children's children to have the opportunity to study your culture? If so, act now!²⁴

To raise the spirit of emulation, it was pointed out that Australia was "believed to be" the only country in the Scottish and Irish Diaspora without such an academic post.²⁵

A request for donations in such terms should not be surprising. There is possibly no more successful method of garnering material support for a cause than to arouse emotion. In the case of the Scottish societies, moral support, at least, was

²¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Premier Neville Wran, 10 October 1984; ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 2(2): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Senator Susan Ryan, 31 October 1984.

²² Samios to Wran, 10 October 1984, *loc. cit.*

²³ See, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): Letter from Senator Susan Ryan to Peter Alexander, CCA, 19 June 1985.

²⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Open letter to Scottish societies from Rosemary Nicolson Samios, Hon Secretary of Lectureship Appeal Committee, SAHC, dated 18 August 1984.

²⁵ *ibid.*

guaranteed, and financial support from some almost inevitable. What is perhaps more surprising is the assumption that donors would be able to dictate the academic content of courses in Celtic Studies, and even to presume what research a future professor would undertake. No doubt there is a degree of pragmatism in saying these things to the executive of, for example, a clan society, but the impression is very evident that the Chair of Celtic Studies was regarded proprietorially in some quarters of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council and among its supporters.

Undaunted by their failure to get more than sympathy from the two Governments, the SAHC established a formal appeal to raise funds for the project. Named "The Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal", after the late Heritage Council activist, this title speaks volumes about the Scots' view of the Chair. Ferrow, the convinced royalist, was hardly a man whose name would rally Irish-Australians. Ultimately, the use of Ferrow's name was to evoke a variety of different responses. The SAHC had been using his name in connection with appeals for donations from at least August 1984,²⁶ although the formal launch of the Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal was not until February 1985. Two months after the launch, Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote privately to Peter Alexander about amounts that people might be willing to donate, ranging from \$2 to \$100,000. She also mentioned that they would have to decide how to respond to an individual or company willing to donate \$500,000 – well over half the amount required for a permanent endowment at the time. Her feeling was that anyone giving this sort of money would have to be conceded "naming rights" to the Chair and so Ferrow's name would then have to be removed.²⁷ An even blunter assertion of her point was made in a letter to a member

²⁶ *ibid.* Although the letter is on the SAHC's headed stationery, it is subtitled: "G. Ferrow Lectureship in Scottish History and Culture Appeal"

²⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Peter Alexander, 24 April 1985. _

of an Irish-Australian organisation, in which she said: "With regard to the name of the Chair; whoever raises the money plays the pipes and calls the tune. ... if you raise \$500,000, it will certainly be your right to name the Chair."²⁸ This, while pragmatically conceding some ground, also reveals a concerted effort among the Scots to have the Chair named after Ferrow.

Infighting between the Scots and the Irish over the name of the appeal simmered for much of 1985, before coming to a head in 1986. It appeared that the SAHC were willing to drop Ferrow's name, or at least that they were letting it be known that they might. One Scottish group, however, was vocally opposed to dropping his name: the Macquarie Towns Scottish Society, which donated \$200 to the Appeal in 1984. After being "advised that the name Geoffrey Ferrow was to be omitted [*sic*]", they wished to withdraw their support and "lodge [their] dissatisfaction at the change." They requested that the SAHC should "take the appropriate action on receipt of this letter."²⁹ This "appropriate action" was not specified but evidently that they wanted their donation returned. In October 1986, *The Sydney Morning Herald* carried an article written, incidentally, by their Ethnic Affairs Reporter on the dispute between the Scots and Irish, entitled "The Celt Chair barney wakes ancient ires".³⁰ No firm resolution was ever reached over the dispute; rather it disappeared into the background as the focus of the appeal was modified in the succeeding years. The Scots, for their part, still use Ferrow's name in connection with the Appeal. Had they been canny at the outset, they would have realised that in

²⁸ ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4), Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990: Personal letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to "Clare", an otherwise unidentified representative of an Irish-Australian organisation, 19 September [?1985].

²⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Mrs M Purdie, Secretary of the Macquarie Towns Scottish Society, to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, SAHC, 25 August 1986.

³⁰ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1986.

the modern world, the naming of chairs is highly likely to provoke disunity. Ferrow's name was a particularly tactless choice.

The official launch of the Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal was held in Sydney, at St Stephen's Church on Macquarie Street,³¹ and attracted well over 100 people from all of the Celtic communities (including, by this time, Manx and Bretons). The meeting was addressed by Lord Forres, a Scottish peer resident in Australia, and Professor Bernard Martin, then of the University of Sydney. The Irish Ambassador and the British High Commissioner were both invited to the meeting. Martin's address was brief, and concerned with the academic aspects of the proposed Chair. He pointed out that Celtic literature and history were already taught at a number of Australian universities, but nowhere was it organised into a department, or into an interdisciplinary major. Forres provided the emotional appeal on the night, linking a study of Celtic history with the development of modern Australia: "having re-acquainted ourselves with the lessons of the past we will truly know how we must forge the future. The Chair of Celtic Studies is no mere ... fanciful flight into sentimental nostalgia ... it will indeed become an important tool in moulding Australia's future."³²

Finding adequate funds was always going to be the main problem for the Appeal Committee and the CCA.³³ Their continuing strategy was to write to parties

³¹ St Stephen's was formerly a Presbyterian church. It became Uniting Church of Australia with the merger of the Methodists, the tiny Congregationalists and the majority of the Presbyterians. Macquarie Street is Sydney's equivalent of Westminster: home to the NSW Parliament House, Sydney Hospital, the State Library of NSW and other important pre- and post-colonial public buildings.

³² ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Text of Keynote Speech given by Alastair (Lord) Forres to the inaugural meeting of the Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal, 15 February 1985.

³³ Figures concerning sums raised are only extant for the first year of the official Appeal in the SAHC archives, and they paint a complicated picture. In May, the Appeal claimed to have raised \$70,000 in donations and pledges (see ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios,

who might have an interest in the project, but at least one committee member had grander schemes. He thought it might even be possible to interest one of the Sydney television or radio stations to host a fundraising telethon.³⁴ This proposal, however, was not followed up. By 1990, Peter Alexander was writing speculative letters to companies with no claim to a Celtic background, including the Japanese companies Canon, Hitachi and Suntory, the latter on the rather flimsy basis that they produced a well-known Japanese whisky.³⁵ All were informed that in funding the Chair, they would have the right to name it, but none of these companies were forthcoming with funds.

The goal of establishing a permanently endowed Chair at the University of Sydney has not yet been achieved by the CCA, but they have had some success with the venture. By August 1985, the University was able to announce that an interim course in Celtic Studies would be offered from 1986³⁶ and in 1987, Celtic Studies was an interdisciplinary major with full University Senate recognition.³⁷ The CCA has raised enough capital for the partial funding of a lecturer. The university now has

Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal to Prof Stephen Knight, 3 May 1985), and in August, the SAHC was informed that \$80,000 had been raised, and another \$20,000 pledged (see ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): SAHC Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 August 1985). However, the December bank balance showed only \$32,658 (see ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Income and Expenditure Account, prepared by J. McEwen, Financial Director, Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal, 31 December 1985).

³⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Jock McAusland, "Fund raising Director's Proposal Regarding Committees, their Composition and their Function", n.d., 1985. It would have been run along lines similar to the BBC's Children in Need telethon.

³⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 15(19): Letter from Peter Alexander to Mr Y Kobata, MD of Hitachi Australia Ltd, 30 December 1990; ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Peter Alexander to Mr R Amemiza, MD, Canon Australia Pty Ltd, 5 February 1990; ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Peter Alexander to Mr J Nakamura, MD, Suntory (Australia) Pty Ltd, 5 February 1990.

³⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): SAHC, Notice of Council Meeting on 7 August 1985.

³⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Circular from Aedeon Cremin, Co-ordinator of Celtic Studies, n.d., 1987.

students at all undergraduate and postgraduate levels of Celtic Studies, including PhD candidates, and five of the six surviving Celtic languages have been taught there.³⁸

Naturally, there has been some dispute about credit for success in establishing Celtic Studies. When announcing the decision by Sydney University to begin the interim programme, the SAHC was adamant that the community interest in, and demand for, Celtic Studies was "generated solely by the Scots – by our pipers, dancers, Gaelic speakers, historians, Clan societies, suburban societies and the hundreds of members and affiliated Societies of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council."³⁹ The SAHC recognised that although they came out of the venture with a great deal of favourable publicity, not to mention pride, it could also prove a poisoned chalice by taking up all their energies. The following month's *Newsletter* contained a report on the second meeting of the Geoffrey Farrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal which, with an attendance of "only" 98 people, was rather "disappointing", since 92 were Scottish. The *Newsletter* continued: "The Scottish community dose not wish the constitution of the Chair to be overwhelmingly Scots oriented" and, more particularly, "neither does it wish to be saddled with an overwhelming proportion of the work". It hoped that the other Celtic groups which attended the inaugural meeting would become more active.⁴⁰ In a letter to an Irish-Australian representative, Rosemary Nicolson Samios turned her attack on the Celtic Council of Australia, saying that it was "a myth ... [with] no support group and no numbers behind it." She claimed that in the four years of its existence it had raised only \$1000 for the Chair, while the Scots had managed "90 times better in a matter of months", and that

³⁸ P. Alexander, "Progress of the Celts in 1994", *The Scottish Australian Annual*, (1994), p. 18.

³⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): SAHC, Notice of Council Meeting on 7 August 1985.

⁴⁰ ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1813, MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Further Papers: SAHC *Newsletter*, September 1985, p. 3.

everyone knew that only the Scots were capable of raising the money: "we have that Calvinistic discipline". In a note of warning to her Irish friend, she added: "There is a big push from the Scottish community to change the name of the Chair to the Chair of Scottish Studies – we have the numbers to push it through."⁴¹ In fact, the Scots did raise most of the money for the Appeal. The Irish, however, got more publicity for their fundraising. The 1985 visit of the Irish President to Australia saw him feted by the CCA, producing a raft of small donations to the Chair. In 1986 the Irish Government donated Ir£1000 (then worth \$2280).⁴² This was a particular coup for the Irish-Australians: a state donation was bound to secure publicity far beyond its cash value.

The Australian Standing Stones

The Celtic Council of Australia had additional concerns to the Chair of Celtic Studies. After the success of the Scotland-Australia Cairn project during the Bicentenary, particularly in encouraging both Australian and Scottish press coverage of the International Gathering of the Clans, Australian Celts (and again the prime movers were the Scots) entered what can be called a period of ethnic monument building. It occurred to Peter Alexander at a barbecue in 1989, where he was discussing "things Celtic", that there ought to be a Celtic monument to complement the strictly Scottish cairn.⁴³ Another reason for wanting to see a Celtic monument was that several towns had bid for the Scotland-Australia Cairn, which the SAHC had no intention of placing anywhere outside Sydney. Offering these places a chance to

⁴¹ ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): Personal letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to "Clare", an otherwise unidentified representative of an Irish-Australian organisation, 19 September [?1985].

⁴² ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): Letter from Joseph Small, Irish Ambassador to Australia, to Prof Stephen Knight, Chair if Celtic Studies Appeal, 5 August 1986.

⁴³ Alexander, interview.

bid for another monument was sure to sustain the public profile of the organisations involved, particularly the SAHC as the main supporter of the CCA. Alexander decided that the best monument would be a ring or array of standing stones, as "the Celts have developed among standing stones for a couple of thousand years."⁴⁴ This is essentially true, however, standing stones are generally neolithic in origin and thus pre-Celtic monuments. Alexander's phrase "developed among" nicely sidesteps this problem.

Maclean did not bid for this new monument, as the town had already gone ahead with its own cairn. Neither did Scone, which was now home to a stone from the ruins of Scone Abbey in Perthshire. Four councils in Sydney made a bid, along with Glen Innes, in the New England district of NSW,⁴⁵ which had been especially rueful at missing out on the Cairn.⁴⁶ It wanted to ensure that its bid was the best one, as the newly established Council for the Standing Stones (chaired, unsurprisingly, by Peter Alexander and including Malcolm Broun on the executive) had made it clear that unlike its Bicentennial counterpart, it did not have a preferred site in mind. The bid was jointly co-ordinated by the District Council (the local authority) and the Glen Innes and District Tourist Association. The submission ran to 46 pages and contained photographs of the proposed site, plans and surveys and other supporting data.⁴⁷ Glen Innes submitted the first proposal received by the Council for the Standing

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ In view of the large Scottish-Australian element in its population, the number of Scottish place names (including Oban, Ben Lomond, Glencoe and Dundee), and the long pre-established usage of "New England" for a region of the US, the name is oddly inappropriate for this region of NSW.

⁴⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): *The Manly Daily*, 15 February 1990, p. 1.

⁴⁷ I. MacDiarmid, *The Story of the Standing Stones*, (Glen Innes: Glen Innes Standing Stones Committee, 1994), p. 1.

Stones, and was looked upon very favourably from the start.⁴⁸ Given the considerable local enthusiasm, combined with much suitable granite in the area, Glen Innes was announced as the site for the "first array of Standing Stones to be put into place ... in 3,000 years" in a joint press conference held by Alexander in Sydney and Glen Innes Mayor, Alderman David Donnelly, on the Isle of Lewis.⁴⁹ The first stone was raised on the site at dawn on 7 September 1991,⁵⁰ and the final one of the 38 stones was put in place in time for the summer solstice in December.⁵¹

The Australian Standing Stones have been given an identity redolent with symbolism. Twenty-four stones with a 25 metre radius make up the main circle based loosely on the Callanish Stone Circle on Lewis. A further four stones lie outside the circle, designating the points of the compass. The north, east and west stones are 33 metres from the centre of the array, while the south stone is 59 metres away. Viewed from above, these cardinal stones form an Ionic cross, "the symbol of the early Celtic Christian Church".⁵² There are also ten stones within the array. In each quadrant, stones mark the winter and summer solstices for sunrise and sunset. The dawn summer solstice stone, when viewed with the cardinals, forms the Southern Cross, the southern hemisphere's most famous constellation, which appears on the Australian flag. Slightly to the west of centre, the array has three stones placed close together. The northern one is the Gaelic Stone, representing the descendants of the

⁴⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Peter Alexander, Chairman, Council for the Standing Stones, to Lex Ritchie, Tourist Promotion Officer, Glen Innes and District Tourist Association, 22 March 1990.

⁴⁹ Glen Innes Standing Stones Committee, "The Standing Stones of Glen Innes", compiled by Craig Ralla, n.d., p. 3.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 26 July 1995.

⁵² MacDiarmid, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

northern, Gaelic speaking Celts: the Irish, Scots and Manx. The southern stone, the Brythonic Stone, represents descendants of the southern, Brythonic speaking Celts of Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. Between them lies the Australis Stone. It was to be a stone for the Glen Innes Aborigines, to be named by them, but after some deliberation they decided to have nothing to do with the project, other than confirming that the site had no special significance for them. Near the array, but not part of it, there are several other stones. The Irish requested an Ogham Stone, which is the biggest on the site, and the Welsh and Cornish, following the "ancient" bardic tradition, had a Gorsedd Stone erected.⁵³ The Australian Standing Stones were dedicated by the Governor of NSW, Admiral Peter Sinclair (wearing a kilt for the occasion) on 1 February 1992.⁵⁴ Since then there have been a number of additions to the site. The high ground overlooking the Australian Standing Stones has been named Tynwald Hill, and a Taigh Dubh, a reproduction of a crofter's black house, has been built upon it. A "sword in the stone", Arthurian style, is a more recent addition.⁵⁵

If a statue of Burns was simply a monument to a great man, and the Scotland-Australia Cairn an ethnic monument, albeit self-consciously, what then do the Australian Standing Stones represent? Certainly it is ethnic in its inception, and the Council for the Standing Stones tried to make it as inclusive (for Celts) as they could. However, whereas the Cairn still has the ethnic connection for many who have seen it

⁵³ The "ancient" bardic and druidic traditions of Wales are themselves constructions of the eighteenth century onwards, the apparent discovery of their Celtic identity a product of research into the Welsh language and its connections to Breton, Cornish and, significantly, Scots and Irish Gaelic – see P. Morgan, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1983]), pp. 62-69. The invented traditions of Cornwall seem to rely almost entirely on those of Wales – see, for example, P. Alexander, "Our Celtic Connection", *Albannaich Astrailia*, 1990/91, p. 13, which includes "a rare photograph of seven Cornish Bards [all Cornish-Australians], duly installed, wearing the blue robes and a Welsh Bard, wearing the green robes".

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 2f; Glen Innes Standing Stones Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵⁵ The author was, however, unsuccessful in his attempt to remove it!



Photograph: C. Johnston

VI. The Australian Standing Stones

since 1988, the Stones probably do not. Their chief importance for Glen Innes is as a tourist attraction. It is not by chance that they are visible from the highway leading into the town from the north, or that Glen Innes uses the Stones, and the Celtic connection, in all of its tourist brochures.⁵⁶ Of course, Mosman, overlooking Sydney Harbour, certainly does not need to rely on the Cairn for tourism,⁵⁷ while country towns, off the beaten track for the most part, have a vested interest in such gimmicks. The Stones have become Glen Innes' major tourist attraction and, Malcolm Broun points out, "virtually anybody driving through the area would pop up and have a look."⁵⁸ The Australian Standing Stones is now the site of the Australian Celtic Festival, held in May each year; a significant tourist boon for Glen Innes.⁵⁹ There is something thoroughly postmodern in this eclectic hijacking of a jumble of displaced cultural symbols, to create packaged "authenticity" for tourists.

It has therefore become a local monument – even a grand monument – but not necessarily a monument to Celtic ethnicity. It is a monument to Celtic history and tradition. The symbolism with which each stone has been invested has carried over to the ceremonies which have been invented for special occasions at the array.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ See, for example, *Glen Innes and Severn Shire: Celtic Country*, (n.d.); Glen Innes Visitor's Centre, "Glen Innes Celtic Capital", (n.d.); NRMA Travel, "The New England Highway: the country way", (1995), p. 31. Maclean, too, relies on its cairn for tourism.

⁵⁷ It is worth noting, however, that the Scotland-Australia Cairn does have its own page on Mosman Council's Internet site. See "The Scotland Australia Cairn", URL <www.mosman.nsw.gov.au/leisure/cairn.html>.

⁵⁸ Broun, interview.

⁵⁹ Affordable accommodation is scarce in Glen Innes (as in all similar small country towns), and several hundred people attend the Festival. Most Clan societies attend, and warn their members to "book early to avoid disappointment": see, for example, "Glen Innes 1998", *Clan Johnston/Association Newsletter*, 26, December 1997, pp. 3f.

⁶⁰ The Glen Innes stone circle has no monopoly here. From the mid-1990s, Edinburgh successfully marketed Hogmanay in the city as a major national and international tourist destination. A brand new "ancient" ceremony was created – a torchlit procession with a Viking-style longship to Calton Hill; where the boat is ceremonially burned.

These are quite numerous, and unprecedented in the life of the SAHC and its associated bodies. Indeed, while the SAHC has relied on highland traditions passed on from Scotland and America (specifically the Kirkin' o' the Tartan in the latter case), the Council for the Standing Stones, and Peter Alexander in particular, have had the chance to give free rein to imagination. Alderman Donnelly, probably seeing some electoral mileage in pageantry and theatre, appears to have played an active part in implementing the first of the new traditions: that there be a limited number of people invested as Guardians of the Australian Standing Stones. Donnelly, as Mayor of Glen Innes, was to be Principal Guardian, and Alexander, Chairman of the CCA, Deputy Principal Guardian. Other Guardians were to be drawn from: Mayors and Shire Presidents of nearby towns "of Celtic foundation"; occupants of certain local government positions, including the Shire Surveyor; and nominees of each of the Celtic communities. The latter included Malcolm Broun, then chairman of the SAHC, Phillip Lee of the Aisling Society (Irish), and the presidents of the Welsh, Cornish and Manx societies of NSW. Alexander also specified that the CCA nominees should include "at least one lady". Ruth Cocks, immediate past president of the Cornish Association of NSW was therefore nominated as "Celtic Lady ... Guardian". These Guardians were to be installed "with appropriate formality or ritual" as "an interesting part" of the dedication ceremony on 1 February 1992. Ceremonial attire was proposed for the Guardians, with "different coloured braid ... for the Principal and Deputy Principal Guardians (... gold) while the other Guardians have another coloured braid." Modified undergraduate gowns were utilised to provide the Guardians' robes, trimmed with the Glen Innes Tartan (primarily a blue set) and appropriate braids. The Guardians were to hold the position for as long as they held the office which entitled them to it, apart from the inaugural Guardians, who "remain as (honorary) Guardians for life."⁶¹

⁶¹ ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): Letter from Peter Alexander, CCA, to David Donnelly, Mayor of Glen



VII. The Celtic Festival, Glen Innes 1995



Photographs: C. Johnston

VIII. Investiture of a Guardian of the Stones, 1995

Over the succeeding years, further invented traditions have proliferated around the Stones. For the dedication of the Gorsedd Stone, for example, Peter Alexander was made chief druid for the occasion; as he put it, "no doubt irregularly".⁶² This dedication required him to drink wine from a ram's horn and say "In each compass direction is the peace", with responses from the assembled people. In 1994, a small grove of oak trees was planted near the Stones, as "there is no doubt that oak trees were a Celtic thing for the druids [and] for the various sacrifices".⁶³ Alexander dedicated this, too, naming it "using ancient Celtic nomenclature – Glen Nemeton"⁶⁴, and pouring a bottle of mead on the ground "in the form of the Celtic wheel of the sun".⁶⁵

The connection between the eclectic invention of tradition and the "branding" and "product development" of the Stones for the local tourist industry is too obvious to require much discussion. The invention of so many linked traditions, some of which, such as the Guardians, there is no attempt to ground in history or to present as a revival of an ancient ceremony, is certainly worth some attention. With their emphasis on formality, official robes, investitures and dedications, they largely fit

Innes, 28 June 1991. There is a marked similarity between Alexander's Guardians of the Stones and The Keepers of the Quaich, an organisation launched by the Scotch Whisky industry in 1989. The latter includes senior industry figures and was intended "to be custodian of the traditions and prestige of Scotch Whisky ... to promote the image and prestige of Scotch Whisky ... to rekindle the mystery of the product. Keepers take an oath, receive the Society's medallion and cummerbund decorated in the special tartan ... authenticity has been applied to as many aspects of The Keepers of the Quaich as possible." – quoted in P. Hills, (ed.), *Scots on Scotch*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991), p. 96. Both are primarily interested in promoting their products and both involve a number of locally influential men (and one woman in the case of the Guardians) in quasi-Masonic, exclusive organisations.

⁶² Alexander, interview.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ P. Alexander, "The Progress of the Celts in 1994", *The Scottish Australian Annual*, (1994), p. 18.

⁶⁵ Alexander, interview.

into Hobsbawm's *schema* as traditions "establishing or symbolizing ... the membership of groups, real or artificial ... legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority".⁶⁶ They are, however, traditions without strong social or communitarian practices attached. They do not attempt to justify Celtic identity, far less Celtic ethnicity. It is not an example of Wallerstein's "pastness", of persuading people to act in some way that they might not otherwise act.⁶⁷ Rather, they are concerned more with presentation and ceremony than with establishing historical continuity. Alexander's ceremonial occasions, in fact, say much more about him than they do about any abstract notion of "Celticity". His demeanour is very formal. In manner and speech he can appear the austere retired military man.⁶⁸ However, he also displays a more romantic and emotional side to his personality, when speaking of his personal relationship with Scotland. This is evident when he speaks of his reaction to being there as "one of immense sentimental pleasure". Even more intensely, he speaks of his first visit to the Isle of Jura, once home to some of his Scottish forebears, as "a very romantic, moving event".⁶⁹

He also shows a very obvious attachment to ceremony, and to the trappings of office, in a way which seems unique even in the institutionalised Scottish community in Sydney. He professes "no great worship of the chiefly system", but at the same time, he freely admits, he created the Clan MacAlister (of which Alexander is a sept)

⁶⁶ E. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in Hobsbawm and Ranger, (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶⁷ I. Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity.", in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991), p. 78.

⁶⁸ Although born in Australia (of "wholly Scottish ancestry" – interview with the author) in 1915, Alexander served as a wireless operator with the RAF in North Africa and Italy during World War II. He returned to Sydney after the war where he practised as an accountant. As well as his involvement at the top of numerous Scottish and Celtic societies, he is also President of the Kenya-Australia Society: see ML 5950 Box 1(4): *passim*.

⁶⁹ Alexander, interview.

in Australia, became its convener, and is his chief's High Commissioner for Australia (another office he continues to hold).⁷⁰ In order to recognise the effort, often unrewarded, that individuals had put into any of Australia's Celtic societies, the CCA, at Alexander's instigation, created a series of Celtic honours, containing five ranks, and carrying postnominals.⁷¹ A series of protocols was designed to determine worthy recipients, and certificates have been presented at different times by the Governor and the Premier of NSW, and by the Governor-General. A number of people have received the lower awards in the order, including Rosemary Nicolson Samios, DUrr, and Malcolm Broun, CyC. Only two people had received the award TEnT to 1995, and only one, Peter Alexander himself, had been awarded the "senior one so far created", CTuC.⁷²

Language and Culture: the Council for Scottish Gaelic

In between the invented formality, pomp and ceremony, there is a genuine interest in Celtic culture, and in Scottish Gaelic, among Scottish-Australians. In fact, it was on hearing Gaelic spoken on his first visit to Jura in the 1960s that Peter Alexander felt

⁷⁰ *ibid.* Many clan chiefs appoint Commissioners and High Commissioners of the clan in other countries. SAHC precedence places High Commissioners just below chiefs with clan chieftains and heirs apparent, allowing them to wear two eagle feathers in their caps. The Earl of Annandale, chief of Clan Johnston, for example, has appointed a High Commissioner for Australia as well as five Commissioners (one each for Victoria, north-east NSW, north-west NSW, southern NSW and the ACT, and Queensland): see *Clan Johnston/e Association Newsletter*, 26, December 1997, p. 33.

⁷¹ The Celtic honours, ranked from junior to senior, including translations and postnominals, are:
Duine Uasal (DUa) – Honoured Person (in Gaelic)
Duine Urramach (DUrr) – Noble Person (in Gaelic)
Cyfaill y Celtiaid (CyC) – Friend of the Celt (in Welsh)
Tus Enorys Ewn (TEnE) – Right Honorable Person (in Cornish)
Chairn Tustey Ceilkagh (CTuC) – Leader in Celtic Learning (in Manx)

See ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): letter from Peter Alexander, CCA, to "Leaders of the Celtic Community", 20 January 1991.

⁷² Alexander, interview.

"moved to do more" about his Scottish heritage.⁷³ He learnt Gaelic, and later formed *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* (the Council for Scottish Gaelic) with other speakers. (It was through his involvement with *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* that he came to the notice of the founders of the SAHC.) Their original purpose was to co-ordinate Scottish Gaelic broadcasts on SBS radio in Sydney, 2EA.⁷⁴ The Irish had successfully lobbied SBS for an Irish Gaelic programme once per month, and *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* persuaded them to introduce Scottish Gaelic too. Later, they were instrumental in providing the support for a monthly broadcast in Welsh.⁷⁵

Perhaps the most ambitious project undertaken by *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* was the revival of the Gaelic/English newspaper, *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* (The Highland Messenger). It was first published in Glasgow in the 1820s but soon folded. In 1856, it was revived in Hobart, the only Gaelic/English newspaper in the southern hemisphere; after 9 monthly issues, however, it foundered in May 1857. Ironically, the Hobart *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* failed because Gaelic speakers objected to the English content, and English speakers did not buy it because there was such a high Gaelic content.⁷⁶ *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* began publishing *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* with issue 10 in 1981, edited by

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ SBS: the Federal Government-funded Special Broadcasting Service. It was conceived as an ethnic broadcasting network, providing comprehensive international news and films and television programmes from around the world. It has been extraordinarily successful. Although its audiences are tiny (often only 3% of the viewing public), it services its niche market extremely well, whilst introducing some more mainstream broadcasting. As it subtitles all of its programming in-house, it has developed one of the world's most accurate and effective subtitling units working in over 100 languages. SBS is also responsible for ethnic radio stations 2EA in Sydney and 3EA in Melbourne, as well as others in other capitals.

⁷⁵ Alexander, interview.

⁷⁶ K. Cardell and C. Cumming, "Scotland's Three Tongues in Australia: Colonial Hamilton in the 1860s and 1870s", *Scottish Studies*, 31, (1991-92), p. 53.

Duncan MacLeod, a Skye-born Gaelic speaker and piper. It ran with more success in its third incarnation, continuing until the late 1980s, inspiring on the way the southern hemisphere's second Gaelic paper, *Tinne* (Link), published in New Zealand from 1986.⁷⁷ By 1984, *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* was an important point of contact for the 100 or so students of Gaelic in and around Sydney in classes organised by *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*,⁷⁸ and looked forward to a day when Gaelic might be "spoken with an Australian accent!"⁷⁹

While *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* had learnt some of the lessons of its past, and was, perhaps, better supported in its third incarnation by a small but loyal readership, *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* struggled with its identity. Its *raison d'être* was to encourage the survival (if not the growth) of Gaelic in Australia through radio broadcasts, *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* and conversational Gaelic classes. However, there was not the same unity of purpose among the Council's executive as was enjoyed by the SAHC, or even the CCA, dominated as it was by Peter Alexander. *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* contained several strong personalities, including Alexander; Duncan MacLeod; Gordon Stott; and Robin MacKenzie-Hunter. All sought their own slightly differing priorities on its executive. In 1982, for example, MacLeod convinced them that: "No more non-Gaidhlig-speaking members ... be added to 'Comhairle'" and, even more prescriptively, "no

⁷⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): *West Highland Free Press*, 26 December 1986, p. 7. *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* only ceased publication in the third instance when MacLeod found the load too heavy. He did so, according to Alexander, "without particular reference to anybody else". *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* is considering another revival, although Alexander admits it is "a little time off if it happens".

⁷⁸ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*, "Points made by D. MacLeod on Agenda suggested by Gordon Stott at last meeting on 24/4/82".

⁷⁹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: P. Alexander, "Looking Back after Two Years", *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, Aireamh XIX, Am Mart 1984, p. 2.

GAIDHLIG speakers unless agreed to by ALL 'Comhairle' members."⁸⁰ This proved unworkable, and to their credit, *Comhairle* reversed this decision within nine months, opening membership once again to "anyone ... who is interested in Scottish Gaelic".⁸¹

Alexander's complex motives his for involvement in Australian Scottish activities has been covered above. For MacLeod, the strongest of the other personalities in *Comhairle*, support for his native Gaelic was uppermost.⁸² As a Sgitheanach, it is no surprise that he was a little sceptical of some of the more outrageous manifestations of Scottishness with which he found himself involved: MacLeod's Scotland was diametrically opposed to Geoffrey Farrow's Scotland. After Scottish Week in 1982, he wrote in *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, reflecting by no means an isolated view of the visiting chiefs, that he was sceptical that their presence in Sydney could do much for Scotland, but it probably helped the cause of Gaelic in Australia, giving the language "more publicity than it has had for many years in this city." At the Grand Scottish Ball, the menu was in Gaelic ("something seen all too seldom even in Scotland") and he was also pleased that if they had to be there, at least "the clan chiefs were hailed on entry in both Gaelic and English."⁸³

The dispute over the presence of chiefs came to a head the following year after the *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* Scottish Week ceilidh. The event was held first in 1981, when the Menzies and Scorrybreac attended as guests of honour. The

⁸⁰ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): "Points made by D. MacLeod", *loc. cit.*

⁸¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Council for Scottish Gaelic, Minutes of Meeting, 7 January 1983.

⁸² Stuart Henderson and Duncan MacLeod, interview with the author, 11 August 1995.

⁸³ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: D. MacLeod, "Sydney's 1982 Scottish Week", *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, Aireamh XIV, An Dubhlachd 1982, p. 8.

ceilidh was not held in 1982, but in '83 the task of organising it once again fell to *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*. Uniquely in the early Scottish Week programmes, they chose not to have an official guest, indeed not to invite any of the visiting chiefs. However, Ian Nicolson of Scorrybreac turned up unexpectedly. Scorrybreac was welcomed by Peter Alexander, he pointed out, but not as a guest of honour as he had been on the previous occasion, "apart from a [sic] brief reference in the Gaelic greeting to those attending [sic]."84 Scorrybreac's dignity had to settle for drawing the raffle at the end of the ceilidh, and he took the occasion to present *Comhairle* with a book of Gaelic verse.85

Alexander became the focus of "criticism of considerable violence"86 from some *Comhairle* activists. In his Chairman's Report early in 1984, while not singling out any *Comhairle* members for criticising him, he mounted a long defence of his actions:

[Scorrybreac] had no reason not to expect to be welcomed as he had on previous occasions. But we just sat him down. It seemed to me simple decency required some courtesy. Nicholson [sic] is an Australian, of several generations, a disabled Australian ex-serviceman, his ancestors did no evil in the Clearances and were in fact themselves driven out to emigrate to New Zealand. As a compromise he was at the end asked to draw the Raffle ...87

Alexander then resigned from the chair. Interviewed about this incident twelve years later, he was evidently still bitter. Without naming names, he blamed members of *Comhairle* who "were very left wing ... (as they were entitled to be) and very anti-

84 ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Peter Alexander, *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*, Chairman's Report, 10 February 1984.

85 *ibid.*

86 *ibid.*

87 *ibid.*

chief" and who still felt contempt "for the Scottish chiefs and their descendants [who are] deemed to have supported the Clearances". These people, he felt, over-reacted to Scorrybreac's presence and to the courtesy with which he was treated. He was succeeded as chairman by someone "in whose hands all of this fell to bits", and attributed the incident as the "beginning ... of the break-up of the Council for Scottish Gaelic."⁸⁸

Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach was fighting a losing battle from its inception. In Scotland, Gaelic is a language spoken by only a tiny minority and there are virtually no Gaelic monoglots. Interest in learning the language is perhaps growing but represents a fraction of students learning foreign languages in Scotland. In Australia, Gaelic has almost no practical application. In the nineteenth century, Highland immigrants lost their Gaelic within two generations. Twentieth century Scottish immigrants were far more likely to come from the central belt and therefore Gaelic speakers were an even smaller minority. In 1991, for example, of the 156,600 Australian residents born in Scotland, only 0.1% claimed to speak English "not well/at all".⁸⁹ Containing as it did so many strong personalities, each with their own agendas and none of whom were able to dominate it, *Comhairle* was finally unable to withstand the internal pressures. With little support outside the Gaelic-speaking clique within the SAHC, a "diplomatic incident", which is all the ceilidh fiasco was, had the potential to burst the fragile bubble.

⁸⁸ Alexander, interview.

⁸⁹ G. Hugo and C. Maher, *Atlas of the Australian People – 1991 Census*, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), p. 117.

'Celticity' and defining the Other

The eventual demise of *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach* was due to infighting – factions with different agendas each trying to dominate Comhairle. Peter Alexander describes this as the "Celtic Curse", for him the centuries-old propensity of the Celts which leads them to fight among themselves, rather than as a united group against others.⁹⁰ Evidence of this "curse" in Australia is easy to find: the Scorrybreac incident and its effect on *Comhairle* is one in a long list. Of course in this example, both sets of protagonists were Scottish-Australians. There are far more examples of antagonism between the Celtic groups, especially between the Scots and the Irish in Australia, and it is important at this point to bear in mind the inevitable bias of the sources on which this research is based. Much of the antagonism is based on old Protestant/Catholic sectarian rivalry. This is not uncommon in Australia when people feel threatened by, for example, the Australian Labor Party's policies. When Paul Keating came out as a republican in 1992, he was criticised for being "bog Irish" (among other things).⁹¹ In 1989 or 1990, the SAHC received an unsigned circular, alleging that Australia was being taken over by the Roman Catholic Church, which already controlled the Federal Government and all High Court and State Supreme Court judges, the health and the education systems, the ALP and the Trade Unions. It claimed that "roman catholic irish [*sic*] women are the storma [*sic*] troopers of the roman catholic [*sic*] faith" and that Irish Roman Catholics, "the largest ethnic group

⁹⁰ See, for example, ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Peter Alexander, *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*, Chairman's Report, 10 February 1984. Alexander is not alone in identifying this phenomenon. Referring to the problems within one clan society, Alastair Campbell wrote: "If the Scot did not spend his time bickering with his own, we would have ruled the world long since!" – ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 December 1987.

⁹¹ This was quite a commonly expressed view in "vox populi" interviews and on the letters pages of newspapers across Australia. Other views were more extreme. At a meeting of Scottish groups in Sydney in 1994, the author mentioned Keating and republicanism only to be accosted by a middle-aged, well-presented woman (the wife of a retired Principal of a Sydney private School), who claimed "He's mad! He's IRA! Keating's first loyalty is to the IRA!"

in Australia" received "billions of dollars in support" (from whom is not specified, but by calling the Irish an ethnic group, the implication is that the money comes from the Government). Ominously, it asked "how much of this goes to the I.R.A.?"⁹²

Among members of the SAHC, opinion is divided about the Celtic Council and its efforts. Many do not take an active part in activities that are presented as Celtic, rather than strictly Scottish, even when, as with the Chair of Celtic Studies and the Australian Standing Stones, the Scots are the driving force. Sally Ross, Secretary of the SAHC since 1993, said she was "in two minds" about "the Celtic part" of the Heritage Council's activities, as pushing the Celtic connection meant giving support to the Irish and the Welsh as well. Admitting that she was openly discriminating, she felt it was "more important to push the Scottish, certainly over the Welsh and the Irish", since "the Scots are very withdrawn sort of people, they don't go round like the Irish blowing their own trumpets".⁹³

For their part, Irish-Australians are not enthusiastic participants in "things Celtic". It is telling that at the Australian Celtic Festival in Glen Innes in 1995 (attended by the author of this thesis) more than half of the participants represented Scottish societies, with the Cornish the next biggest group. The Irish, numerically the largest Celtic group in Australia, were notable for their almost complete absence. From earliest white settlement, the Irish have always had a strong ethnic identity in Australia, through everything from the Catholic Church, the ALP and, for a while, the break-away Democratic Labor Party; to the Irish pubs common in many Australian cities, St Patrick's Day marches and Irish bands. In many ways, the Irish were

⁹² ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Untitled, unsigned, undated circular, c. 1989-1990. For a fuller text of this item, see Appendix 5.

⁹³ Sally Ross, interview with the author, 23 August 1995.

Australia's first ethnic minority, suffering discrimination at the hands of the Anglo-Scottish Protestant dominant culture.⁹⁴ They have, therefore, a greater experience of being an ethnic group in Australia than the Scots and so less need for an overtly constructed pan-Celtic identity. This also explains the relatively large Cornish presence in Glen Innes. For them, as for the Scots and the numerically inferior Welsh and Manx, their Celticity is now an important part of their response to multiculturalism, from within the dominant white Australian culture.

For Celtic identity to work then, there had to be a non-Celtic "other". In Alexander's construction of Celticity, there was only one candidate: the Saxon. By constructing the Saxon as "other", he could do two things. Firstly, he could provide a common enemy against whom he could unite the disparate groups within the Celtic fold, and secondly, he could use the Saxon "other" to prove that Celts really were an ethnic group, as they were not actually part of the dominant culture. This creates as many anomalies for the historian of the growth of ethnic consciousness as it solves for Peter Alexander. The logic of the Saxon – that is, English – origin of Australian civic society dictates that the Scottish groups which bang on about Scotland as an integral part of Britain, and the British heritage of Australia, must actually be wrong, and that the Scots could not therefore have made the contributions to Australian medicine, law, education, and any number of other "civilising" influences, with which

⁹⁴ The literature on Irish-Australia is vast. One of the most accessible (and certainly one of the best known) is O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*. Much has been written on Irish-Australian historiography, including: G.C. Boltoan, "The Irish in Australian Historiography", in C. Kiernen, (ed.), *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988: Bicentennial Essays*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986), pp. 6-29; O. MacDonagh, "The Irish in Australia: A General View", in MacDonagh and Mandle, (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 155-174; B. Reece, "Writing about the Irish in Australia", in J. O'Brien and P. Travers, (eds.), *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, (Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1991), pp. 226-242; G. Partington, *The Australian Nation: its British and Irish Roots*, (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publications, 1994). Perhaps the most interesting development in Irish-Australian history has been the increasing number of books on personal experiences of migration to, and life in, Australia. See, for example: D. Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994); P. O'Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia*, (Sydney: NSW University Press, 1984) (text of letters ed. B. Trainor).

they are credited. More significantly, it begs the question as to why an "English-Australian" identity has never asserted itself. Australians of English descent are, after all, easily the largest single element in the population of Australia, yet they do not have the same ethnic recognition that the Scots and the Irish have. -The reason for this is perhaps because English-Australians could never be classed as a minority group, and the feeling is that ethnics are minorities: how easily the phrase "ethnic minority" slips off the pen or tongue! The corollary is, therefore, that only minorities, or those who perceive themselves to be minorities, fear that their way of life is somehow threatened, and that only they need self-assertion of this kind.⁹⁵

In his many references to the "Celtic Curse", Alexander often refers also to "the Saxon": that the Celts fight each other rather than joining forces to resist "the Saxon".⁹⁶ The historical consequence of this was that the Celts, "the founders of European civilisation"⁹⁷ were driven to the Atlantic fringes, and ultimately to emigrate to North America and the Antipodes. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this construction was the SAHC's campaign to have the various governments in Australia drop the usage in official documents of "Anglo-Celtic", to describe the dominant culture of the country.⁹⁸ Their first sortie was with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Under the question on ethnic origin in the

⁹⁵ One of the earliest works on the ideology Anglo-Saxonness in Australia is D. Cole, "'The Crimson Thread of Kinship': Ethnic Ideas in Australia, 1870-1914", *Historical Studies*, 14, 56, (1971), pp. 511-525. More recently, Peter Cochrane has embarked on a full-length study of Anglo-Saxon identity in Australia: see P. Cochrane, "Anglo-Saxonness: Ancestors and Identity", off-print, (1995).

⁹⁶ See, for example, ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Peter Alexander, Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach, Chairman's Report, 10 February 1984; ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 2(2): Letter from Peter Alexander to the Editor, *Scots Independent* (Stirling), 16 April 1983.

⁹⁷ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Peter Alexander, Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach, Chairman's Report, 10 February 1984.

⁹⁸ Ironically, the term was introduced to recognise the impact of Irish culture on colonial Australia, a country that has never tried to classify itself as having a dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (the North American WASP) culture.

Australian Census, the ABS had traditionally lumped white Australians under the category heading "United Kingdom and Eire". Writing on behalf of a number of Scottish groups, including the Highland Society, the Clans Council of Australia and the Celtic Council, the SAHC wrote to the ABS encouraging them to include Celts as a separate group. They opposed the use of the UK and Eire heading, as it had "little value" in their view, grouping as it did "Anglo-Saxon and Celtic people with little in common except for some of them the sharing of the English language, and for some the English Common Law". Perhaps realising that a shared language and legal system was quite something to have in common, the writer went on to explain that grouping Celts with Saxons was "also frankly quite offensive to most Celts ... for historic reasons I need not list in detail."⁹⁹ They were only partially successful in having this changed. Question 15 in the 1986 Census asked: "What is each person's ancestry? ... For example, Greek, English, Indian, Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese etc."¹⁰⁰ In the lead-up to the Census, Peter Alexander wrote to numerous newspaper letters pages urging people to describe their ancestry under the ethnicity question "as Irish or Scottish or Welsh or Manx or Breton or indeed Cornish – NOT by the vague terms 'United Kingdom' or 'British' which reveal no clear information in relation to the Celtic contribution to Australia."¹⁰¹

They had more success a few years later with a CCA submission to the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission. Their submission said, in part: "The history of the Celtic peoples in Europe is one of resistance to, and oppression by, the English. Therefore,

⁹⁹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484: Letter from Jack Lamont, Assistant Secretary, SAHC, to the Australian Statistician, 7 June 1984.

¹⁰⁰ I. Castles, *The 1986 Census Dictionary*, (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1986), Appendix A: "30 June 1986 Census 86", sample form, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): Newspaper clipping (most probably from *The Australian*), letter from Peter Alexander, CCA, published 26 September 1986.

the term Anglo-Celtic is offensive."¹⁰² In response, the EAC resolved to stop using the term, although it did not propose an alternative. In its place, EAC chairman Stepan Kerkyasharian said, the Commission would call them "Australians of English-speaking background".¹⁰³ Although there is no reaction extant in the archives from the CCA, nor was Peter Alexander forthcoming when interviewed, it is probable that they will have considered it a pyrrhic victory. They were freed from their insult (in NSW at least), but were still to be grouped as "English-speaking", thus negating their precious Gaelic. Perhaps the most opportunistic expression of the English as "other" can be found in Rosemary Nicolson Samios's addendum to the letter sent to Senator Susan Ryan regarding funding for the Geoffrey Farrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal. In the copy she sent to Peter Alexander, she added: "I made some enquiries and found out that Susan Ryan is a Celt, Catholic and to some extent anti-English – hence this letter [soliciting funds]."¹⁰⁴

There is very little recorded opposition, in Scottish-Australian institutions in NSW, to anti-English sentiment, despite the number of societies that seem to have as strong an attachment to Britain as to Scotland. These include Clan Campbell, the biggest organised clan in Australia, and the various Burns Clubs, all, it appears, happily singing "God Save the Queen". The editor of the *Southern Scot*, however, did feel the need to comment:

¹⁰² Quoted in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 1991, p. 7. The phrasing was similar to that in a letter sent to Prime Minister Bob Hawke regarding the offence the term was causing. See ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from William MacLennan, SAHC, to Bob Hawke, 5 April 1990.

¹⁰³ Quoted in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 March 1991, p. 7. This mouthful was quickly rejected by many people. The same item reported a demographer connected to the ABS, for example, who said he would continue to use "Anglo-Celt". Prof Patrick O'Farrell, while welcoming the decision, preferred "old Australian" – a term which, incidentally, disenfranchises not only indigenous Australians, but also the significant minority of the earliest settlers from outwith Britain and Ireland.

¹⁰⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 2(2): Handwritten note from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Peter Alexander, appended to copy of her letter to Senator Susan Ryan, 31 October 1984.

Our task ... is to make sure that the best of the Old World cultures are incorporated into the New. My activities ... are aimed both at helping to preserve Scottish culture (in Scotland) against the ever pressing influence of Saxon culture and also to try to ensure that the Celtic cultures contribute, as they should, to our developing Australian culture.

... we are missing the point a bit when we begin to argue about Celt vs Anglo-Celt. Yes, there is a big difference ... but ultimately we are, or should be, concerned about building the future Australian culture and some blurring of that difference is probably inevitable in the process.¹⁰⁵

While objecting to the antagonism between English- and Scottish-Australians, he still tacitly accepts the essentialised character of the English as Saxons. This does more to explain the dearth of opposition to the position: it is also tacitly accepted that it is very much an artificial, pragmatic construct meant to keep the Scots and, to a lesser extent the Irish, in the public eye. As long as the SAHC Annual contained a message of greeting from the Queen for Scottish Week, then there was no need to fear the rhetoric of anti-Englishness. It must be noted, however, that there is a small, but vocal and well organised, SNP supporters group in NSW, although their members are probably attracted more by the romance of an independent Scotland than with the specifics of its governance.

Conclusion: Scottish-Australians and the Celtic Revival

The Celtic tradition is an undeniable part of Scottish identity as it is practised the world over; but this study suggests it is more so in New South Wales than in Scotland itself. In the modern Australian construction of Scottish ethnicity, the cultural artefacts of Scotland are often invested in its Celtic past. Some of the more eclectic suggestions made to the SAHC have been tied to Celtic tradition. In 1983, for example, Peter Alexander suggested that the SAHC should convene a Gaelic Mod to

¹⁰⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 15(19): J. MacLennan, "Some More Thoughts on Multiculturalism", Editorial, *The Southern Scot*, 4, May 1991, p. 38.

coincide with the Southern Hemisphere Clan Gathering (Scottish Week 1985) and an International Mod during the International Gathering of the Clans.¹⁰⁶ In 1991, Malcolm Broun put forward a more ambitious proposal for consideration by the CCA, concerning the annual Celtic Festival to be held at the Australian Standing Stones. He suggested that, as part of the Festival, a competition of "Traditional Celtic Skills" should be held.¹⁰⁷ In this detailed submission (which ran to nine pages), Broun explained how such a competition could be run, how it would be judged, what the competitors would wear, and what the prizes should be. Competitors who showed outstanding ability in two or more of Broun's categories would be proclaimed Bards of the Glen Innes Festival.¹⁰⁸ Neither Broun's Bardic competition nor Alexander's Mods ever got any further than ideas on paper.¹⁰⁹ By contrast, regional Eisteddfods were and are a central part of the cultural and social calendar of rural Australia. It was perhaps felt that specifically Celtic competition was too remote from Australian cultural reality, and that such events, with a probable very small field of competitors, might actually do more harm than good. There is, though, an undeniable interest in the Gaelic language and in Celtic culture among many Scottish-Australians. The Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal caught their imagination in a different way to Scottish Week or the Scotland-Australia Cairn.

¹⁰⁶ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Letter from Peter Alexander to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 16 June 1983.

¹⁰⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 16(19): M. Broun, "Celtic Council/Council for the Standing Stones: Proposal for a Celtic Festival", 17 January 1991. The "Traditional Celtic Skills" identified by Broun were:

- a) Poetry (recitation and composition);
- b) Song (performance and composition);
- c) Music (as above);
- d) Story-telling (both traditional and new); and
- e) Satire or invective (directed at enemies of the clan or nation or at activities or beliefs with which the performer disagrees).

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 1f, 7f.

¹⁰⁹ A fact of which Broun in particular was rueful: "... they never liked the idea of competition, and I'm not sure why. I think they would have increased the interest in [the Celtic Festival] with a few competitive events ... but they never wanted that." – Broun, interview.

Effectively, here is an attempt to add something else to the construction of Scottishness. Emphasising Celtic culture asserts a more tangibly separate (perhaps to some, authentic) ethnic identity. It asserts a distinct culture and, more importantly, that that culture is more ancient (and noble) than mere "Saxon" culture. It asserts a bond of unity between Celts. But in its artificiality lies its problem. Too many Scottish-Australians do not want to be involved because it is not purely Scottish, or because they do not speak Gaelic and have no wish to learn. After all, despite the way Scottishness is presented in Australia, many Scottish-Australians – indeed it could be contested the majority – do not trace their ancestry back to the Highlands. Thus another of the ironies of Scottish-Australian identity is unveiled. Scotland, and what it means to be Scottish, has been essentialised, so that regional identities within Scotland are ignored and a unitary Gaelic "Scottishness" imposed. Against this, people refuse to be classified in ways they do not like. Differences in how Scottishness is perceived in Australia are therefore obvious, and it is not surprising that many Scottish-Australians refuse to be swept into a Celtic identity. Scottish-Australians in New South Wales are expressing different aspects of identity which they effectively deny to Scotland itself.

Celtic culture as constructed by the CCA and its associated bodies is also a very exclusive one. Those that might be expected to be part of a more general Celtic revival, for example, twenty-somethings with dreadlocks, tattoos, pierced noses, etc., are not welcome. A few do attend the Australian Celtic Festival at Glen Innes, but they are very much in the fringes, and certainly not seeing what they expected.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ It is worth noting that the Celtic Festival attracts a number of fringe groups. The (essentialised) "grunge Celts" make their own entertainment despite the disapproving looks from the (essentialised) civilised Celts. The Celtic Festival in 1995 was also attended by a group calling themselves "Israel's Heraldry", who concern themselves with the Israelite origin of the British race and the blood relationship between the Queen and Christ. This is combined with some singularly abhorrent views

The Celtic Council's is a sanitised, controlled Celticity, which puts on five hours of Welsh singing, Scottish piping and Irish dancing, parades through the town, dawn services and black tie balls. They have appropriated a manifestation of popular culture and tried to make it high culture: to theorise it and give it an historic basis. It is doomed to be a project that never has across-the-board support, although those who do support it carry enough weight to keep it alive for the foreseeable future. Unsurprisingly, it has not provided the unifying factor with which to define Scottish-Australian identity, despite its best attempts at locating the "Saxon" as the "other". The inescapable truth, that the Scots belong to the dominant majority in Australia remains: multiculturalism and the construction of ethnicity is, in reality, their "other".

about Africans, Asians and Aborigines. They are, quite simply, white supremacists without the black shirts.

CHAPTER 6

An Australian Highland Chief?

**Nicolson of Scorrybreac: Clan and tradition in
Scottish-Australian identity**

Doth any here know me? This is not Lear:
Doth Lear walk thus? speak thus? Where are his eyes?
Either his notion weakens, his discernings
Are lethargied – Ha! waking? 'tis not so.
Who is it that can tell me who I am?

William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, I, iv.

Introduction: Elements of Scottish identity in Australia

The preceding three chapters have examined the new, ethnic construction of Scottishness in Australia, its inherent problems and the ways in which they have been dealt with by the Scottish Australian Heritage Council and its associated bodies. This has cast some light on the continuities with, and departures from, traditional expressions of what may be termed Scottish Diaspora identity, examined in Chapter 2. What has emerged is a constructed identity, both complexly multi-layered and simply appealing. Attachment to invented traditions, especially Romantic Highlandism, has continued unfettered alongside the ethnic construction engendered by Australian multiculturalism in the late-twentieth century.

The most obvious manifestation of continuity is the Heritage Council's affinity for the clan chiefs and all they are deemed to represent in Australia. As previously seen, from the outset, clan chiefs, whether titled or not, have been prominent guests at successive Sydney Scottish Weeks. Many hours of work by way of correspondence with the Lyon Court has gone into trying to establish an order of precedence for the clan chiefs and, by extension, the clans themselves. This love of chiefs has been explained as enhancing Scottish-Australians as an elite within Australia, a people belonging to noble or aristocratic lines either through sharing a surname with nobility, or sharing the wider kinship of a given clan's septs. The

SAHC has been able to attract more chiefs to Australia in the 17 years since 1981 than had visited in the previous 197.

It has also spent considerable time cultivating Scottish nobility resident in Australia. A retired postman in Tasmania became Earl of Dunmore in 1981. Both Dunmore and his heir, Viscount Fincastle, have acted at different times as Patrons of Scottish Week, as well as attending as official guests. The same is true of Lady Kirstie Sagers, daughter of the Duke of Montrose, a Proclaimed Chieftain of Clan Graham; and Lord Forres, who became particularly associated with the Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal.¹ The SAHC, however, had another resource: Australia is home to six Clan Chiefs, more than any other country outside the UK. Peter Noel Lamont of that Ilk is a Catholic priest in Sydney; John Henderson of Fordell is a retired doctor in Queensland; and the Menzies of Menzies left Scotland in the 1960s to farm avocados in Western Australia. He returned to Scotland in 1998. Sir William Broun, Bt., succeeded his cousin as baronet and chief of the Lowland Clan Broun (of which Malcolm Broun is a leading member) in 1995. Torquil MacLeod of the Lewes, also from Tasmania, has been an early and enthusiastic supporter of the SAHC since its first Scottish Week.²

The sixth of the Australian-resident chiefs is Ian Nicolson of Scorrybreac, chief of Clan MacNicol. His grandfather emigrated from Skye to New Zealand late in the nineteenth century and his father migrated from there to Tasmania, where the current Scorrybreac was born in 1921. After a stint of journalism, he served in the Middle East, North Africa and Borneo during the Second World War, then returned

¹ For these genealogies, see C. Kidd and D. Williamson, (eds.), *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage*, (London and New York: Debrett's Peerage Ltd., 1990), pp. P 399-P 401 [Dunmore], P 478 [Forres], P 868 [Montrose].

² MacLeod of the Lewes is chief of a major branch of the wider Clan MacLeod.

to farm in Tasmania and NSW. He eventually retired to Ballina, on the NSW north coast. He was, and is, a regular guest at Scottish Week, and was fortunate to have as a kinswoman the Heritage Council's redoubtable secretary, Rosemary Nicolson Samios. Due in no small part to this connection, he became very involved in SAHC activities, becoming, for example, editor of the Annual after the death of Ferrow. Of the chiefs and aristocrats living in Australia, there is little doubt that Scorrybreac was the favourite in Heritage Council circles.

Nicolson of Scorrybreac, Lord Carnock, and the disputed chiefship

For these reasons, an analysis of the dispute which unfolded in the 1980s is especially informative regarding both the Heritage Council's version of Scottishness and regarding perhaps its most significant, certainly its most influential, member, Rosemary Nicolson Samios. Scorrybreac had always considered himself chief of the Nicolsons, as his father and grandfather had before him. He was elected to the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs in 1983.³ At no time did any doubt about Scorrybreac's chiefship enter the minds of anyone involved in these Scottish activities.

In 1982 a London solicitor, David Nicolson, succeeded his father as Baron Carnock. The title dated back to his grandfather, Sir Arthur Nicolson, Bt., of Carnock, who had served as British Ambassador in both Madrid and St Petersburg before the First World War. He ended his career as Permanent Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was made Baron Carnock in 1916. David Nicolson,

³ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochnaw, Court of the Lord Lyon, 9 December 1983.

4th Baron Carnock,⁴ had some genealogical work undertaken concerning a second Nova Scotian baronetcy dating from the seventeenth century.⁵ These he felt he could successfully prove he was entitled to inherit, and he petitioned the Lyon Court late in 1982. At the same time, his genealogist realised that he had a claim to be Nicolson of that Ilk and this, too, was part of Carnock's petition to the Lyon Court.⁶

Suddenly, Scorrybreac's credentials were threatened. This was something neither the SAHC nor Rosemary Nicolson Samios could let pass, and they swung into action behind their candidate. Before the Lyon Court's decision was handed down, Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote to the Unicorn Pursuivant, Sir Crispin Agnew, expressing concern over Scorrybreac's position in light of Carnock's petition. Agnew responded with the opinion that Carnock's position did not "affect the position of Scorrybreac in the whole Clan Nicolson, because he retains his status as head of the highland branch of the Clan".⁷ This was far from a suitable response. Firstly, it demoted Scorrybreac from the status of a Clan Chief to the subordinate status of a branch chief – little better than a chieftain, in the eyes of Rosemary Nicolson Samios and the SAHC. Secondly, and more significantly, it went against the entire Highland

⁴ Arthur, 1st Baron, was succeeded by his son Frederick, who was in turn succeeded by his brother, Erskine, 3rd Baron. See Kidd and Williamson, (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. P 219.

⁵ The Baronetcy of Nicolson of Carnock was awarded to Thomas Nicolson of Edinburgh in 1637. His brother, John, was made Baronet of Lasswade in 1629. The Lasswade title was presumed extinct at the death of the 7th Baronet in 1743, but Carnock's genealogist was able to prove that the two lines merged, and that the 6th Baronet of Carnock was also 8th Baronet of Lasswade. See *ibid.*

⁶ *The Scotsman*, 29 November 1983, p. 7. The Lord Lyon knew that another branch of the Nicolson family had been recognised by a Scottish sheriff in the 1820s, but that line was believed to have died out in Australia in the 1950s. Lyon ordered that an advertisement intimating Carnock's claim be placed in the *Melbourne Age*. However, there is no indication that this line was Scorrybreac's, as he was at this time a member of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs.

⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Quoted in letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Sir Crispin Agnew, 9 December 1983.

construction of so much Scottish-Australian identity. In her reply to Agnew, Rosemary Nicolson Samios was unequivocal:

You are surely not saying that we Highlanders are in the same clan as Lowlanders who by coincidence have the same surname and who otherwise have nothing in common whatever with us highland Nicolson – no common ancestry, no kinship, no common culture, no common language?⁸

This was to become the basis for Scorrybreac's and the Heritage Council's opposition to Carnock's claim to be chief over Scorrybreac: that as a Lowlander, Carnock could not claim to be chief of the Highland Clan MacNicol. They had one very significant public relations advantage: while Carnock looked like the retired London solicitor he was, Scorrybreac looked like a romantic Highland Chief in a Victorian print, with grizzled red hair and beard and a penchant for wearing the kilt and carrying a crook. Scorrybreac was photogenic in a way that Carnock could never hope to be.

An extensive newspaper campaign was mounted in Australia in support of Scorrybreac, and he even managed to get some press coverage in Britain.⁹ In Australia, a great deal of public interest was created, though not all of it favourable to Scorrybreac. In 1984, for example, an item appeared in *The Australian* about the dispute which came down firmly in favour of Scorrybreac.¹⁰ In response, a letter appeared from Arthur Rutherford Nicholson, calling the article "offensive and inaccurate". He claimed that his own ancestors were "the true Nicholsons – Lowland Nicholsons" and that as far as he was concerned "those Highlanders who call

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *The Times* ran a front page article on Carnock's successful claim to the chiefship – 12 September 1984 – followed four days later by an article on Scorrybreac's claim which included a picture of him in his full chiefly regalia – 16 September 1984, p. 3.

¹⁰ *The Australian*, 16 March 1984. *The Australian* is a Murdoch press newspaper, and Australia's only national daily broadsheet.

themselves by our name are mere pretenders. They speak a foreign language more like Irish than Scots and whatever their name is I'm sure it's not Nicholson." Highlanders, he pointed out, were:

a tiny minority in Scotland who have made up for a lack of culture with their lawlessness and general nuisance value. ... [with] no real culture – instead ... they wear a strip of tartan (like savages wore skins), then call it a kilt to give it an air of distinction, then parade cap in hand for more tourist dollars.

Furthermore, he continued, they were traitors for having supported the "dissolute" Bonnie Prince Charlie. He concluded: "From your article it appears that Lord Carnock – my distant cousin – is doing no more than exercising his right to go to court. If he succeeds in putting these Highlanders in their place, then good luck to him."¹¹

Arthur Rutherford Nicholson obviously felt very strongly about the issue, perhaps because of his family connection to Carnock. Inevitably, he was himself taken to task on the letters page the following week. Stanley Sutherland of Watsonia in Victoria took "the strongest exception to the remarks made" by A.R. Nicholson. Sutherland, it appears, was probably a Scottish immigrant: "Today, unfortunately for Scots everywhere, the fact remains that we are strangers in our own land ... Any intelligent person could expound ad infinitum on the culture of my native race and their progeny at home and abroad." In answer to A.R. Nicholson, he described how the "true and loyal Scot" should feel sympathetic towards the 1745 rebels, as "History details [the 'Bloody' Duke of Cumberland's] devastation of the northern counties ...

¹¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03488: Newspaper clipping of letter from Arthur Rutherford Nicholson to *The Australian*, 20 March 1984.

the English ... replac[ing] our nobility ... [and trying] unsuccessfully to eradicate the native languages by Anglicisation in the schools".¹²

From Tasmania, Roddy Maclean felt "compelled to comment on [his] unfortunate attempt to resurrect the Lowlanders' ancient disposition of ill-will towards the Scottish Highlander." He insisted that Gaelic was not a foreign language but the "original language of the Scots", that due to the clearances Highlanders were a minority in Scotland and that "'lawful authority' [was absent] when thousands of simple Highland families were evicted and their houses burned". Finally, he pointed out that Scotland, "the society which produced the finest illuminated manuscript in history, The Book of Kells (taken for safekeeping in Ireland, away from the ravages of Norsemen) ... can hardly be described as 'lacking in culture'".¹³

Peter Alexander took more direct action over Arthur Rutherford Nicholson's letter, getting James Samios, husband of Scorrybreac's kinswoman Rosemary and recently elected Liberal Member of the Legislative Council of NSW,¹⁴ to raise it at the Ethnic Communities' Council of NSW. In a letter to a political colleague, Alexander described the letter as "quite scurrilous ... The old tourist-exploiting, feckless brigands stuff, believe it or not", and the writer as "a representative of Lord Carnock."¹⁵ That Alexander went as far as to raise the letter at a meeting of the ECC, and to have it raised by so authoritative a figure within the Council, is indication of

¹² ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Newspaper clipping of letter from Stanley Sutherland to *The Australian*, 27 March 1984.

¹³ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Newspaper clipping of letter from Roddy Maclean to *The Australian*, 27 March 1984.

¹⁴ The Legislative Council is the Upper House of the NSW Parliament. James Samios was a former Chairman of the NSW ECC.

¹⁵ ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): Letter from Peter Alexander to Mairi Stewart, SNP Headquarters, Edinburgh, 28 March 1984.

the seriousness with which the letter, and the challenge to Scorrybreac, was taken by the SAHC. Once again, the legitimacy of their Highland construction of Scottishness was threatened by a Lowlander, and worse, one resident in England.

The Rosemary Nicolson Samios's tactic, fully supported by the SAHC, was to present Scorrybreac as a genuine Highland Chief with supporters and followers: with a clan to lead. She wrote in a circular: "One of the most ancient of Scottish clans, the Hebridean Clan Nicaill, is to be raised simultaneously in both hemispheres."¹⁶ It was made very clear that "Clan Nicaill is Celtic in origin, as are all true 'Scots' clans." It went on to give a brief history of the clan, tracing its origins to Ireland and its subsequent migration to the Isle of Skye in the eighth century. From the thirteenth century, the clan, it was claimed, "lived more or less peacefully in Skye, remaining aloof from the bloody feuding of the MacDonalds and the MacLeods"; although, lest any reader doubt the spirit of the clan, it was quick to draw attention to the fact that "there was almost always a Nicolson sitting in the Council of the Lords of the Isles and there were a number of them 'out' with the MacDonalds in the '45 rising."¹⁷

Although the clan was organised in Australia much as any other clan society was, with regular meetings, a membership list and a Newsletter, *Clan Nicaill News*, it never called itself a Clan Society. Rather, Scorrybreac was Chief of Chlann Nicaill, rather than President, and Rosemary Nicolson Samios *Ban-runaire*, or secretary to the Chief, rather than secretary of the Clan Society. From the outset, the clan was constructed to appear authentically Highland and Gaelic. Wherever possible, office

¹⁶ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Ancient Clan to be Raised", circular, n.d. The use of "both hemispheres" was cleverly vague. The impression given was that the clan was being raised in Australia and Scotland, however, the northern hemisphere raising was actually in the US. While this may not have fitted Scorrybreac's claim to have support within Scotland, the US link was to prove very important financially.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

bearers were given "ancient" Gaelic titles, thanks to the clan's historian, the Gaelic-speaker Seán Keane from Tasmania, former employee of the Lyon Court and *sennachie* to the Chief. The Newsletter, edited by Rosemary Nicolson Samios, was Scorrybreac's main organ of propaganda. Much of the content was inevitably concerned with Heritage Council events, but it also contained continual, often quite subtle, support for Scorrybreac. Reporting on Scottish Week 1983, Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote: "The sun shone as the 5 Chiefs ... including our own Chief, sailed across the harbour to Manly".¹⁸ In another edition, she informed clan members how to apply for Arms from the Lyon Court, explaining that the less complicated (or differenced) a coat of arms was, the more senior the holder within the clan, since "in clannish Scotland, where plain arms are the mark of a Chief, there can only be one Chief of any surname."¹⁹ This last was an obvious dig at Carnock's claim for the Nicolson Chiefship.

Scorrybreac was not idle during the period that Carnock's claim was being considered by the Lyon Court. In the quest for recognition in Scotland, he made it to the Museum of Scottish Tartan's "Kilted Top 20", along with the Prince of Wales and a street sweeper in Fife.²⁰ In the quest for authenticity, he made enquiries to Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach about learning Gaelic in 1982,²¹ and Duncan

¹⁸ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: *Clan Nicail News*, January 1984.

¹⁹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: *Clan Nicail Newsletter*, n.d.

²⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 18(19): Unidentified, undated newspaper clipping, 1982. The Scottish Tartans Museum is situated in Comrie, Perthshire, and has "acquired a reputation as a quasi-official authority on the Garb of the Old Gaul" – G. Rosie, "Museumry and the Heritage Industry", in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), p. 166. In the early '80s, it was under the influence of one Micheil MacDonald, a self-styled doctor and authority on "ancient clan tartans". He was a guest of the SAHC for Scottish Week in 1983 and invented a number of "authentic" tartans for Scottish-Australians, notably (and most successfully) for the Lowland Clan Broun. He was exposed as a fake not long after his Australian trip – Samios, interview.

²¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Undated note from Scorrybreac, 1982.

MacLeod suggested that Comhairle "would like to think that his example will be followed by other Highland Chiefs".²² At the Clan Nicail Assembly in 1983, Rosemary Nicolson Samios and Scorrybreac managed to convince the clan that "as we are a Gaelic speaking Clan, we should become a Financial Friend of the Sabhal Mor Ostaig (Gaelic College) in Sleat, Skye."²³ There appears to be some reticence to quantify Scorrybreac's progress in the Gaelic. After the ceilidh organised by Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach, at which Scorrybreac inadvertently caused such friction, Peter Alexander referred to him as saying "some few words" in Gaelic.²⁴ Rosemary Nicolson Samios, however, had no hesitation in describing him as an "Australian born Gaelic speaking chief" eighteen months later.²⁵

Despite this mobilisation, the SAHC were under no illusion that they would be able to affect the Lyon Court's decision, and in an interlocutor dated 3 September 1984, Carnock was recognised as Sir David Nicolson of that Ilk, 16th Baronet of Lasswade, 14th Baronet of Carnock, 4th Baron Carnock, Chief of Clan Nicolson.²⁶ Scorrybreac was reduced in status to branch chief.

²² ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: D. MacLeod, "Sydney's 1982 Scottish Week", *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, Aireamh XIV, An Dubhlachd 1982, p. 8.

²³ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Minutes of the 2nd Clan Nicail Assembly, 3 December 1983, reprinted in *Clan Nicail News*, July 1984, p. 1.

²⁴ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842 Box 1(2): Peter Alexander, Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach, Chairman's Report, 10 February 1984.

²⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Highland Chief Administers Clan from Australian Headquarters", Memo, 27 August 1985.

²⁶ Kidd and Williamson, (eds.), *loc. cit.*

"... to see if two colonials could make a chief"²⁷

Rosemary Nicolson Samios was undaunted and with Geoffrey Ferrow had already decided that when Carnock's claim was recognised, they would take on the Lyon Court to see if they could "make a chief" – make the Lord Lyon recognise their man as an independent chief and the Highland Clan Nicaill, based on Skye, as a clan independent from the Lowland Nicolsons of Lord Carnock. Ferrow died, however, three months before Carnock's victory. Rosemary Nicolson Samios's and Scorrybreac's first move was to lodge their own formal petition to the Lyon Court, or, in the language of the Press Release: "to overturn the ruling and restore Highland independence to [the] clan".²⁸ Following the advice of Sir Crispin Agnew, the petition was not in the name of Nicolson of Scorrybreac, but as MacNicol of MacNicol and Scorrybreac.²⁹ The change was more than merely cosmetic: Scorrybreac had to change his name by Deed Poll from Nicolson to MacNicol.³⁰

Meanwhile, the unofficial campaign, which had been going for as long as Carnock's petition was before the Lyon Court, intensified. It was clear to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, who was effectively his campaign manager, that not only would

²⁷ Rosemary Nicolson Samios, interview with the author, 19 September 1995.

²⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Highland Chief Administers Clan from Australian Headquarters", Press Release, 27 August 1985.

²⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from Sir Crispin Agnew to Scorrybreac, 11 September 1984. Scorrybreac had to submit a Deed of Resignation, resigning into the hands of the Lord Lyon his previous matriculation of Arms (*Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Vol. 63, Folio 112: Nicolson of Scorrybreac, 1982) and apply for the same Arms and Bearings to be re-granted in the name of MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac. It was felt by the Lyon Court that if Scorrybreac took the name MacNicol (or MacNeacail), "the two rather different origins of people of the name Nicolson would be clearly shown." – Letter from Elizabeth Roads, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records, to the author, 9 March 1998.

³⁰ Samios, interview. This change of name was very controversial among his supporters on the Isle of Skye, most of whom were Nicolsons, and none of whom were MacNicol.

Scorrybreac have to demonstrate broad support for the separation of the clan, ideally in several countries, but also that some concrete evidence of his commitment to the project would be invaluable in public relations terms. Hence a decision was made to purchase some "ancient" clan land on the northern side of Portree Harbour on Skye. In 1982, Scorrybreac received permission from the Scottish Office Department of Agriculture to fence the memorial and ruins, and "to plant therein a small spinney of hardy trees indigenous to Canada, the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia – those countries that had received the majority of Clan Nicaill emigrants."³¹ This became the precursor to a bid to buy the land outright. Donations to the Urras Clann Mhic Neacail (the land trust) came in from numerous donors around the world. Easily the largest part (over US\$15,000) came from an anonymous donor in Rhode Island.³² Ironically, among those making donation to the trust in 1986 was Lord Carnock, whose £100 Scorrybreac wanted to return.³³

The settlement on the purchase of the Scorrybreac land, 130 acres known as Ben Chrachaig and valued at £20,000,³⁴ was made on 27 February 1986. They were, however, unsuccessful in buying Scorrybreac House near Ben Chrachaig, which is now owned by Donnie Munro. Nevertheless, Clan Nicaill was in a mood to celebrate. Scorrybreac told his clan at a dinner in Brisbane that "Clan MacNicol is the first clan to buy back a bit of farm in living memory", and invited "all those who considered themselves to be his followers to join him on Skye ... to discuss the management of

³¹ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "News from the Chief", *Clan Nicaill Late News*, n.d., 1982.

³² ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from Scorrybreac to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 29 July 1985; Two letters from Scorrybreac "To our Benefactor", 9 April 1986 and 17 December 1986.

³³ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Alastair Campbell, 18 February 1988.

³⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 18(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Donald Ferguson, WS, 19 September 1986.



Photograph: C. Johnston

IX. *Ben Chrachaig*

The "ancient" Scorrybreac land, looking south over Portree Harbour, Isle of Skye

Ben Chrachaig".³⁵ Inevitably, the *West Highland Free Press* was concerned about the uses to which the land was to be put. Rumours circulated in both Australia and Scotland that the clan was proposing to build a ski resort on Ben Chrachaig. There was no truth in this unlikely rumour (the mountain is not high enough to ensure enough winter snow), but the hand of Rosemary Nicolson Samios can be seen behind it once again, given the press coverage in two countries to the clan and, more importantly, the chief.³⁶

By purchasing Ben Chrachaig, Clan Nicaill achieved several advantages. Land symbolises permanence and by buying traditional or "ancient" clan lands, this land symbolised continuity. On a more sentimental level, it symbolised the emotional return to Scotland, so important to many Scottish-Australians, in the most physical way. Since the inaugural one in July 1986, there have been several Clan Nicaill gatherings in Portree, along the lines of the biennial MacLeod Parliaments at Dunvegan Castle.³⁷ The land purchase also enabled apparent flesh to be put on the

³⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 7(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Ben Chrachaig changes hands", Press Release, n.d., [March] 1986.

³⁶ On the newspaper coverage, see, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 18(19): Newspaper cutting from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 1986, p. 3. It is worth noting that the *West Highland Free Press*, then edited by Brian Wilson, had a somewhat stormy relationship with Rosemary Nicolson Samios and Clan Nicaill, particularly after it became evident that Samios was using her formidable public relations talents to get the clan exposure in any organ. The *WHFP* was able to get its own back when, in a very rare slip in her manipulation of the press, Rosemary Nicolson Samios quoted an American clan member in *Clan MacNicol – Clan News*, referring to their lawyer, Donald Ferguson, as having a "Para Handy accent". The *WHFP* managed to get hold of a copy of the Newsletter, and used the quote in an article. Murray Nicolson, the US clan member in question, informed Rosemary Nicolson Samios in admonishing tones, that the quote, as used by the *WHFP*, made "Donald Ferguson, me and the clan look foolish". Para Handy, he explained, "was a comical captain of a run-down tramp steamer on the Western Islands; not the term you would use to describe your lawyer in Skye". Rosemary Nicolson Samios immediately wrote to Ferguson to apologise, explaining that "[n]o one here had ever heard of ... 'Para Handy' ... it is completely meaningless to us. ... [We] came to the conclusion that it must be an American slang term for 'Oxford English' or 'Pukka'". See *WHFP*, 3 April 1987, and files ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): *Clan MacNicol – Clan News*, April 1987, p. 4; Letter from Murray Nicolson to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 19 April 1987; Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Donald Ferguson, 7 May 1987.

³⁷ Samios, interview.



X. Ben Chrachaig

Looking west: Scorrybreac House is in the centre



Photographs: C. Johnston

XI. Plaque

Commemorating those who donated money to purchase Ben Chrachaig. Scorrybreac's badge is at the top.

mythical bones of Clan Nicaill history: here was the very land from which, "legend of some truth" had it, "over one hundred Chiefs of this Clan were borne to their last resting-place in Snizort Churchyard".³⁸

But Scorrybreac had also to demonstrate widespread support for his clan. It is in the way he was presented (and presented himself) as a chief that a number of crucial aspects of the reinvention of Scottish-Australian identity are illuminated. That presentation was as a genuine Highland Chief, and involved an image-making campaign that went far beyond him simply learning "some few words" of the Gaelic. Having successfully raised branches of the clan in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the US and, ultimately, in Scotland, it was important to show that numerical strength at public events.

The best show of support, in the SAHC's opinion, was for the chief to have the trappings of office: feathers in his cap, sword- and banner-bearers and a bigger retinue than the other chiefs. In her correspondence with the Duke of Argyll and Alastair Campbell of Airds, regarding the styles and titles the Duke wished to use during the International Gathering of the Clans, Rosemary Nicolson Samios informed them that:

my own Chief, Scorrybreac, who attends Scottish Week each year, ... is usually accompanied to the centre of the [Sydney Opera House] forecourt by his swordsman, coat of arms bearer, his piper, his 4 tartan bearers and others, in all, about 12 kilted men³⁹

³⁸ *Sydney Scottish Week Souvenir Programme*, 1981, p. 26. Scorrybreac often referred to 100 generations of Chiefs buried in Snizort Churchyard. Either way, they were claiming a history of over 2,000 years for Scorrybreac and Clan Nicaill.

³⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to the Duke of Argyll, 25 April 1986.

Campbell of Airds responded that the Duke did not "expect that his status should have to be seen to depend on how many instantly mustered members of a so-called 'tail' appear with him in public."⁴⁰ Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote in a similar vein about Scorrybreac's retinue to G.L. Jardine-Vidgen, a clansman of Sir William Jardine, who was invited for Scottish Week, 1985. Jardine-Vidgen replied that while he possessed a Jardine kilt, he would be surprised if any other clan members in Australia did, and that "the Chief informs me that he wears the Trews". He was, not surprisingly, concerned, "After hearing of your Chief' [*sic*] retinue, ... that with only the Chief and myself in Scottish dress we will present a very poor display."⁴¹

Finally, when the retinue accompanying him grew to such proportions that target- and pike-bearers joined the assorted tartan- and sword-bearers for Scottish Week 1986, even Scorrybreac and his wife began to doubt the wisdom of quite such an extensive display. Pam Nicolson wrote to Rosemary Nicolson Samios to express her concern: "The other chiefs marched out with only sword & banner bearer and I thought the targets & pikes detracted from the dignity of the occasion. ... Ian [Scorrybreac] was embarrassed too."⁴² It is worth noting, however, the cause and extent of the embarrassment suffered, particularly by Scorrybreac. In the instance

⁴⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 10 May 1986.

⁴¹ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Letter from G.L. Jardine-Vidgen to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 August 1985. Sir William Jardine, it transpired, did not attend Scottish Week until 1986, and he is remembered very differently by SAHC members. Rosemary Nicolson Samios, and, it appears, Clan Nicaill in general, did not enjoy having him as a guest. After Scottish Week, Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote: "we would never consider Sir William as a guest again and have warned our American friends" – ML 1550/84 Box 5(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to the Earl and Countess of Erroll, 23 February 1986. Scorrybreac's wife, Pam Nicolson, called him "that unpleasant little character" – ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): Letter from Pam Nicolson to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 6 January 1987. Malcolm Broun's recollection was that Jardine "went quite well. ... he was interesting. He didn't have a lot to say for himself. ... He participated in some events which were total flops, I can understand him being a bit disappointed. ... But ... he was less colourful, less interesting than many of the others, but nonetheless, he was OK." – Malcolm Broun, interview with the author, 26 July 1995.

⁴² ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): Letter from Pam Nicolson to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 6 January 1987.

which resulted in Pam Nicolson's letter, the cause was the presence of Sir William Jardine: "I couldn't bear the thought that ... Jardine ... might return to England and scoff at us."⁴³ Scorrybreac's concern was more directly related to his claim for Lyon Court recognition as a genuine Highland Chief. He was not keen, for example, for the SAHC to invite Brian Wilson to Scottish Week after the mixed press he was getting in the *West Highland Free Press* and Wilson's somewhat derisive attitude to the Heritage Council's attachment to "much honoured" chiefs.⁴⁴

In fact, Scorrybreac was embarking on a campaign of his own (supported by Rosemary Nicolson Samios) to garner support from other chiefs for his position. Jardine had refused to comment, saying: "As a Committee Member of the Standing Council [of Scottish Chiefs] I would rather not get involved in the Scorrybriac [*sic*]/Carnock argument at this juncture."⁴⁵ This was sure to have the two determined campaigners against Jardine; that, combined with Jardine being "less colourful",⁴⁶ was bound to load the dice against him. Scorrybreac had more luck convincing the other chiefs resident in Australia to support him.⁴⁷ The influential popular historian of Scotland, John Prebble, also wrote to give him moral support.⁴⁸ Whether flushed

⁴³ *ibid.* Note that Pam Nicolson fell into the common mistake of using "England" to refer to Britain. (Although Jardine now lives in Cumbria, in 1987 he lived in Lockerbie – see *Whitaker's Almanack*, 119th Vol., (London: J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 1987), p. 684.) This is doubly ironic, as Scorrybreac's whole chiefly life revolves around Scotland and the clan system.

⁴⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): Letter from Scorrybreac to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 7 May 1987. Despite his objections, and a warning from Campbell of Airds, Rosemary Nicolson Samios went ahead and invited Wilson in 1989. He proved to be a very successful guest.

⁴⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 2(19): Letter from Sir William Jardine to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, n.d.

⁴⁶ Broun, interview.

⁴⁷ See, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from the Menzies to Scorrybreac, 20 February 1985; ML Pic Acc 5742, SAHC Picture File: Photograph of Lamont at Scorrybreac supporters' event, 1984.

⁴⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from John Prebble to Scorrybreac, 9 July 1985.

with the success of such recognition or clutching at straws, Scorrybreac's most ambitious suggestion was to approach the Prince of Wales: "As far as HRH is concerned, we need to know whether 'Lord of the Isles' is simply an honorary title and if not, whether it gives the holder the same judicial powers once possessed by the heads of Clan Donald." However, he was sufficiently aware that "Should we go that way, ... we need to be very sure of our ground".⁴⁹ Wiser heads prevailed, and this was not taken any further.

Scorrybreac as Chief: victory and its consequences

Scorrybreac was recognised in a Lyon Court Warrant, dated 18 May 1988, as "Iain MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac ... Chief of the Highland Clann MacNeacail"⁵⁰ and, through a further Gaelicisation, now styles himself Iain MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Sgoirebhreac. Ultimately, neither the size of his public retinue nor the number of influential supporters he could claim affected the Lyon Court's decision. The existence and strength of the Clan, however, was directly related to his success. Rosemary Nicolson Samios commented frequently, and with some accuracy, that "Scorrybreac ... presides over a larger number of henchmen and followers than most of his fellow Chiefs who still live in Scotland."⁵¹ Raising the clan had been an idea that came with the development of the SAHC, before Carnock had inherited his title from his father, far less sent a petition to the Lyon Court. In raising the clan, Scorrybreac was "implement[ing] the advice given to his late father by the former Lord Lyon King of Arms, namely to raise his Clan in Australia and

⁴⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 18(19): Letter from Scorrybreac to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 18 April 1986.

⁵⁰ *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Vol. 71, Folio 87: MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac, 1988. See Appendix 6.

⁵¹ ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Highland Chief Administers Clan from Australian Headquarters", Press Release, 27 August 1985.

establish its headquarters in that country."⁵² According to the new Unicorn Pursuivant, Alastair Campbell of Airds, it was this letter of advice by Innes of Learney, the former Lord Lyon, to Scorrybreac's father, that "helped, undoubtedly" Scorrybreac's case.⁵³ Airds' opinion was that "he has been quite lucky ... [as] there has never been any grounds for considering Lord Carnock an imposter [*sic*]"⁵⁴

Rosemary Nicolson Samios and the SAHC were not going to let the decision in Sgoirebhreac's favour pass without mention, despite Airds' feelings that luck had played some part. Much of the October 1988 *Newsletter* was devoted to him as the Heritage Council basked in his reflected glory.⁵⁵ Rosemary Nicolson Samios had succeeded in her goal to make a chief of Sgoirebhreac, or rather, to remake a chief – to give back to him that to which he had always felt entitled. However, the victory was not without its consequences. The most serious of these was division within the clan, caused in no small part by Sgoirebhreac himself, over his claim to be the Representor of MacNicol (or MacNichol) of Portree. Sgoirebhreac claimed throughout the whole period that there was no doubt that he was descended from the Representor's line, and that the documents which proved his claim had been stolen from the National Library of Scotland. The Lyon Court, however, could find no

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 December 1987.

⁵⁴ *ibid.* Airds went on to explain that based on his conversations with Lyon: "... I understand the Carnock family appears at a much earlier date than that of Scorrybreac and his forbear was obviously someone of standing with a certain amount of circumstantial evidence that he may have hailed from the Isles. Scorrybreac does not appear earlier than the 18c; I did ask him in Canada if there was any doubt as to his being the direct representative of MacNichol of Portree and he did say there was no doubt at all, but I gathered from Lyon that in fact this is not so, in which case it is not impossible that Lord Carnock may yet turn out to be MacNichol of Portree's Representor which would be an interesting development. I believe he is working on it with the help of professional genealogists ..."

⁵⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): SAHC, *Newsletter*, October 1988.

record of missing documents relating to Sgoirebhreac or to Lord Carnock.⁵⁶ Some members of the US branch had already had some contact with Carnock. Indeed, Rosemary Nicolson Samios felt that the Canadian and the Skye Nicolson would also "follow Lord Carnock if he is the senior representor of MacNicol in [*sic*] Portree."⁵⁷ Airds' advice was to "let the Clan Society lie fallow for a bit". He assured Rosemary Nicolson Samios that he did "not know of any Clan Society which does not go through trauma at regular intervals."⁵⁸

Rosemary Nicolson Samios, however, was not one to let things "lie fallow". While Sgoirebhreac went on a triumphal trip to the Grandfather Mountain Highland Gathering in Georgia, she took the unusual step, given the way she, Clan Nicail, and even the SAHC had vilified him,⁵⁹ of writing to Carnock. Apparently without consulting Sgoirebhreac, she wrote: "I have come to the conclusion that to divide the clan is unworkable and would be a [*sic*] disaster. Most of our clansfolk, including those on Skye[,] are tired of the controversy and would like a united clan". Most ironically, she concluded, "it is now only Scorrybreac and his commissioner in the USA, who can trace his ancestry no further north than Fife, who are insisting on this division."⁶⁰ Carnock replied very graciously, inviting Rosemary Nicolson Samios to

⁵⁶ Alastair Campbell refers to this in his letter to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 December 1987, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Alastair Campbell, 1 April 1988.

⁵⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 December 1987.

⁵⁹ See, for example, such side swipes as the crossword clue: "24. Lord Carnock could never be a member of this group (4, 3, 5)." (Answer: Clan Mac Nicol.) – "Scottish-Australian Crossword", *Albannach Astrailia*, 1988/1989, p. 11. On seeing this, Alastair Campbell pointed out that Carnock could very well claim to belong to the clan: ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): "Suggestions and Comments", letter from Alastair Campbell to SAHC, n.d.

⁶⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 19(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Lord Carnock, 16 May 1988.

a meal at the House of Lords should she find herself in London.⁶¹ This she was in a position to accept in 1990. She found Carnock very interested in Scottish-Australian affairs. He said that he was "lost in admiration at the energy with which the community of those with a Scottish connection is being organised. ... The Scots in Australia are more Scottish than those in England or, possibly, even than those in Scotland itself."⁶² Two years later, Carnock was in Sydney for Scottish Week as the guest of the SAHC. Relations between Sgoirebhreac and his former champion have been frosty ever since.⁶³

It could be argued, therefore, that Rosemary Nicolson Samios's victory was hollow. She had made a chief, but only at the expense of the unity of the clan which, across three continents, had so long supported him. On the other hand, her victory gave the Scottish-Australian community a great deal of publicity in Australia and Scotland which it would not otherwise have had. Above all else, Rosemary Nicolson Samios is a superb publicist.⁶⁴ If she seeks publicity for any organisation with which she is involved, publicity follows in abundance. The controversies she generated over the location of the Scotland-Australia Cairn and the dispute between Lord Carnock and Sgoirebhreac are testament to this. Sgoirebhreac was and is her own chief, however, and this cannot be overlooked. She and Geoffrey Ferrow were, after all, instrumental in setting the tone for the early Scottish Weeks: a tone which

⁶¹ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Lord Carnock to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 9 November 1988.

⁶² ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Lord Carnock to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 22 January 1990.

⁶³ Samios, interview.

⁶⁴ But not, as is so often the way of such people, a self-publicist. It is to the great loss of the Liberal Party in NSW that her considerable public relations talents were not sought by them, despite her husband's position within the party. This is probably unsurprising, given the divisions which wracked the party from top to bottom throughout much of the late-1980s.

remained relatively unchanged throughout her time on the executive. In her own words, she and Ferrow "had ... great fun" with the chiefs. They "got all these books" and, she recalls, it was Ferrow who thought that they might get the chiefs to dress up with feathers, banners and retinues: "I never realised they'd fall for it, and they fell for it hook, line and sinker. It used to absolutely astound me, these chiefs under their banners, thinking they had an army." She described the scenario, which she and Ferrow created, of the pageantry and the overt Highlandism as "freakish" and "a bit of a joke really", claiming that she would "never do it in a fit" herself, but "didn't mind telling other people to."⁶⁵

The Rosemary Nicolson Samios interviewed in 1995 suddenly seems quite different to the person revealed by the copious correspondence in the archive. She also paints a different picture of Geoffrey Ferrow as her partner in jollity, if not in crime. While the archival evidence overwhelmingly indicates Ferrow as passionately believing in the pageantry and elitism of Scottish-Australian identity, and as being in the driving seat for some of the more excessively right-wing political acts and suggestions within the Heritage Council,⁶⁶ the beliefs of Rosemary Nicolson Samios are more complex. In interviewing her, the author was acutely aware of dealing with someone well able to turn situations to her own advantage. She presented herself as an astute pragmatist rather than ideologically driven when faced with a scholarly assessment of Scottish-Australian activities. Her indifference to Clan Nicail unity during the dispute between Lord Carnock and Sgoirebhreac, followed by her *rapprochement* with Carnock and distancing herself from Sgoirebhreac in 1988, in the interests of clan unity, certainly suggests a strongly pragmatic streak.

⁶⁵ Samios, interview.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 3.

Nevertheless, the conclusion that Rosemary Nicolson Samios is very passionate about her beliefs is inescapable. In a personal letter to Alastair Campbell regarding the controversy over Sgoirebhreac's claim to be the undisputed Representor of MacNicol of Portree, she wrote: "I'm a great fighter for an issue and would have fought for Scorrybreac if that's what he wanted. I just can't understand why he knowingly deceived me."⁶⁷ Her *rapprochement* with Carnock was therefore a product, in part, of a sense of betrayal by Sgoirebhreac. However, the strong pragmatism remains evident. It is safe to assume that a reconciliation between the two feuding sides, as Rosemary Nicolson Samios and Sgoirebhreac had spent years constructing them, was the best way to try to persuade Carnock not to continue his threatening genealogical research. Carnock, after all, had no personal dispute with Sgoirebhreac; he was merely claiming titles which he genuinely believed were rightfully his.⁶⁸

Was Rosemary Nicolson Samios, then, less than devoted to the system of clan chiefs? Certainly, she had spent some years studying it and judging its implications for her chief, his clan, and Scottish-Australians in general. The evidence suggests very strongly that her interest in chiefly status could be personal. She made some enquiries at the Lyon Court, for example, regarding the eligibility of her brother to be recognised as a chieftain in Clan MacNicol.⁶⁹ However, beyond such considerations, she has another over-arching commitment of the greatest significance. She was one

⁶⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Alastair Campbell, 1 April 1988.

⁶⁸ Although it must be noted that early in the affair, Carnock was adamant that he was the sole chief of the whole name. He was quoted in *The Times* saying: "There are several categories of chiefship, and Scorrybreac is in a lower category to me. He is more of a chieftain than a chief." – 16 September 1984, p. 3.

⁶⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 8(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 1 December 1987.

of the most active members, along with Peter Alexander, of the NSW Grouping of the Scottish National Party.⁷⁰

Rosemary Nicolson Samios recognised, in the Sgoirebhreac case, something that would unite the disparate groups under the SAHC umbrella. Questions of ethnicity, of who exactly was the "other", could be answered by an emotive issue such as Sgoirebhreac's entitlement to be recognised as a chief. He was constructed in a way which appealed to almost everyone. The other clan societies lent him their support because he was a chief, and as such important *ipso facto* to them. As a bonus, he was an Australian citizen. His willingness to learn Gaelic (to whatever extent), brought the members of *Comhairle Gaidhlig Albannach*, often very critical of clan chiefs, behind him. For perhaps the only time in its history, Rosemary Nicolson Samios was able to unify the SAHC on an issue and so advance the unified Scottish-Australian identity she so clearly wanted. Disregarding the reality of the SAHC – a group comprised in the main of professional, middle class, moneyed, well connected Sydney residents – she was able to present a Scottish community united by

⁷⁰ The attachment to the idea of a free Scotland is steeped in the romantic image of the Kingdom being independent once again, rather than to a forward-looking programme. Their particular support for Highlands and Islands MEP, Winnie Ewing (at times as much as A\$10,000 has been the Australian target for her campaign – see ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): Letter from Peter Alexander to J. Swinney, National Secretary, SNP, n.d., 1988) supports this conclusion. As with all overseas members, they were originally members of SNP headquarters in Edinburgh, rather than members of a particular branch. It was in the SNP's interest not to let a large group of overseas members to stack a branch and thus potentially affect candidate selection. By the early 1990s, however, some in the NSW Grouping had successfully transferred their membership to the Skye branch. They publish a biannual newsletter, *Alba: A Voice for Scotland*. See, for example, ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4): "Backing for SNP from Down Under", *WHFP*, 2 October 1987. This article mentions the Australian support for Winnie Ewing, and, once again showing the hand of Brian Wilson, points out that "Mr [Peter] Alexander is a recipient of an Order of the British Empire medal." In the copy of the article in the ML, Rosemary Nicolson Samios has written a note to Alexander demonstrating her nose for any publicity opportunity: "Could you reply to this article ... say[ing] something along the lines that you are entitled to accept the Order of the Silver Goose from the King of Egypt or any other foreign Order you wish. Every bit printed about the SNP keeps it in people's minds."

the history of the Highlands, clearances and all, fighting for one of their own against the Lowlander who was responsible for their historical degradation.⁷¹

On a trip to the United States for the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, Rosemary Nicolson Samios was told by an American, "[you] sure do it with style Down [*sic*] Under."⁷² Rosemary Nicolson Samios certainly did it with style concerning the Sgoirebhreac case, shaping facts and events to her own purpose and almost railroading the SAHC into support, in order both to achieve her apparent and wider objectives. In doing so, she staked her own claim to a major place in this study.⁷³

Sgoirebhreac and the manufacture of history

In their introduction to *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Donnachie and Whatley warned that "only the spectacular and saleable aspects of [Scottish history] ... will be available to the non-specialist public."⁷⁴ Their book was designed to show how Scotland's past is being reshaped. In a similar vein, McCrone has shown how the heritage industry has purloined the past and, using the language of both nationalism

⁷¹ See, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 11(19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios to Graeme South, Australian Consul in Edinburgh, in which she says the Heritage Council "is dominated by Gaels".

⁷² ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Highland Chief Administers Clan from Australian Headquarters", Press Release, 27 August 1985.

⁷³ Ironically, in light of the misgivings Alastair Campbell and finally Rosemary Nicolson Samios herself had about Sgoirebhreac's claim to be the legitimate Highland Chief over the upstart lowlander, Carnock, she inadvertently drew attention to the one major flaw in Sgoirebhreac's case. By claiming, as they did, that a Lowlander could never be the chief of a Highland clan, the revelation that Carnock's ancestor may have come from Skye was an uncomfortable one. In her circular when the Clan Nicaill was first being raised, in which she gave a potted history of the Nicolsons, Rosemary Nicolson Samios wrote: "... the Highland clearances affected the Clan severely: there was a great 'flitting' to the Lowlands and overseas ..." – ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Ancient Clan to be Raised", Circular, n.d., (emphasis added).

⁷⁴ I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.), *op. cit.*, "Introduction", p. 15.

and unionism, has created an approved history of Scotland.⁷⁵ Richard White has drawn attention to the "whole industry of image-makers", telling Australians who they are.⁷⁶

Sgoirebhreac and his supporters proved to be extensive, if somewhat haphazard, practitioners of the manufacture of history. His biography in each succeeding edition of the Scottish Week Annuals in which he figured, became more and more elaborate in an attempt to establish his historical legitimacy, culminating in the dubious assertion that 100 chiefly antecedents lay buried in the churchyard at Snizort. While the inventions remained harmless, their political utility was freely accepted and deployed by Rosemary Nicolson Samios. When they became embarrassing, even libellous – and Sgoirebhreac's claim that records had been stolen from the National Library of Scotland was an instance – they moved beyond innocence or utility. Like Scottish lairds reconstructing their estates as private companies and themselves as guardians of the nation's heritage,⁷⁷ suddenly Sgoirebhreac looked more avaricious than altruistic. The manufacture of history by and for the purposes of any given person or organisation, however, is tacitly accepted in the late-twentieth century. Sgoirebhreac's problem lay not in his goal, but his method. Clan *sennachie* Seán Keane identified his main fault: "he has been brought up on the romance of Pseudo-Scottish history when it was fashionable for all Scots to be descended from Olave the Black ... Scorrybreac does not possess historical sense or a feeling for history."⁷⁸

⁷⁵ D. McCrone, *et al.*, *Scotland – the Brand*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

⁷⁶ R. White, *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]), p. viii.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 126-134.

⁷⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 18(19): Letter from Seán Keane to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 12 May 1986.

Above and beyond all else, the Sgoirebhreac case encapsulates the difference between the ethnic posture of Scottish-Australian identity and the elitist practice in the context of Australian multiculturalism. It proved useful to the SAHC by providing a focus for activities which, while officially endorsed as ethnic, could be presented to the SAHC's own constituency as elitist. Scottish traditions could be presented as more ancient, more authentic, simply better, than those of other cultures in Australia, Scottish history as unquestionably more colourful and interesting than anyone else's history. Sgoirebhreac was living history – living proof of Scotland's innate superiority. With perhaps few significant exceptions, those in New South Wales who claim genuine ethnic status for Scottish-Australians are doing so for pragmatic, instrumental reasons. Most are willing to admit this.⁷⁹

During the inaugural Scottish Week in 1981, the term "ethnic community" was used on several occasions to refer to Scottish-Australians. Archive records reveal the problem the term created. The Islay Herald, J.I.D. Pottinger, wrote to thank the SAHC for sending him a copy of the Souvenir Programme. Although he had yet to hear a "comprehensive first hand reaction from any of the Scots who attended from here", he had heard "of one who wasn't best pleased at hearing the Scots described as 'an ethnic group'." Pottinger wondered if perhaps "the adjective has a slightly different connotation with you than with us."⁸⁰ No archive copy of the reply to this letter exists. Pottinger's next letter, however, indicates that a definition

⁷⁹ It is the author's finding, based on formal interviews and countless informal conversations, that only David Scotland, Peter Alexander and the late Duncan MacLeod among the leading figures of institutionalised Scottish-Australians in NSW, genuinely felt that Scots were an ethnic group in Australia. For each, it was expressed in different ways. MacLeod was interested first and foremost in what he could do for the survival of Gaelic in Australia (and, by extension, in Scotland) through the SAHC and the ECC. Alexander has taken the pragmatic line that Scots (and Celts) can benefit from genuine ethnic sentiment. David Scotland probably has the greatest faith in Australian multiculturalism, having worked in the Department of Social Security as a Migrant Welfare Officer.

⁸⁰ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from J.I.D. Pottinger, Islay Herald, to SAHC, 10 December 1981.

of "ethnic community" as it was understood by the SAHC was despatched: "In retrospect, I am sure my complainant ... was equally ignorant of this background and reacted to being classified as an Ethnic group in its British connotation, which, I assure you, is quite different."⁸¹ The inherent, albeit underlying, racism in the interpretation taken by Pottinger's "complainant" is clear: for him, being "ethnic" meant being like Pakistani newsagents or Chinese restaurateurs in Britain. The SAHC can only have explained that in multicultural Australia, everyone is "ethnic", and that ethnicity to Scottish-Australians means celebrating their cultural difference to any other "ethnic" culture. In his introduction to Scottish Week 1992, the SAHC Chairman explained that in a world which "seems to get a little smaller and more uniform" each year, people increasingly need their "differences, the things that give [them their] identity". In Australia, he wrote:

one of the things we draw on for self-identification is our nation or race of origin. ... Those of us with the good fortune to have Scottish heritage can think with pride of the learning, art, inventiveness and skills that have been characteristic of our countrymen. ... So long as the Scottish Australian Heritage Council and so many other Scottish groups keep that heritage alive and visible we need not fear that our children will be lost in a pool of similarities ... and we offer [them] a path with more than merely the significance of the present⁸²

Multiculturalism, as constructed by the Hawke and Keating Governments was about equality and about unity through diversity. It was not about divisiveness, or about creating ghettos, as conservative press and politicians tried to paint it. Scottish-Australian ethnicity, however, is about staking a privileged place in this reconstruction of Australian identity. In a letter to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, Alastair Campbell wrote "It is palpable nonsense to suggest that we are all born equal

⁸¹ ML 1550/84 Box 17(19): Letter from J.I.D. Pottinger to SAHC, 12 April 1982.

⁸² M. Broun, "A Message from the President", *Albannach Astrailia, Incorporating The Southern Scot*, 1992/93, p. 3.

or that we all have equality of opportunity".⁸³ He is right, as a statement of fact. However, he went on to say that equality of opportunity was "unimportant"; that making the most of the "unequal talents" dealt to each individual was paramount.⁸⁴ Rosemary Nicolson Samios would probably agree. She used her considerable talents to engineer publicity for the Scottish-Australian cause. The SAHC owes much of its success to her energy both at the birth of the Council and its subsequent development. For her, the Sgoirebhreac-Carnock dispute could not have been more opportune.

Conclusion: An invention too far?

To answer this, a footnote to the Sgoirebhreac dispute may prove enlightening. As seen, in 1987, before the decision in Sgoirebhreac's favour was handed down, a rift between different branches of the Clan around the world developed as they supported either Carnock or Scorrybreac. After the decision to recognise Sgoirebhreac finally came, the fence-mending proved extremely difficult, and Scorrybreac was not considered by some the man for the task. The Clan *sennachie*, Seán Keane, wrote cuttingly to Rosemary Nicolson Samios: "What really amazes is the complete lack of fibre in Scorrybreac's make up. ... I think your Clan created the image of another Scorrybreac ... He certainly couldn't be the one you had in mind".⁸⁵

When King Lear asked "Who is it that can tell me who I am?", he meant two things. He had divided his kingdom between his daughters Goneril and Regan but still insisted on maintaining his authority over them by visiting each regularly.

⁸³ ML 1550/84 Box 12(19): Letter from Alastair Campbell to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 22 September 1988.

⁸⁴ *ibid.* No doubt the majority of the SAHC would still agree with him. Australian multicultural theory and, until recently, practice certainly would not.

⁸⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 14(19): Letter from Seán Keane to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 21 January 1989.

However, both daughters abuse his power and question his authority by diminishing his retinue and imposing conditions on his visits. Thus as king to subject, he demanded of Goneril who she was to tell him what he could and could not do. But as father to daughter, he was showing his decline into madness, asking of himself "who am I?"

Ian Nicolson did not need anyone to tell him who *he* was – he was Scorrybreac, chief of the clan. When Scorrybreac's authority was usurped, Rosemary Nicolson Samios's campaign aimed to reassert it; to recreate his chiefship. Iain MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Sgoirebhreac therefore *needed* the Lyon Court to tell him who he was. Simple self assertion was no longer sufficient. In reply to King Lear's question, the Fool answers "Lear's shadow." Without the imprimatur of the Lyon Court, Scorrybreac, too, was a shadow: he had the shape and form of a chief but not the depth. The Scottish-Australian cultural organisations of NSW had undergone a similar transition, requiring recognition beyond their own societies. On the one hand, this suggests that constructions of Scottish-Australian identity in NSW in the late-twentieth century may be highly unstable, even unsustainable. Yet that very instability can be turned to advantage by adroit image-makers and publicists, as the events of the chiefship dispute reveal.

CONCLUSION

Republicanism and Scottish Revivalism

E pluribus unum

– National Motto of the USA¹

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika

–National Motto of Indonesia²

Australia, Change and the Millennium

Australian society, like every western society, has experienced rapid change in the last decades of the twentieth century. These are not changes caused by angst about the approaching millennium, as more and more fundamentalists are going to claim over the twelve months to 1 January 2000. These changes were, and are, a response to the changing world-system. If one specific change could be singled out as the significant symbolic change in Australia, then it is the move towards becoming a republic.³ It is an issue upon which everyone in Australia has an opinion, and which has, at times, captured the attention of the international media.

Republicanism is not a new concept in Australia. It was mooted at different times throughout the nineteenth century but was rejected by Henry Parkes and the founding fathers (and they were all men) who framed Australia's Federal Constitution in the 1890s. Outside the ranks of the Communist Party of Australia, it had little currency during most of the twentieth century, until the writer Geoffrey Dutton, great-grand nephew of a former South Australian Premier, suggested in a 1963 article that Australia should declare a republic. He was subsequently pressured into

¹ Out of many, one.

² Unity in diversity.

³ In terms of international recognition and of symbolic value, republicanism certainly commands the mantle of representative change. However, that is not to ignore, or marginalise, some other very important, and ultimately more significant changes, particularly the program of Reconciliation with the Kooris begun by the Keating government but apparently abandoned by the Howard government.

resigning from the Adelaide Club. The State President of the Returned Services League (RSL) thundered that he should be sent "back to Russia where he belongs".⁴ When Donald Horne included a short section on republicanism in his *The Lucky Country*, it became an acceptable topic of conversation, if still a minority interest. When the Queen's representative, Governor-General Sir John Kerr, dismissed the democratically elected Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1975, it was not considered a viable option of resistance by any politician, although some historians subsequently became quite excited about missed opportunities.⁵ Whitlam's real contribution to republicanism in the 1970s was the nationalisation of the monarchy: her style and title was changed to Queen of Australia by the *Royal Styles & Titles Act* of 1973.⁶

At the Australian Labor Party Conference in 1981, and again at the 1991 Conference, a resolution was passed without much debate or controversy, calling for Australia to become a republic by 2001, the centenary of Federation.⁷ 1991 also saw the launch of the deliberately non-partisan Australian Republican Movement (ARM), which included Thomas Keneally, former NSW Premier Neville Wran, journalist Geraldine Doogue, cricketer Ian Chappell and Spycatcher lawyer Malcolm Turnbull on its board. Apart from a short bout of fisticuffs on daytime television, and the call by the president of the Victorian branch of the RSL, Bruce Ruxton, for the prosecution of the committee for treason, the debate was sedate. The media were much more interested in the power struggle in the ALP between Prime Minister Bob Hawke and former Treasurer Paul Keating.⁸

⁴D. Horne, *et al.*, *The Coming Republic*, (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1992), pp. 8f.

⁵See, for example, N. McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, (Ringwood: Penguin, 1989), p. 293.

⁶M. Turnbull, *The Reluctant Republic*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1993), p. 68.

⁷*ibid.*, p. 185.

⁸*ibid.*, p. 188.

Keating had not been known for his republican views prior to his accession to the Prime Ministership. Within the first two months of taking office, Keating hosted two rare state visits: the first from US President George Bush, and the second from the Queen. The Queen's visit became notorious in the British press in particular because Keating "handled" the Queen and had the temerity to suggest that as Britain's main trading partnerships lay in the EC, Australia's lay with Asia. Suddenly republicanism was on the front pages, and it was Keating's issue. He established the Republican Advisory Council in 1993 to make a formal recommendation on the best republican option. Following its report, Keating outlined the government's position to Parliament in June 1995.⁹

Public opinion appeared to be overwhelmingly behind the republic, but it was not behind the Labor Government, and in 1996 the avowedly monarchist John Howard was elected Prime Minister. His personal response was that the republic was unnecessary and unwanted, but a significant part of his Liberal Party supported it. In order not to appear out of touch with the popular mood, Howard included the promise to convene a convention on the republic and to hold a referendum on the convention's recommendation.¹⁰ In 1998, the convention voted by a sizeable majority to support in principle Australia becoming a republic, and by an overwhelming majority to set

⁹ See the tone of P. Keating, *An Australian Republic: The Way Forward*, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995).

¹⁰ Under the Australian Constitution, a referendum is required in order to effect an amendment to the Constitution. The referendum must be supported by a majority of voters as well as a majority (four out of six) of the States. For this reason, referendums on Constitutional issues have a very low success rate, and no change has been approved by the electorate which did not enjoy bipartisan support. Between 1901 and 1988, there have been 42 Constitutional amendments put to referendums. Only eight have attracted the relevant majorities, while another five were supported by a majority of voters but only two or three of the six States. See Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 156f., fig. 7.8.

up a referendum to be held in 1999.¹¹ Public opinion still favours a republic, and Sydney's successful bid for the 2000 Olympics has increased the feeling that the Australian Head of State should be an Australian.

Critics of republicanism have emerged from all sides of the political spectrum. Bob Hawke commented that while he favoured the principle, he would wait until the end of the Queen's reign,¹² reflecting the view that Australia had "few monarchists but a great many Elizabethans".¹³ In opposition to the ARM, the monarchists' (and the monarchy's) cause was taken up by Australians for a Constitutional Monarchy (ACM), which attracted Neville Bonner, the former Liberal Senator and only Aborigine ever elected to the Federal Parliament; Richard Cobden, president of the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras; Sir Harry Gibbs, former Chief Justice of Australia; Doug Sutherland, former ALP Lord Mayor of Sydney; and included Dame Joan Sutherland as a patron.

Scottish-Australian responses to the Republic

This study has examined the ways in which a particular group of Scottish-Australians has deliberately gone about reconstructing their identity in a country where they felt it was no longer sufficient simply to be Australians of Scottish descent. It is therefore of particular interest to look at their response to republicanism, given its symbolic importance in the reconstruction of contemporary Australian identity. But theirs is also the response from an elite cross section of Australian society: most of those in

¹¹ *The Independent*, 14 February 1998, p. 11; *The Times*, 14 February 1998, p. 19; *The Guardian*, 14 February 1998, p. 17.

¹² Hawke, of course, criticised any and all of Keating's initiatives.

¹³ Quoted in Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

positions of power within the various Scottish-Australian cultural organisations are well-educated professionals with fairly high disposable incomes and numerous contacts in the Establishment.

The monarchist leanings of many of those under examination has already been made very clear. Sitting at their pinnacle was the popular, though controversial, figure of Geoffrey Ferrow, who publicly expressed his desire to see members of the Royal Family as guests for Scottish Week.¹⁴ He was not alone in his attachment to the monarchy and its trappings. John Reid, the Melbourne architect and designer of the Australian Tartan, was "thrilled to hear of [the] proposal to present lengths to Prince Charles and Princess Diana" in 1985, a gesture which he felt was "a most proper link between the Auld Countrie and the New".¹⁵ Similarly, SAHC Chairman William MacLennan invited the newly married Duke and Duchess of York to unveil the Scotland-Australia Cairn during the Bicentenary.¹⁶

However, these invitations do not single out the SAHC as the sole monarchists in Australia. In the 1980s, royal visits became quite frequent, and with two royal weddings during the decade, their popularity was at a peak. There was a general acceptance of the part of the royal family in Australian public life, if not necessarily particular enthusiasm for any single member other than the Princess of Wales and, briefly, the Duchess of York.¹⁷ But the SAHC's obsession with royalty

¹⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Letter from Geoffrey Ferrow to Lord Forres, 3 November 1982.

¹⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Letter from John Reid to Peter Alexander, 15 September 1985. The Prince and Princess received their lengths of the Australian Tartan that month – see ML 1550/84 Box 1(19): Memo by Peter Alexander, 14 October 1985.

¹⁶ ML 1550/84 Box 10(19): Letter from Lt Col Sean O'Dwyer, Buckingham Palace, to William MacLennan, 7 January 1988.

¹⁷ The Duchess of York's honeymoon with the Australian public was very short-lived. She was a frequent visitor to Australia because her sister lived there, and her wedding was as widely viewed on

went much deeper. The Grand Scottish Ball was created to be the grandest Scottish social occasion in Sydney¹⁸ and the highlight of Scottish Week. The format, including the parade of the Scottish noblesse, was devised by Ferrow and Rosemary Nicolson Samios. They "poured over old invitations of Royal Weddings and Balls ... over descriptions of Grand Balls held long ago at Grand Scottish Castles ... in particular a reproduction of a painting by Winterhauser of Queen Victoria entering the Ghillies Ball at Balmoral Castle."¹⁹ Malcolm Broun summed up the parade as adding "to the grandeur of the occasion", although "it's not quite a member of the Royal Family walking in".²⁰ Similarly, among nearly forty Information Sheets produced by the SAHC, several have royal themes.²¹ Even the NSW Grouping of the SNP follow the pre-Cunningham party line. The formation of the European Union with the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 was hailed by the NSW Grouping as the potential trigger for a free Scotland "independent, not of the Crown but of the English and their Westminster Parliament".²²

On the specific issue of Australia becoming a republic, however, there is a great deal of realism. While the majority are against severing the last formal ties with

Australian television as that of Charles and Diana. However, shortly after giving birth to her first child, the Duke and Duchess embarked on a long world tour. She was singled out for strong criticism in the Australian media for leaving her baby behind for several months.

¹⁸ Malcolm Broun, interview.

¹⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, Secretary's Report, SAHC AGM, 10 February 1986.

²⁰ Broun, interview.

²¹ See, for example, ML 1550/84 Box 6(19): SAHC Information Sheet No. 29 (How women should wear the sash to the Grand Scottish Ball), No. 18 (Officers of the Royal Household in Scotland), Nos. 5, 9, 19, and 25 (Various information about flags, personal banners and the Lyon Court); ML 1550/84 Box 4(19): SAHC Information Sheet No. 6 (How to wear crest, feathers and, if applicable, peerage coronets for formal occasions), and No. 8 ("Notable Dates in Scottish History" which includes Scott, Burns, most kings and queens from 1651, the opening of the Forth Road Bridge, but excludes MacDiarmid, any modern novelist, the opening of the Forth (Rail) Bridge or anything about the Tay Bridges).

²² ML 1550/84 Box 13(19): *Alba: A Voice for Scotland*, 8, 15, (July 1989), p. 1.

the crown, most, albeit regrettably, accept its inevitability. Only Broun was bold enough to propose a third way: to sever ties between the present incumbent of the throne of Britain and the throne of Australia – to establish a separate royal family in, and of, Australia. Despite its relative simplicity, and the precedent set in various European countries in the nineteenth century, he did "have to concede it would be, in practical terms, not acceptable."²³ Although this view may seem surprising, Broun is not the only one to have suggested it. Every so often it appears on the letters pages of newspapers in both Australia and Britain, but more significantly, it was suggested as an alternative to republicanism by a prominent Australian historian, Alan Atkinson.²⁴

In truth, the question is not whether Australia will become a republic, but when, and the overwhelming feeling is that it will do so sooner, rather than later: in time for the 2000 Olympics. Outspoken defence of the monarchy now invites social ridicule in many quarters as out of touch with the mood of the nation. John Howard realised this before it harmed his electoral chances. Scottish-Australians appreciate this. In a sophisticated move to make themselves relevant to potential young members, while retaining the support of older stalwarts, Scottish-Australian organisations in New South Wales have turned their attention to the defence of the existing Australian flag.

The flag debate has peppered the media for far longer than the current republican debate. It gained attention and notoriety with the Australian victory in the Americas Cup in 1983. As a response to the new questions about which symbols were appropriate for the Australian flag, the Scottish Clans Council in Australia

²³ Broun, interview.

²⁴ A. Atkinson, *The Muddle-Headed Republic*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 128f. Those most commonly proposed for the role are Princes Andrew or Edward or Princess Anne, but even the Duke of Gloucester has a following.

formed a subsidiary organisation which it called the Keep Our Flag Association. Members of the Clans Council were told of the "need ... to put their weight behind this Association to help keep our affiliation with the Union Jack."²⁵ The debate over the flag, however, remained largely academic until Keating linked it to the republic.²⁶

In her editorial in the 60th edition of *Cruachan*, the Clan Campbell's monthly magazine in Australia, Bev Campbell joined a flag debate which was far more immediate. She stated clearly that while she opposed it, she "could probably handle living in the Republic of Australia ... but WHY CHANGE THE FLAG?" Among the arguments Keating made in favour of changing the flag was the somewhat disingenuous one that it was not easily recognisable to people in other countries. Bev Campbell was having none of it:

If people in other countries don't recognise it, or confuse it with the New Zealand flag it doesn't concern me ... A vexillologist ... may know all of the flags of the world, but I could only describe six with certainty. How many do you recognise Mr Prime Minister? And of those flags you don't know, are they likely to be changed to enable you (or me) to recognise them?

She concludes her defence of the flag with a direct challenge to the Prime Minister: "Keep your hands off our flag; the flag which acknowledges the part our British ancestors played in the development of this country!"²⁷

²⁵ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03490: Notes [Minutes] of Meeting of Scottish Clans Council, No. 21, 14 August 1984.

²⁶ The two issues are separate in that it would be possible to make one change without the other – it would not be necessary for a republican Australia to have a new flag. However, the position of many republicans, which Paul Keating supported, is that if Australia is to cut the final Constitutional link to the UK, that would also be the appropriate time to remove the colonial vestiges from the flag.

²⁷ *Cruachan*, 60, (June 1993), p.1.

Bev Campbell concentrates on the flag. Although she could swallow the republic, many of her arguments are exactly those used to defend the monarchy. Defending the place of the Union Jack on the Australian flag becomes the vehicle for expressing her support for the constitutional status quo. As the editorial continues, she warms to her theme of defending the symbols of monarchy in Australia:

One other disquieting story I have recently heard, is that the Government wants to remove all traces of British influence from our armed forces – presumably this includes military and pipe bands, and kilted regiments. Even Nepal and India are allowed to have kilted soldiers and pipe bands!

She is just about to come to her climax, where her real concerns are revealed:

Are we rewriting history? Did Great Britain have nothing to do with settling this country? Did my ancestors come from outer space? Whatever our racial mix is now, whatever it becomes – this country was developed by British pioneers – free settlers and convicts; and from Britain we inherited the most successful government and justice systems in the world – these facts are immutable.²⁸

The extent to which her appeal is to Britain is almost surprising, even contradictory, for a society whose whole foundation rests quite specifically on its Scottish connections. What Bev Campbell's editorial reveals, however, is that in 1993, twelve years after the establishment of the SAHC with the full support of Clan Campbell Society, she expresses no Scottish ethnicity. It is even possible to speculate that she feels less Scottish than some of her predecessors in Scottish-Australian societies: Gordon Mackley of the Burns Club, for example, was of the opinion that being British was better than being Australian, but to be Scottish was to be the best of British.²⁹ For Bev Campbell, and her readers (the vast majority of whom, it can be

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ See Chapter 2.

assumed, agreed with her sentiments³⁰), the importance of Scotland is as a constituent part of the UK, its flag an integral part of the Union Jack. The defence of the trappings of the monarchy, if not of the institution itself, becomes a defence of British tradition in Australia against the rising tide of multiculturalism.³¹

Scottish-Australians as Guardians

In effect, modern Scottish-Australian cultural organisations have changed little from their comfortable middle class antecedents. The use of multicultural language and imagery – including the construction of ethnic Scottish and Celtic identities – is about protecting certain aspects of the Australian way of life as it was understood in an earlier age. They are presenting themselves as cultural guardians. Once again, this works on a number of levels.

Most obviously, they seek to guard Scottish culture in Australia. Reflecting concern over any change to the flag, participants in the annual "Bundanoon is Brigadoon" Highland Gathering near Canberra were reminded that: "Like the English, Welsh and Irish, the Scots bear the proud title of 'pioneers'. Their history is part of Australia's history, their flag is part of Australia's flag. Each successive generation has kept our Scottish culture alive in this country."³² In a similar vein, Malcolm Broun explained that his involvement with the SAHC was in order to:

³⁰ In the editorial in the following edition, she drew attention to the fact that "of the several letters [she] received, only one was of dissent." – *Cruachan*, 61, (September 1993), p. 1.

³¹ It is significant that one of the first Parliamentary acts of the Howard Government was legislation protecting the Australian flag. It is now a legal requirement that a change in the flag has to be approved by referendum, as opposed to an assumption that this would be the case based on the referendum to choose a new National Anthem in 1980.

³² ML 1550/84 Box 4 (19): Rosemary Nicolson Samios, "Lady Chieftain's Message", *The Eighth Annual Brigadoon (Bundanoon) Highland Gathering*, (20 April 1985), p. 3.

maintain a Scottish image; keep Australians aware of the fact that the Scots were of rather more significance in the nation than the Greeks and the Italians, who have perhaps a higher profile, or the Chinese who maintain a very low profile but nonetheless are very numerous and more obvious; and to rebut the suggestion that the Scots were just some sort of small fringe.³³

Part of this project, though, is to guard exactly what type of Scottishness is portrayed. Reactions against the suggestion that Scots might have been less than fair in their dealings with the indigenous population of Australia in the past were met with indignation, and resulted in resignations from the SAHC.³⁴ There is a strong sentiment that only approved Scottishness should be fostered.

The SAHC, for example, laid down a set of guidelines for ceilidhs, which varied with the type of ceilidh planned, from concert to supper dance, in order to ensure that the 'right' kind of entertainment was provided.³⁵ While these may be seen simply as suggestions for best practice, there is an inescapable sense of codified writ about them. The author of these regulations certainly made it clear that he wanted to see things done the "right way".³⁶

More serious consternation was invoked when Grampian Television decided to film some activities during Scottish Week 1987 for the Australian segment of their documentary about Hebridean emigrants, *The Blood is Strong*. They had originally planned to film at the Bundanoon Highland Games in 1986, and then rescheduled to

³³ Broun, interview.

³⁴ See Chapter 4.

³⁵ ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689: Robin MacKenzie-Hunter, "Objectives and Guidelines for the Production of Ceilidhs", 1 March 1984.

³⁶ *ibid.*

shoot during Scottish Week the following year.³⁷ This too was postponed, and the program makers hoped to film during the Bicentenary,³⁸ before abandoning their plans to travel and take live footage altogether. Instead they planned to purchase footage, and overlay their own commentary. SAHC Chairman William MacLennan sent a letter to the *West Highland Free Press* as soon as the Council became aware of the plans, asking: "Where has this footage been purchased from? How old is it?" Revealing that he and the SAHC were concerned that they had lost the control over the program's content on this occasion, he continued, "I hope that viewers watching this series are truthfully informed about the Australian segment."³⁹ Aware that their version of Scotland and Scottishness could be questioned, especially by Scots, the SAHC was evidently preparing the ground for possible retaliatory missives. The feeling that representations of Scottishness in Australia could only be understood by Scottish-Australians becomes quite evident. This, coupled with the view held by many Scottish-Australians that theirs is a purer form of Scottishness than that exhibited in modern Scotland, makes them very sensitive to criticism from Scots.⁴⁰

³⁷ ML 1550/84 Box 6 (19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios, SAHC, to Ms Terry Wolsey, Grampian TV, 17 January 1986; Letter from Terry Wolsey to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, SAHC, 15 January 1987.

³⁸ ML 1550/84 Box 10 (19): Letter from Terry Wolsey to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, SAHC, 12 October 1987.

³⁹ ML 1550/84 Box 11 (19): Letter from William MacLennan, SAHC, to the *West Highland Free Press*, 1 September 1988. The series ran on Channel Four in the UK, and then, in 1991, on SBS in Australia – see *Cruachan*, 53, (September 1991), p. 5. The Hebridean settlers in Australia, some of whom travelled voluntarily, and many of whom were cleared from the land, were treated quite favourably in the program, although the resulting clearance of Kooris from Australian land by the Scottish settlers and others was also covered, much to the consternation of MacLennan and the SAHC.

⁴⁰ Once again, there is a guarded reality here. Malcolm Broun, for example, is happy at times to say that Australian Scottishness is purer and less adulterated than Scottish Scottishness, while recognising that the definitions are also quite meaningless. When asked directly in an interview if the Scottishness in Australia was purer, he replied that it was not. However, he went on to add: "I think it's a matter for anybody, any groups of people of Scottish descent to decide what they think is important [in Scottish culture]." – Broun, interview. Interestingly, there are Scots who espouse the former view such as the disgraced Dr Micheil MacDonald formerly of the Museum of Scottish Tartans in Comrie, Perthshire, who was quoted in a newspaper article as saying: "some of the best Scots are in Australia". – ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03490: Unidentified newspaper clipping, nd, 1981.

Guarding the way in which one country's culture is expressed in another is one thing. However, there is another side to their perceived role as guardians: that of acting as spokespeople for the silent majority in defence of the Anglo-Celtic status quo. This is particularly evident through the connections between the SAHC and the Big Brother Movement (BBM).

This was established in Britain in 1925 to promote youth migration from Britain to the colonies and dominions, where local branches were set up. By the 1980s, it had become one of the bastions of conservatism in Australia. From the outset, the BBM was involved with the SAHC, providing the funding for the various piping and dancing scholarships which the Council included in its Aims and Objectives. By 1987, Jock McAusland, Chairman of the Big Brother Movement Ltd in Australia, was also a Vice President of the SAHC.⁴¹ The Movement is well funded and well organised, enjoying the patronage of the Duke of Gloucester and, in the mid-'80s, Sir James Rowland, Governor of NSW. In 1985, the Movement pledged \$20,000 to the Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal.

In addition to its benevolent funding of education through scholarships and donations, the Movement also developed a political stance in 1985, when it convened an "Australian Heritage" meeting, to which representatives of the SAHC were invited. The meeting was convened "to discuss the feasibility of creating a central 'voice' for all those who are concerned to preserve what has been termed generally 'The Australian Heritage'." This "voice", they had concluded, would be welcomed

⁴¹ See SAHC letterhead from 1987: for example, ML 1550/84 Box 5 (19): Letter from Rosemary Nicolson Samios, SAHC, to "Ray", 17 January 1987.

by the "'silent majority' ... [who would] provide financial support for it."⁴² Here, then, is their most blatant declaration of opposition to multiculturalism. The Movement felt that a voice for the silent majority was the desire of a number of organisations which had expressed "their dismay at what they consider to be a continuing erosion of valued Australian institutions and ideals at the behest of minority groups."⁴³

Multiculturalism and citizenship: changing identities?

That there were close contacts between the Big Brother Movement and many of the Scottish-Australian cultural organisations, particularly the SAHC, cannot be denied. Certainly, the fact that there was mutual support between the two groups does not imply that they subscribed entirely to each other's views. However, there is clear evidence that few in the Heritage Council believed (or believe) its own multicultural rhetoric. The feeling that they are being subsumed in a rising tide of multiculturalism, in other words of interest groups (gays, lesbians, the disabled, Greens) and ethnic minorities, can be confirmed by a further example.

When the New South Wales Liberal Premier, Nick Greiner, proposed the introduction of racial vilification legislation in the NSW Parliament, he sought support from the public through the Ethnic Communities Council. A circular was sent to all members of the ECC, including the SAHC. The SAHC's reply was lukewarm: the government was congratulated for its proposals, and assured that "Our community greatly values [the proposal] to afford legal protection against calculated

⁴² ML 1550/84 Box 4 (19): Letter from Jock McAusland, Big Brother Movement, to Rosemary Nicolson Samios, 28 June 1985.

⁴³ *ibid.*

incitement of hatred."⁴⁴ Only three months later, the SAHC received a letter from one of its clan supporters soliciting funds to enable one clan member (Robin MacKenzie-Hunter, former member of the SAHC Executive) to travel to Scotland for experience in teaching Gaelic singing. The line taken by the clan society was that, notwithstanding the large number of Scottish societies in the country, "in the blossoming multi-culturalism of Australia, the Highland heritage of Scotland is in grave danger of being totally submerged."⁴⁵ Funding was provided for the trip by the Big Brother Movement.

Like the USA and Canada, Australia can be defined as a culturally pluralistic state because of its very high levels of immigration from many countries.⁴⁶ From the 1970s onwards, each of the three abandoned their commitments to Anglo-conformity in favour of overtly multicultural policies. Like its Australian predecessors, the White Australia Policy and then assimilationism, multiculturalism recognises the significance of cultural difference, but it does not portray these differences in terms of superiority and inferiority. Multiculturalism, then, is the official recognition of human equality and, therefore, cultural equality.⁴⁷ Building and maintaining a uniform national identity is thereby rendered redundant in Australia: there is no

⁴⁴ ML 1550/84 Box 10 (19): Draft letter, unsigned and undated (1988), to Nick Greiner, Premier, in response to letter from the Chairperson of the ECC (NSW) (signature illegible) to ECC members, 16 November 1988.

⁴⁵ ML 1550/84 Box 13 (19): Letter from M. Armitage and J. MacKenzie, MacKenzie Society of Australia, to SAHC, 23 March 1989.

⁴⁶ W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1995]), pp. 13f.

⁴⁷J. Kane, "Racialism and Democracy: The Legacy of White Australia", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 128. Kane also makes the significant point that cultural equality is not strictly true in Australia, nor in any other polyethnic country, where some cultural practices, such as female infibulation, are not considered acceptable no matter how deeply and historically they are entrenched.

longer a uniform culture which can be essentialised and reinforced, because that is incompatible with multiculturalism.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the evidence of Scottish-Australian organisations. Firstly, without the secessionist tensions of some other multicultural states, including Canada, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, the former Soviet Union or Yugoslavia, and even, to an extent, Britain, Australia remains a peaceful, rich country. It has been argued, therefore, that Australia no longer needs a strong national identity based on patriotism and the past. Instead, it is increasingly being replaced by civic identity – the reaffirmation of political values and civic traditions.⁴⁸ This has the benefit of being inclusive, in that all members of the nation – the citizens – whatever their cultural or ethnic background can be equally involved in the political and cultural development of the country. However, that does not imply the return to the monocultural hegemony of the White Australia Policy, as there is room for cultural diversity and multiple identities as part of the civic identity.⁴⁹

The second conclusion that may be drawn is that these changes in Australian society are not universally popular. There is an evident fear of change, of moving into uncharted territory where status might be lost. The reactions of the Scottish-Australian organisations examined emphasise their anxiety about the future. This is not to suggest that Rosemary Nicolson Samios, Malcolm Broun, Peter Alexander or

⁴⁸ J. Jupp, "Immigration and National Identity: Multiculturalism", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 143f; S. Castles, *et al.*, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Australian Nationalism*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992 [1988]), ch. 8, esp. pp. 146ff; W. Hudson, "Cultural undergrounds and civic identity", in W. Hudson and G. Bolton, (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 165-177.

⁴⁹ Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 172f. This is true not only of national multiple identities, but also of, for example, sexual identity. In the 1990s, it was possible for Australia to make *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert*, an internationally successful film about gay drag queens, whereas had it been made twenty years earlier, it would have been a fringe film for a clique audience, and not at all acceptable, or even available, to a wider audience.

Bev Campbell want to return to the White Australia of the 1950s and '60s. However, there is an inescapable feeling that their position as part of the formerly unassailable Anglo-Celtic elite has been threatened. To the extent that minorities are no longer systematically excluded from the country and its polity, they are right, but with their positions and connections, their day is far from over.

Australia, like many countries whose independence was a result not of revolution but of legislation, does not have a national motto. There was no need for a slogan on which to hang the new country's identity in 1901, whereas there was for the founders of the American or French Republics. A motto is not as durable a symbol as a flag. That of the US implies assimilation – provided they are willing to integrate, there is a place for all comers in America. It is palpably no longer appropriate for the multicultural reality of modern America. That of Indonesia implies the acceptance of the multicultural nature of the country, and it, too, is perhaps inappropriate given that much of Indonesia's unity is enforced by the military. If the republican Commonwealth of Australia were to adopt a motto, it would have to represent the modern multicultural nation which Australia has become, as well as its traditions and ideals. The most appropriate and enduring might be:

Omnibus aequa, sodalis

APPENDIX 1

Stand By Britain Movement

Reprinted in *The Scottish Australian*, Vol. VII, No. 51, July 1946, pp. 2f.

Stirred by the activities of those in our midst whose allegiance leans towards a foreign order, 40 citizens representative of business, social and cultural organisations, including the Churches, formally established the STAND BY BRITAIN Movement ...

The Movement was publicly launched on 8th May when Sydney had not for many years witnessed a more spectacular Rally ...

A resolution submitted by Major-General Maguire pledging those present 'to do all within their power to urge their fellow citizens to support Britain in her moral leadership' has since been cabled to the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The Movement is determined to confound the disruptionist elements now endeavouring to undermine the moral, social, economic and political principles upon which our traditional civilisation is based.

The principle objectives are:- 'To inspire support for the preservation of our principles,' and 'to resist all influences opposing that objective.' ...

'It's a Noble Cause – Make it Yours. Be British, Talk British, Buy British.'

.....

APPENDIX 2

Objectives of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council

Transcribed with permission from: *Sydney Scottish Week Souvenir Programme*,
1981, p. 9

The Objectives, Aims and Purposes of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council are:

Firstly, to foster within the Commonwealth of Australia that heritage brought to these shores by the Scottish people and nurtured to this day by Australians of Scottish descent – the heritage of Scotland, the culture, the language, the literature and the music;

Secondly, to strengthen that heritage:

– **by organising**, sponsoring and financing such activities as:

- cultural exchanges between Scotland and Australia;
- exchange programmes for apprentices and students;
- a Scholarship for Australians of Scottish descent at The College of Piping;
- a Scholarship for Australians of Scottish descent to a suitable academy of highland dancing;
- the research, writing and publishing of a History of Scots in Australia and especially of their contribution to the Founding and Pioneering of the Nation;
- the establishment of a Chair of Celtic Studies at a University within this Country;

– **by addressing** to the several Governments of this Country calls for action upon such matters as:

- the removal of tariff duties on Scottish national dress and woven tartan materials;
- the recognition of the bagpipes as a musical instrument for the purposes of school examinations in all States and Territories;
- the study of the causes of the present high return factor in Scottish immigration to this Country, and measures to reduce it;
- medical research in Australia into diseases peculiar to or especially affecting the Celtic race;

– **and by encouraging** and promoting the genealogical and historical research and study of their Scottish ancestry by individuals, families and clan and other Scottish associations;

Thirdly, in furtherance of the foregoing and to strengthen the bonds of kinship among and between Scots and those of Scottish descent within and beyond this Country, specifically, to organise:

- In 1981 and annually thereafter, a Sydney Scottish Week, the principal feature of which shall be the March of the Clans;
- In 1982 a meeting in Melbourne of officers from all Clan and Scottish Societies in Australia as a preliminary to the establishment of a Bi-Centennial [*sic*] Committee to prepare and organise to hold in Australia under the auspices of The Council, the following events:
 - In 1983 an All-Australian Gathering of the Clans;
 - In 1985 a Southern Hemisphere Gathering of the Clans;

- In 1988 a World-Wide Gathering of the Clans as the Scottish contribution to the Bi-Centennial Celebrations of the Founding of our Nation;

and thereafter such activities as may then to The Council seem meet and right in furtherance of the general aims of The Council;

Fourthly, to assist Clan associations, Scottish societies, Scottish dancing groups and pipe bands, especially in the instruction and promotion of pipe music, the Gaelic language and Scottish dancing;

And Fifthly, to raise and disburse funds for the furtherance and attainment of these Objectives.

•••••

APPENDIX 3

Two Letters from Ian MacGillivray to the Scottish Australian Heritage Council.

(I): 14 October 1981.

From: ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487, SAHC Further Records 1929-1985.

Whilst not speaking for others, I have a few comments to make which might give food for thought. My reason for not wishing to be present centres on what appears to me to be a strong obsession with the aristocracy which I find evident in your communications. I may well be accused of inverted snobbery but I am never at ease in the midst of people who claim to be Chiefs of Clans. I am a fifth generation Australian whose ancestors were extremely poor Highland peasantry, grossly ill-treated and dispossessed and finally betrayed by the very people whose heirs and successors now parade as chiefs. Most of them are now part and parcel not of the Scottish heritage but the English establishment, for whom I have considerable distaste. I have met several of them, and they included some extremely nice, decent people – Lord Kilranock, and the Mackintosh of Mackintosh, for example. Nevertheless, they seem to represent a Scotland which would have been completely alien to that of my forefathers. They know scarcely a word of Gaelic, they were educated at Eton and Oxford, and, apart from wearing feathers in their bonnets are indistinguishable from the chinless scions of English nobility. The thought of my wife being expected to curtsy to Lord Forres, for example, fills me with revulsion.

Our Society is essentially a family society. We are non-political and non-sectarian. We never ask our members whether they are Scottish Nationalists or monarchists. The chances are they would not know the difference anyway. We don't have a chief and don't particularly want one. Our family traditions recall the fact that they only [*sic*] did one worthwhile thing for us – forced us to migrate after burning down the humble cottages in which they [*sic*] lived. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that there were two Scotlands – each with different customs, dress and language. Our heritage is of the Scotland west of the Highland line. That other Scotland, which put to death anyone wearing the kilt, now has adopted the kilt as the National Dress of all Scotland. It is ironical, but they had no comparable dress which could evoke such emotion, or attract tourism!

What now passes for the Scottish way of life is really the Highland way and, if you want to find Highlanders in large numbers, Scotland is the last place to try and [*sic*] find them. The chiefs kicked them out because sheep were more profitable. Let them invite sheep to their festivities.

Highlanders are to be found Nova Scotia, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand. The cairns of stones to be found all over the highlands are all that is left of the clachans in which the Highlanders used to dwell....

But, all we were able to save from such desolation was our Highland pride which has survived generations of separation from the ancestral fatherland. I feel that we owe absolutely nothing to these chiefs with high sounding titles.

If ever this message penetrates the minds of your Heritage Council, there is a hope that one day we might assemble at a less pretentious festivity, where all are equal and there is no class demarkations [*sic*]. I hope I am wrong, but you give me the impression of an organisation dedicated to the preservation of a way of life which has no relevency [*sic*] to modern times, or the Australian environment.

In the meantime, I will be watching with interest, from the sidelines the activities of the Heritage Council, in the hope that one day I will find evidence of a change in attitude and thinking....

Finally, the cost of \$50 per double is a little too much for a pensioner couple. It makes me think that you really don't want guests who are not affluent.

• • • • •

(II): 23 October 1981.

From: ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487, SAHC Further Records 1929-1985.

... You seem to have gained the impression that I have been bottling up a five generation bitterness! – It is a fact that, although nurtured in a family where the pipes were heard almost daily, where all my aunts were dancers – my mother was reputed to be Australia's first lady piper ... never once did anybody take me aside and tell me a single damn thing about the family, from whence they came, and when. It was only

after they were all dead that I started to research the family ... they took extraordinary measures to ensure that I never learned a thing about them. I took this to mean that they must have arrived as "ringbolt passengers" in the convict days, and I started my research by studying in vain all the prisoner rolls. They came up squeaky clean!

But, whereas I would deny the charge of bitterness, I would have to agree if you suggested that I was more than a mite cynical. Indeed, I don't know how anybody could study the history of the period since the '45 and not be cynical; about the English, the Clans and their often stupid chiefs, and the mawkish sentiment which today is hawked around as "our heritage". Why even you present day highlanders, who speak a language my ancestors would not have understood, tend to be patronising towards us Australians. In Scotland they still call us colonials! And, they cannot forgive our outlandish accents. Even you make reference to them....

My ancestors spoke Gaelic. The transition to English happened a few generations later, and it did not have to go thorough Scots or Lallans. It went from Gaelic direct to what passes for English in Australia – a dialect of which you might disapprove, but to which we are completely entitled, as the Yanks are to theirs....

You ask, why haven't we lobbied the Government to have the pipes accepted as a musical instrument in schools. I don't know. Perhaps it would have appeared silly ... After all, the land was an English colony and the Scots only a part of it.... Why haven't we established a Chair of Celtic Studies at a University? I don't know that either. The Irish in our community might like to answer that.... You do startle me with your information that the celts [*sic*] are most prone to malignant melanoma in Australia. This is something I never knew before. Why haven't we petitioned the Government to include Gaelic as a community language? The fact is that it is not a community language at all. It is almost though not quite as dead as Latin....

As for the Gaelic sessions on 2EA [Sydney ethnic radio station]. A sheer waste of time. There are so few in this country who speak Gaelic – and they all speak English anyway – I think the first thing to do would be to ascertain how many people want to learn the language and organise the sessions as lesson periods.

Yet, you do raise some good points, which boil down to a simple question: What role are we as a Clan Society prepared to take to implement the programs you have mentioned. [*sic*]

... This is something which I promise to raise at the next annual meeting ... It may also form the material for an article in our 1982 Journal

On thing I will try my hardest to prevent is the formation of splinter groups within our organisation. When we sat down and decided to form such a Society some ten years ago, we studied the fate of the several similar societies which had come and gone. And the reasons for their demise? Too much back-biting, too much politicking and not enough emphasis on what the Society was about. We decided that our Society was to be an instrument whereby once or twice a year all the descendants of the many MacGillivray families who had migrated here could meet and discover relationships they never suspected, or time had erased from memory. We made a strict rule that we were not Catholic or Protestant; Liberal or Labor, or even Communist. We were just a bunch of happy folk meetings [*sic*] as kinsmen and women. We may not be as right as some, but we seem to have stumbled on a formula for survival. We have survived and are getting stronger. Your organisation might well study our methods. It is quite clear to me from your letter that there are already serious divisions in your ranks.

Whilst we can carry on as we have done, I for one will be content. Later perhaps we might play with the notion of doing bigger things in larger arenas, and hobnobbing with the aristocracy and all the rest. I hope we don't!

I conclude by wishing you and your organisation all the best of success. But please don't hold your breath waiting for me to join you.

.....

APPENDIX 4

Editorial: "Multiculturalism under debate", *Ethnos*, 64, September 1988, p. 2.

From: ML 1550/84 Box 11(19)

[The] Australian character of multiculturalism [must be] stressed. It is no more than a simple rule of thumb to make sure that traditional Australian values of fair go, of tolerance of each other, are applied to everybody – irrespective of one's culture, language or religion.

It is in this simplicity that the strength of multiculturalism lies.

It means the direct opposite of forced separateness.

It means to allow everyone to participate in the life of the Nation.

It is this application of traditional Aussie decency to the reality of a multicultural society, that has helped Australia remain virtually free of ethnic tension. In fact, the essentially Australian nature of multiculturalism has made our demographic diversity turn, from what may be elsewhere a danger, into a national asset.

.....

APPENDIX 5

Untitled, undated, unsigned circular against the Irish

From: ML 1550/84 Box 14 (19)

AFTER ALWAYS NAMING THEMSELVES Gaelic, the Irish now wish to refer to themselves as Celtic – why? The James Joyce Society want a Chair in Irish Studies at Sydney [sic] University – will the Irish Government, in Canberra pay for this by covertly giving the money to the Roman Catholic Church which will claim this as donations from the roman catholic [sic] population or will it give the money publicly? Make the difference between Gaelic and Celtic well in public.

The Irish are not Celtic – they are the descendents [sic] of the Norman invaders ... They took over Ireland – the original Irish in Ireland originally were descended from Celtic peoples from the mainland of Britain. The Celtic Christianity came to Ireland from the mainland of Britain which was then Celt [sic]. The head of the roman catholic [sic] ideology in Sydney now states that the roman catholic [sic] ideology was the one Jesus Christ left to the world and it is the only Christian Church. Why have the Roman Catholics dropped the Roman and refer to themselves as the Catholic Church? They are still run by the Roman Catholics in Rome – their money still goes to Rome.

The Irish Roman Catholics are the largest ethnic group in Australia receiving billions of dollars in support – how much of this goes to the I.R.A.?

Why has the Sydney Hospital been reduced in size and the Crown Street Hospital closed? Why does so much money go to St. Vincent's and St. Margaret's. [sic]

The Labour [sic] Party in Australia is run by the Irish Roman Catholics – the Trade Unions are run by the Irish Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Government in Canberra and the States give jobs only to Roman Catholics – Canberra is now a Roman Catholic city.

In New South Wales, only Roman Catholics are given Government jobs....

... All High and State Court Judges appointed are roman catholic [sic]. roman catholic irish [sic] women are the storma [sic] troopers of the roman catholic

[sic] faith – always insisting children should be roman catholic [sic]. Are roman catholics [sic] trying to turn australia [sic] into a roman catholic [sic] country such as Italy, France, Belgium, Spain, 1988 Bicentenary money was handed over to the roman catholics [sic] for churches, hospitals, schools. How much did the Pope's visit cost. [sic] It has never been made public. was [sic] the cost so high? -

In western australia labour government [sic] was returned to power – because the roman catholic [sic] faithful are instructed to vote for the labour party [sic] regardless of corruption.

Reject the Labour [sic] Party – develop a new political party."

•••••

APPENDIX 6

Arms and Bearings of Iain Macneacail of Macneacail and Scorrybreac

From: *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Vol. 71, Folio 87.

TO ALL AND SUNDRY whom These Presents Do or May Concern, WE, Malcolm Rognvald Innes of Edingight, Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Writer to Her Majesty's Signet, Lord Lyon King of Arms, send Greeting: WHEREAS IAIN MACNEACAIL OF MACNEACAIL AND SCORRYBREAC (formerly Ian Norman Carmichael Nicolson of Scorrybreac), Chief of Highland Clann Macneacail, ... having by Petition unto Us of date 19 February 1988, Shewn; THAT he, the Petitioner, born 19 June 1921 is the eldest son of the late Norman Alexander Nicolson of Scorrybreac, in whose name certain Ensigns Armorial were matriculated ... of date 9 July 1934, wherein his descent is further set forth; THAT a Standard was matriculated in the name of the Petitioner ... of date 1 October 1982; THAT the Petitioner did by Deed of Resignation in favorem of date 3 February 1988 resign into the hands of the Lord Lyon King of Arms the aforesaid Ensigns Armorial and Standard for re-grant in the appropriate manner to the Petitioner; AND the Petitioner having prayed that he might be Officially Recognised in the name Iain MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac, and that the aforesaid Ensigns Armorial and Standard might be confirmed unto him as Chief of the Highland Clann MacNeacail, KNOW YE THEREFORE that Conform to Our Warrant of date 18 May 1988 We have OFFICIALLY RECOGNISED as We Do by These Presents OFFICIALLY RECOGNISE the Petitioner in the name of Iain MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac, and MAINTAINED, RATIFIED and CONFIRMED as We Do by These Presents MAINTAIN, RATIFY and CONFIRM unto the Petitioner, Chief of the Highland Clann MacNeacail, the following Ensigns Armorial, as depicted on the margin ... by demonstration of which Ensigns Armorial he and his successors in the same are, amongst all Nobles and Places of Honour, to be taken, numbered, accounted and received as Nobles in the Noblesse of Scotland; IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF We have Subscribed These Presents and the Seal of Our Office is affixed hereto at Edinburgh this 19th day of April in the 38th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and of Her Other Realms and Territories, Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, and in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-nine.

•••••

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archival Material

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (ML)

Scottish Australian Heritage Council Archival Material:

- ML MSS 4363 Box 1(2), Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Records.
• Correspondence and press clippings, 1981
- ML MSS 4363 Box 2(2), Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Records.
• Clan Nicaill files
• MacLennan files
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1689, Scottish Australian Heritage Council.
• Correspondence 1981-1984
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03482, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.
• SAHC Constitution
• SAHC Membership, executive, etc.
• Correspondence, 1981
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03483, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.
• Correspondence, 1981 (continued)
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03484, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.
• Correspondence, 1981-1985
• SAHC publications, 1982-1985
• Chair of Celtic Studies documents
• Celtic Melanoma Unit, Sydney Hospital
• Media reports
• Australian Tartan Competition
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03485, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.
• Scottish Weeks, 1981-1985
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03486, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.
• Clans: General files
• Clans: files relating to clans Agnew, Arbuthnott, Buchan, Cameron,
Campbell, Donald, Donnachaidh, Forsythe, Gordon, Grant, Gunn,
Hay, Hunter and Jardine
- ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03487, Scottish Australian Heritage Council,
Further Records, 1929-1985.

- Clans: Lamont, MacAulay, MacDougall, MacDuff, MacGillivray, MacKenzie, MacLaren, Maclean, MacLennan, MacLeod, MacNeil, MacQuarrie, MacThomas, Maxwell, Melville, Menzies and Murray.

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03488, Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Further Records, 1929-1985.

- Clans: Ross, Stewart, Sutherland, Urquhart and Wallace -
- Clan Nicail

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03489, Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Further Records, 1929-1985.

- Files relating to tartans and kilt import duties
- Visit of Sir Iain Moncrieffe, 1982
- Visit of the Lord Provost of Glasgow
- Wreath laying ceremony at the grave of Forby Sutherland
- Correspondence relating to publication of book on the History of Scots in Australia, 1982
- Clan tankards
- SAHC Sponsored Tour of Scotland, 1985
- Heritage Week certificate
- Miscellaneous notes
- Printed material acquired
- Newscuttings, 1982-1985
- Wollongong Chapter of the SAHC

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03490, Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Further Records, 1929-1985.

(Files of other Related and Scottish Organisations)

- Australian Tartan Company
- Celtic Council of Australia, 1984
- Combined Scottish Societies of NSW, 1982-1985
- NSW Pipe Band Association, 1977-1982
- Parramatta District Caledonian Society, 1984
- Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, 1984
- Scottish Clans Council of Australia, 1981-1984
- Scottish Clans Society of NSW, 1984
- Scottish National Party, 1981-1984
- Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia, 1982-1985
- Miscellaneous organisations

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1725 MLK 03491, Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Further Records, 1929-1985.

(Files regarding other Scottish activities)

- In Scotland
- Carnivale, Sydney, 1981-1983
- In the USA
- In Victoria
- International Gatherings of the Clans, 1977-1985

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842, Box 1(2), Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Records, 1981-1986.

- SAHC Correspondence, reports, etc., regarding Geoffrey Ferrow Memorial Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal, 1981-1986
- Council for Scottish Gaelic, 1981-1984
- Scottish Gaelic programmes on Sydney radio 2EA

ML MSS 4363 Add-on 1842, Box 2(2), Scottish Australian Heritage Council, Records, 1981-1986.

- Celtic Council of Australia (including Chair of Celtic Studies), 1982-1985
 - SNP NSW Grouping, records and correspondence
- ML 1550/84 Box 1(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1980-1985
 - Files regarding sponsorship from Air India and Qantas, 1982
 - The Australian Tartan, 1984
- ML 1550/84 Box 2(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1985
- ML 1550/84 Box 3(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- Certificate of Affiliation (no. 1027) with the Burns Federation, 18 June 1983
- ML 1550/84 Box 4(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1985-1986
- ML 1550/84 Box 5(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1986
 - Correspondence with Alastair Campbell of Airs, Yr, CEO of Clan Campbell regarding the Bicentennial visit of the Duke of Argyll
- ML 1550/84 Box 6(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1986
 - SAHC Information Sheets, Nos. 1-31
- ML 1550/84 Box 7(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1986-1987
 - Files relating to Bicentennial preparations
- ML 1550/84 Box 8(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1987
 - Correspondence relating to Bicentennial preparations, particularly with Campbell of Airs and Sir Iain Noble
- ML 1550/84 Box 9(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1987
 - Correspondence with the Scottish International Gathering Trust
- ML 1550/84 Box 10(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1987-1988
 - Files specifically relating to Scotland-Australia Cairn Project
- ML 1550/84 Box 11(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1988

- Files specifically relating to Scotland-Australia Cairn Project
 - Files specifically relating to the International Gathering of the Clans, Sydney, 1988
- ML 1550/84 Box 12(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1988-1989
 - Files specifically relating to Scotland-Australia Cairn Project
 - Files specifically relating to the International Gathering of the Clans
 - Correspondence with Campbell of Airds
- ML 1550/84 Box 13(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1989
- ML 1550/84 Box 14(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1989-1990
 - Correspondence relating to the Scorrybreac case
 - Correspondence relating to, and full list of contents of, two time capsules to be placed with the Scotland-Australia Cairn, 1989
- ML 1550/84 Box 15(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1990-1991
- ML 1550/84 Box 16(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1991-1992
 - Correspondence regarding the Australian Standing Stones and the Glen Innes Celtic Festival
 - Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal, 1984-1986 (partially restricted)
 - Photographs (most undated and unidentified)
 - Audiotapes: Inaugural and Second Meetings of the Geoffrey Ferrow Chair of Celtic Studies Appeal
- ML 1550/84 Box 17(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- SAHC General files, 1981-1985
 - Clan MacNicol files, specifically relating to the Scorrybreac case, 1981-1985
- ML 1550/84 Box 18(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- Clan MacNicol files, 1986
- ML 1550/84 Box 19(19), Scottish Australian Heritage Council Further Papers, 1980-1992.
- Clan MacNicol files, 1987-1988
 - Clan MacNicol audiotapes: Gaelic singing and storytelling by Clan Nicaill Bard, Sorley Maclean.
- ML Pic Acc 5742 Scottish Australian Heritage Council Picture File.
- SAHC photographs (most undated and unidentified)
 - Samples of tartans

Clan MacNeil Archival Material:

- ML MSS 3829 Box 1(3) MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Records, c. 1958-1980.
- General records, c. 1960-1975
- ML MSS 3829 Box 2(3) MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Records, c. 1958-1980.
- General records, 1970-1971
 - Files relating to Annual Highland Dancing Competition, c. 1965-1982
- ML MSS 3829 Box 3(3) MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Records, c. 1958-1980.
- General records, 1970-1977
 - Files relating to the International Gathering of the Clans, Edinburgh, 1977
 - Correspondence with Clan Chief, MacNeil of Barra
- ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1777 MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Further Records.
- General records, 1982-1984
- ML MSS 3829 Add-on 1813 MacNeil Clan Association of Australia, Further Papers.
- General records, 1985-1986
- ML Pic Acc 6330 MacNeil Clan Association of Australia.
- Photographs (most undated and unidentified)

Other papers:

- ML MSS 5950 Box 1(4) Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990.
- Papers concerning career in Commonwealth Public Service, 1974-1990
 - Papers concerning the Kenya-Australia Society, 1986-1988
- ML MSS 5950 Box 2(4) Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990.
- Papers concerning the SAHC, 1981-1988
 - Clan MacAlister Society, 1882-1986
 - An Comunn Gaidhealach: Meur Astrailia (The Highland Association, Australian Branch), 1985-1987
 - Papers concerning the Celtic Council of Australia, 1983-1988
 - SNP NSW Group, 1982-1985
 - Papers concerning the writing of a History of Scots in Australia, 1979-1986
 - Other clan associations, 1983-1984
 - Scottish Gaelic broadcasts on radio 2NSB-FM and 2EA, 1986-1989
- ML MSS 5950 Box 3(4) Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990.
- 458 Squadron Association, 1986-1987
 - The Pitt Club Limited, 1973-1982
 - NSW Branch of the Australian Division of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators, 1986-1990
- ML MSS 5950 Box 4(4) Peter Charles Alexander, Papers, 1949-1990.

- Papers concerning the World Veterans' Federation, 1986-1990

ML MSS 4240 1(1) Minute Book of Council of Caledonian Society of N.S. Wales, March 1876-Oct 1877.

ML MSS 3982 1(1) Burgess Family: "Burgess Clan in Australia reunion 1881-1981".

Archive Collection of St Andrew's College, University of Sydney (SAC)

Archives of the Highland Society of New South Wales.

- Constitution and Rules, 1938
- Minute Books, 1951-1958, 1961-1964, 1978-1983, 1986-1988
- Annual reports, 1951, 1952
- Correspondence, 1951-1988
- Book containing newspaper clippings and New Year's Day Highland Gathering Programmes, 1941-1944
- New Year's Day Highland Gathering Programmes, 1907-1960
- Various editions of *The Scottish Australian*, 1945-1951

Records of the Granville and District Caledonian Society. (Placed with the Highland Society Archives, 1991).

- Files relating to Centenary Ball, 1985
- Minute Book, 1966-1970
- Minute Book of Committee Meetings, 1966-1981
- Minutes of various Annual General Meetings, 1971-1982

Private Collections

Archives of the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia (in their possession).

- *The Burns Club News*, 1981-1991
- St Andrew's Day greeting cards from other Scottish Societies
- Newspaper clippings, 1945-c. 1961
- Burns Bicentennial Exhibition, University of Sydney, 1959
- Correspondence, c. 1938-c. 1951

Minute Book of the Burns Monument Fund Committee (in the possession of David Scotland).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2. Printed Primary Sources

Clan and Society Newsletters

- Albannaich Astrailia*, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), No. 4, (1984/85).
- Albannaich Astrailia*, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1988/89).
- Albannaich Astrailia*, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1989/90).
- Albannaich Astrailia*, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1990/91).
- Albannaich Astrailia*, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1991/92).
- Albannaich Astrailia*, (*Incorporating The Southern Scot, Issue 12, Nov/Dec 1992*), (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1992/93).
- Burns Club Newsletter* (Newsletter of the Canberra Highland Society and Burns Club), (August-October 1995).
- Clan Cochrane in Australia Newsletter*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (1993) and Vol. 9, Nos. 2 and 3, (1994).
- Clan Johnston/e Association Newsletter*, Nos. 9-26 (August 1993 to December 1997).
- Clan Johnston/e Society Newsletter*, Nos. 1-8 (June 1991 to May 1993).
- Cruachan: Journal of the Clan Campbell Society of Australia*, Nos. 25-67 (March 1984 to Autumn 1995).
- Journal of The Clan Campbell Society, USA*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (Spring 1989).
- The Monthly Newsletter*, (Newsletter of the Scottish Society and Burns Club of Australia, Sydney), (November 1994-August 1995).
- Republic*, (Quarterly Newsletter of the Australian Republican Movement), Vol. 2, No. 4, (1994) and Vol. 3, Nos. 1-3, (1995).
- The Scots Link*, (The Scottish Family History Magazine for Australia and New Zealand) No. 35, (November 1995).
- The Scottish Australian Annual*, (1994).

Scottish Australian Heritage Council Newsletter, (January 1995-April 1996).

Sydney Scottish Week Souvenir Programme, (Annual of the Scottish Australian Heritage Council), (1981).

Internet publications

Australian Parliament House, "Referendums on alterations to the Constitution of the Commonwealth".

URL:

<www.aph.gov.au/library/elect/referend/referend.htm>

Clan Lamont. "The Chief of Clan Lamont".

U R L :

<www.e-gram.com/~websites/lamont/pages/chief.htm>

Hanson, Pauline. "Maiden Speech", Commonwealth of Australia, *Parliamentary Debates: House of Representatives: Official Hansard*, Tuesday, 10 September 1996, pp. 3860-3863.

URL:

<www.aph.gov.au/hansard/rep/dailys/dr100996.pdf> pp. 47-50.

Mosman Council. "The Scotland Australia Cairn".

URL: <www.mosman.nsw.gov.au/leisure/cairn.html>

Queensland Scottish Association (Inc.). "Queensland Scottish Association (Incorporated)".

URL: <www.ecn.net.au/~jabiru/QSV/qsa.html>

Royal Australian Navy. "STS Young Endeavour History and Background".

URL:

<www.navy.gov.au/9_sites/youngendeavour/bgrnd.html>

University of Wuerzburg. "Australia – Constitution"

URL: <www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/as00000_.html>

——. "Australia – Australia Act [1985]"

URL: <www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/as02000_.html>

——. "Ireland – Constitution [1990]"

URL: <www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/ei00000_.html>

Miscellaneous printed works

Anglo-Saxon-Keltic Society. "Aims and Objectives", (n.d.).

Australian Bicentennial Authority. *Bicentennial Briefing*, Issue 25, (20 July 1987), Issue 27, (17 August 1987), Issue 29, (14 September 1987).

——. *How to Make it Your Bicentenary*, (1987).

——. *Fact Sheet*, (n.d.).

Broun, Malcolm D. "Bicentennial Moment", unpublished poem.

Bundanoon is Brigadoon: Programme of the 17th Annual Highland Gathering, (16 April 1995.)

"Bundanoon is Brigadoon", Synopsis, (16 April 1994).

"Bundanoon is Brigadoon", Press Release, (16 April 1994).

"Bundanoon is Brigadoon", Synopsis, (8 April 1995).

"Celtic Revival", *Welcome to Courses & Careers Day The University of Sydney*, (program), (1995), pp. 8f.

Covenant People's Alliance, *Why A Monarchy?*, (Sydney: Covenant People's Alliance, n.d.).

Daniell, Sally-Anne. "Sydney, Australia Scottish Week 1994", unpublished report.

Filmer, W.E. *Who Were the Scots?*, (Croydon:W.E. Filmer, n.d.).

Friends of the Standing Stones. "Australian Standing Stones", (n.d.).

Garside, Margaret. *A Branch of the Johnston Clan: A Family History*, (Sydney: Margaret Garside, n.d.).

Glen Innes Standing Stones Committee. "The Standing Stones of Glen Innes", compiled by Craig Ralla, (n.d.).

Hepper, Walter H. *Israel's Heraldry*, (Sydney: British-Israel-World-Federation, NSW Branch, 1960).

Keating, Paul. *An Australian Republic: The way forward*, speech to the House of Representatives, 7 June 1995, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995).

MacDiarmid, Ian. *The Story of the Australian Standing Stones*, (1994).

Maclean, the Scottish Town in Australia Association Inc. "The Maclean Bicentennial Memorial Cairn", (n.d.).

Pinwill, D.J. *Fabric of Freedom: A comprehensive study of the Australian Flag*, (Kingaroy: D.J. Pinwall, n.d.).

Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, Vol. 68, Folio 21: Lord Carnock, 1985.

Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, Vol. 31, Folio 21: Nicolson of Scorrybreck, 1934.

Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, Vol. 63, Folio 112: Nicolson of Scorrybreac, 1982.

Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, Vol. 71, Folio 87: MacNeacail of MacNeacail and Scorrybreac, 1988.

Scots Across The World: The Souvenir Magazine for the International Gathering of the Scots 1985, (1985).

The Scots in Australia 1788-1988, (Edinburgh: SRO, 1988): flyer for Scottish Records Office Exhibition, 1988.

Sinclair, John. "Clan MacQuarrie Heritage Tour & Gathering, Australia 1-15 August 1988".

Steering Committee of the Scottish Cultural and Information [sic] Centre, "Interim Report", (9 October 1994).

United States Information Agency. *Constitution of the United States of America. With Explanatory Notes*, Intro. and ed. by J.W. Peltason, (Washington DC: United States Information Agency, 1987).

Newspapers and periodicals

An Teachdaire Gaidhealach [The Highland Messenger]

The Australian

The Daily Record/The Sunday Mail (Sydney – International weekly edition)

The Guardian

The Herald (Glasgow)

The Independent

The Independent on Sunday

The Irish Times

The Mail on Sunday

The Mirror (Sydney) [taken over by Sydney's *Daily Telegraph*]

The Observer

Scotland on Sunday

The Scotsman

Southern Highland News (Mittagong, NSW)

The Sun (Sydney) [defunct]

The Sun-Herald (Sydney)

The Sunday Times

The Sydney Morning Herald

The Times

Tourist Industry Publications

Glen Innes and Severn Shire: Celtic Country, (n.d.).

Glen Innes Visitor's Centre. "Glen Innes Celtic Capital", (n.d.).

NRMA Travel. "The New England Highway: the country way", (1995).

On Impulse, (Autumn 1995).

Southern Highlands Visitors [sic] Information Centre. "Historic Bundanoon", (n.d.).

The Southern Highlands Book, (1995-96).

This Month in the Southern Highlands, (August 1995).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

3. Other Primary Sources

Author's correspondence with informants

Letter from Mrs C.G.W. Roads, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records, HM Court of the Lord Lyon, to the Author, 9 March 1998.

Letter from Mrs C.G.W. Roads, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records, HM Court of the Lord Lyon, to the Author, 13 March 1998.

Interviews

All interviews conducted by the author; tapes and transcripts in the possession of the author.

Peter Alexander, Sydney, 10 August 1995

Malcolm Broun QC, Sydney, 26 July 1995

Bev and Colin Campbell, Sydney, 21 August 1995

Sarah Campbell-MacKenzie, Sydney, 21 August 1995

Jon Fowler, Sydney, 24 August 1995

Stuart Henderson and Duncan MacLeod, Sydney, 11 August 1995

Gwen MacLennan, Sydney, 10 August 1995

Sally Ross, Sydney, 23 August 1995

Rosemary Nicolson Samios, Portree, Isle of Skye, 19 September 1995

David Scotland, Sydney, 14 August 1995

Author's Note: since these interviews were recorded, Duncan MacLeod and Colin Campbell have died. The author's sympathy is extended to their wives and families.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

4. Books and Articles

- Adair, Daryl, and Wray Vamplew. *Sport in Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Adams, Phillip, (ed.). *The Retreat from Tolerance: A Snapshot of Australian Society*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1997).
- Allen, Judith. *Sex and Secrets*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Alomes, Stephen. *A Nation at Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880-1988*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).
- Altman, Dennis. "(Homo)sexual Identities, Queer Theory and Politics", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 105-114.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]).
- Appleyard, R.T. *British Emigration to Australia*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1964).
- , A. Ray and A. Segal. *The Ten Pound Immigrants*, (London: Boxtree, 1988).
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literature*, (London: Routledge, 1989).
- Atkinson, Alan. *The Muddle-Headed Republic*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Attwood, Bain. *The Making of the Aborigines*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989).
- Bain, Irene. "Post-war Scottish Immigration", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 784-790.
- Balibar, Etienne. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology", (trans. C. Turner), in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 86-106.
- , and Immanuel Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991).
- Bean, Clive, Marian Simms, Scott Bennett and John Warhurst, (eds.). *The Politics of Retribution: The 1996 Federal Election*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997).

- Bell, Daniel. "Ethnicity and Social Change", in N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, (Cambridge MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1976 [1975]), pp. 141-174.
- Benn, Tony, and Andrew Hood. *Common Sense: A New Constitution for Britain*, (London: Hutchinson, 1993).
- Bessant, Bob. "British Imperial Propaganda and the Republic", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 42, (1994), pp. 1-4.
- Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*, (London, Thousand Oaks CA, and New Delhi: SAGE, 1995).
- Blair, Amanda, (ed.). *The Essential Pauline Hanson: Quotes, Comment, Puzzles and Colouring In*, (Sydney: Hodder, 1996).
- Boltoan, G.C. "The Irish in Australian Historiography", in C. Kiernan, (ed.), *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988: Bicentennial Essays*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986)
- Bolton, Geoffrey. *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 5, *The Middle Way 1942-1995*, 2nd ed., (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1990]).
- Brander, Michael. *The Emigrant Scots*, (London: Constable, 1982).
- Branson, Noreen. *History of the Communist Party in Britain*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997).
- Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985 [1982]).
- Brosnan, Leila. *Reading Virginia Woolf's Essays and Journalism: Breaking the Surface of Silence*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997).
- Bull, Philip, Chris McConville and Noel McLachlan. *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference*, (Melbourne: La Trobe University Press, 1990).
- Burgmann, Verity, and Jenny Lee, (eds.). *Constructing a Culture: A People's History of Australia since 1788*, (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1988).
- Burns Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. IX, (1985).
- Burns, J.H. "Stands Scotland Where It Did?", Review Article, *History*, 70, 228, (1985), pp. 46-59.
- Butt, Peter, and Eagleton, Robert. *Mabo: What the High Court Said*, (Sydney: Federation Press, 1993).
- Calder, Angus. *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994).
- Cameron, Peter. *Finishing School for Blokes*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997).
- Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]), pp. 101-164.

- Cardell, Kerry, and Cliff Cumming. "Scotland's Three Tongues in Australia: Colonial Hamilton in the 1860s and 1870s", *Scottish Studies*, 31, 1992-93, pp. 40-62.
- Carey, Peter. *Oscar & Lucinda*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1988).
- Carrier, James C., (ed.). *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- Carroll, John, (ed.). *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay*, (London: faber and faber, 1988 [1987]).
- Castles, Francis G., (ed.). *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991).
- Castles, Ian. *The 1986 Census Dictionary*, (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1986).
- Castles, Stephen, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992).
- Clark, Colin. *Australian Hopes and Fears*, (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958).
- Clark, Manning. *A History of Australia*, abr. Michael Cathcart, (London: Pimlico, 1995 [1993]).
- Cochrane, Peter. *Simpson and the Donkey: The Making of a Legend*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992).
- . "Anglo-Saxonness: Ancestors and Identity", off-print, (1995).
- Cohen, Barry. *Life With Gough*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996).
- Cole, Douglas. "'The Crimson Thread of Kinship': Ethnic Ideas in Australia, 1870-1914", *Historical Studies*, 14, 56, (April 1971), pp. 511-525.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Cowlshaw, Gillian, and Barry Morris, (eds.). *Race Matters: Indigenous Australians and 'Our' Society*, (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1997).
- Crisp, L.F. *The Australian Federal Labor Party 1901-1951*, (London and Melbourne: Longman, Green and Co., 1955).
- Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1986]).
- Crough, G., and Ted Wheelwright. *Australia: A Client State*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1982).
- and T. Wilshire, (eds.). *Australia and World Capitalism*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1980).

- Cumming, Cliff. "Scottish Identity in an Australian Colony", *Scottish Historical Review*, 72, 193, (April 1993), pp. 22-38.
- Curthoys, Ann. "Identity Crisis: Colonialism, Nation and Gender in Australian History", *Gender & History*, 5, 2, (Summer, 1993), pp. 165-176.
- Daly, M.T. *Sydney Boom Sydney Bust: The city and its property market 1850-1981*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1982).
- Darian-Smith, Kate. *On the Home Front: Melbourne in Wartime 1939-1945*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- and Paula Hamilton, (eds.). *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1984).
- Darian-Smith, Kate, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall, (eds.). *Text, Theory, Space: Land, literature and history in South Africa and Australia*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Davidson, Basil. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, (London: James Currey, 1992).
- Delafenêtre, David G. "Interculturalism, Multiracialism and Transculturism: Australian and Canadian Experiences in the 1990s", *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics*, 3, 1, (1997), pp. 89-109.
- Delany, Gerard. *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (London: Macmillan, 1995).
- De Groot, Joanna. "'Sex' and 'Race': The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century", in S. Mendus and J. Rendall, (eds.), *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary studies of gender in the nineteenth century*, (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 89-128.
- Demidenko, Helen [Helen Darville]. *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995 [1994]).
- Dening, Greg. *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994 [1992]).
- Docker, John. "Dilemmas of Identity: The Desire for Other in Colonial and Post Colonial Cultural History", *Working Papers in Australian Studies*, 74, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, University of London, (1992).
- . *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Donnachie, Ian and Christopher Whatley, (eds.). *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992).
- Doyle, Roddy. "Charlie Cook", in *Heroes and Villains: An Anthology of Animosity and Admiration*, (London: Victor Gollancz in association with *The Independent Magazine*, 1994), pp. 75-78.
- Duffield, Ian. "The Life and Death of 'Black' John Goff: Aspects of Black Convict Contribution to Resistance Patterns During the Transportation Era

- in Eastern Australia", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 33, 1, (1987), pp. 30-44.
- and James Bradley, (eds.). *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1997).
- Dunn, Michael. *Australia and the Empire: From 1788 to the Present*, (Sydney: Fontana, 1984).
- Dyster, Barrie and David Meredith. *Australia in the International Economy in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Easson, Michael, (ed.). *The Foundation of Labor*, (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1990).
- Eddy, John. "What are the origins of Australia's national identity?", in Francis G. Castles, (ed.). *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin 1991), pp. 17-37.
- Edwards, John. *Keating: The Inside Story*, (Melbourne: Viking, 1996).
- Edwards, Owen Dudley, (ed.). *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).
- Etzioni, Amitai. "The Evils of Self-Determination", *Foreign Policy*, 89, (1992-93), pp. 21-35.
- Evans, Gareth and Bruce Grant. *Australia's Foreign relations in the World of the 1990s*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992 [1991]).
- Evans, Raymond. "'The Nigger Shall Disappear ...': Aborigines and Europeans in Colonial Queensland", in R. Evans, K. Saunders and K. Cronin, (eds.), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975), pp. 55-121.
- , Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, (eds.), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975)
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, (Trans. Constance Farrington), (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1990 [1961]).
- Farrell, Frank. *International Socialism and Australian Labour: The Left in Australia, 1919-1939*, (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1981).
- Fesl, Eve Mumewa D. *Conned!*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1994 [1993]).
- Fischer, Gerhard. *Enemy Aliens*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989).
- Fitzpatrick, David. *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994).
- Fortescue, Stephen. "The New Russia: A Traveller's Impressions", paper presented at the 10th Biennial Conference of the Australasian Association of European Historians, University of New South Wales, (July 1995).

- Foster, Hal, (ed.). *Postmodern Culture*, (London: Pluto Press, 1993 [1983]).
- Foster, Lois and David Stockley. *Multiculturalism: The Changing Australian Paradigm*, (Avon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1984).
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*, (Trans. Alan Sheridan), (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1975]).
- French, Robert. *Camping by a Billabong*, (Sydney: BlackWattle Press, 1993).
- Fry, Michael. *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991 [1987]).
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*, (New York: The Free Press, 1992).
- Füredi, Frank. *Mythical Past, Elusive Future: History and Society in an Anxious Age*, (London: Pluto Press, 1992).
- Gans, Herbert J. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1, (1979), pp. 1-20.
- Garner, Helen. *The First Stone: Some Questions About Sex and Power*, (Sydney: Picador, 1995).
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1970).
- , (eds.). *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1976 [1975]).
- Goldberg, S.L., and F.B. Smith, (eds.), *Australian Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1988]).
- Gollan, Robin. *Revolutionaries and Reformists: Communism and the Australian Labour Movement, 1920-1955*, (Richmond, Surrey: Richmond Publishing Co., 1975).
- Goodwin, Craufurd D.W. *The Image of Australia: British Perception of the Australian Economy from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1974).
- Goot, Murray and Tim Rowse, (eds.). *Make a Better Offer: The Politics of Mabo*, (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1994).
- Gordon, Michael. *Paul Keating: A Question of Leadership*, 2nd ed., (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1993).
- Griffiths, Tom. *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, (Cambridge and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Hall, Rodney. *Kisses of the Enemy*, (London: faber and faber, 1990 [1987])
- . *Home: A Journey through Australia*, (Melbourne: Minerva, 1990).

- Hamilton, Annette. "Fear and Desire: Aborigines, Asians and the National Imaginary", *Australian Cultural History*, 9, (1990), pp. 14-35.
- Hawke, Bob. *The Hawke Memoirs*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1994).
- Heiss, Anita. *Sacred Cows*, (Broome: Magabala Books, 1996).
- Held, David, *et al*, (eds.). *States and Societies*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988 [1983]).
- Hempstead, James L. "James Smith – 'A Trusty Trojan'", *Burns Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. IX, (1985), pp. 33-37.
- Henderson, Gerard. *A Howard Government? Inside the Coalition*, (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1995).
- Henderson, Hamish. *Alias McAlias: Writings on song, folk and literature*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992).
- Hills, Phillip, (ed.). *Scots on Scotch*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991).
- . "On Tasting Malt Whisky", in P. Hills, (ed.), *Scots on Scotch*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991), pp. 181-192.
- Hirst, John. *A Republican Manifesto*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- . "Australian History and European Civilisation", *Quadrant*, (May 1993), pp. 28-38.
- . "Multiculturalism: Australia's Absurd History", in J. Carroll, (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 193-207.
- . "The Pioneer Legend", *Historical Studies*, 18, 71, (1978), pp. 316-337.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848*, (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1995 [1975]).
- . *The Age of Capital: 1848-1875*, (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1995 [1962]).
- . *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1995 [1987]).
- . *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1995 [1994]).
- . "Some Reflections on 'The Break-up of Britain'", *New Left Review*, 105, (Sept-Oct 1977), pp. 3-23.
- . "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]), pp. 1-14.
- . *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1990]).

- and Terence Ranger, (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]).
- Hoorn, Jeanette, and David Goodman. *Vox Reipublicae: Feminism and the Republic*, a special ed. of *Journal of Australian Studies*, 47, (1996).
- Hopkins, T.K. and Immanuel Wallerstein. "Patterns of Development of the Modern World-System", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, I, 2, (Fall 1977), pp. 111-145.
- Horne, Donald. *The Public Culture: An Argument with the Future*, 2nd ed., (London: Pluto Press, 1994 [1986]).
- . *Ideas for a Nation*, (Sydney: Pan Books, 1989).
- , et al. *The Coming Republic*, (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1992).
- Hudson, Wayne. "Cultural undergrounds and civic identity", in W. Hudson and G. Bolton, (eds.). *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997), pp. 165-177.
- and David Carter, (eds.). *The Republicanism Debate*, (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1993).
- Hudson, Wayne and Geoffrey Bolton, (eds.). *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997).
- . "Creating Australia", in W. Hudson and G. Bolton, (eds.). *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997), pp. 1-11.
- Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore*, (London: Collins Harvill, 1987).
- . *Culture of Complaint: The Fraying of America*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Hugo, Graeme and Chris Maher. *Atlas of the Australian People – 1991 Census*, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995).
- Hutchinson, John. *Modern Nationalism*, (London: Fontana, 1994).
- and Anthony D. Smith, (eds.). *Ethnicity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991 [1990]).
- Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).
- Jeffs, T., and M. Smith, "Youth Work, Welfare and the State", in T. Jeffs and M. Smith, (eds.), *Welfare and Youth Work Practice*, (London: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 14-40.
- Johnson Woods, Toni. "Virtual Reality", in Ian Duffield and James Bradley, (eds.), *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 43-61.

- Jones, Huw. "Evolution of Scottish Migration Patterns: A Social-Relations-of-Production Approach", *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102, 3, (1986), pp. 151-164.
- . "The Asianisation of Australia's Immigration Programme: Diversity, Preferences and Contradictions", paper delivered at British Australian Studies Association Conference, University of Stirling, (August 1996).
- Jordens, Ann-Mari. *Redefining Australians: Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity*, (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1995).
- Jupp, James, (ed.). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).
- . *Immigration*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1991).
- . "Tacking into the Wind: Immigration and Multicultural Policy in the 1990s", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 53, (1997), pp. 29-39.
- . "Immigration and National Identity: Multiculturalism", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 132-144.
- . "Managing ethnic diversity: how does Australia compare?", in Francis G. Castles, (ed.). *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 38-54.
- Kabbani, Rana. *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, (London: Pandora, 1994 [1984]).
- Kalantzis, Mary, and Bill Cope. "An opportunity to change the culture", in P. Adams, (ed.), *The Retreat from Tolerance: A Snapshot of Australian Society*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1997), pp. 57-85.
- Kane, John. "Racialism and Democracy: The Legacy of White Australia", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 117-131.
- Kapferer, Judith. *Being All Equal: Identity, Difference and Australian Cultural Practice*, (Oxford and Washington DC: Berg, 1996).
- Kapperer, Bruce. *Legends of People, Myths of State: Violence, intolerance and political culture in Sri Lanka and Australia*, (Washington DC and London: Berg, 1988).
- Keating, Michael, and Barry Jones. "Scotland and Wales: Peripheral Assertion and European Integration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 44, 3, (1991), pp. 311-324.
- Kelly, Paul. *The end of certainty: The story of the 1980s*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).
- Keneally, Tom. *A River Town*, (London: Sceptre, 1995).
- . *Our Republic*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1993).
- Kidd, Charles, and David Wiliamson. *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage*, (London and New York: Debrett's Peerage Ltd. and Macmillan, 1990).

- Kiernan, Colm, (ed.), *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988: Bicentennial Essays*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986).
- Knight, Kenneth W. "Some Scottish Educators and their influence on Australian Education", *Descent*, 15, 1, (1985), pp. 2-18.
- Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996 [1995]).
- Labor in Power*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1993).
- Lack, John, and Jacqueline Templeton, (eds.). *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Lake, Marilyn. "The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context", *Historical Studies*, 22, (1986), pp. 116-131.
- . "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation – Nationalism, Gender and other Seminal Acts", *Gender & History*, 4, 3, (Autumn 1992), pp. 305-322.
- Lamphere, Louise, (ed.). *Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Lees, Gene. *The Musical Worlds of Lerner & Loewe*, (London: Robson, 1991).
- Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1986).
- Lenman, Bruce. "Reinterpreting Scotland's Last Two Centuries of Independence", *Historical Journal*, 25, 1, (1982), pp. 217-228.
- Lerner, Alan Jay. *Brigadoon*, (Music by Frederick Loewe), (London: Chappell & Co., 1947).
- Lijphart, Arend, (ed.). *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1992]).
- Linklater, Magnus and Robin Denniston, (eds.). *Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works*, (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992).
- Lowe, David. "1954: The Queen and Australia in the World", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 46, (1995), pp. 1-10.
- Lucas, D. *The Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia*, (Canberra: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1987).
- . "Scottish Immigration 1861-1945", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 780-784.
- Lyons, Martyn, and L. Talesa. *Australian Readers Remember: An oral history of reading, 1890-1930*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Maan, Bashir. *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992).

- McArthur, Colin. "A Dram for all Seasons: The Diverse Identities of Scotch", in Phillip Hills, (ed.), *Scots on Scotch*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991), pp. 87-102.
- McBain, David. *'More a Way of Life' (100 Years of the Southern Light Opera Company)*, (Edinburgh: Southern Light Opera Company, 1997).
- McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1993 [1992]).
- . "Who Do We Think We Are?", (Editorial), *Scottish Affairs*, 6, (1994), pp. 1-4.
- . "Introduction: Multiple Identities", *Scottish Affairs*, 17, (1996), pp. 42-48.
- , Angela Morris and Richard Kiely. *Scotland – the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).
- MacDiarmid, Hugh. *The Complete Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid*, Vol. 1, (ed. M. Grieve and W.R. Aitken), (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1978]).
- . "The Dour Drinkers of Glasgow", in Phillip Hills, (ed.), *Scots on Scotch*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991), pp. 133-141.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. "The Irish in Australia: A General View", in O. MacDonagh and W.F. Mandle, (eds.). *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 155-174.
- and W.F. Mandle, (eds.). *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986).
- McGahan, Andrew. *1988*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995).
- Macintyre, Stuart. *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 4, *1901-1942: The Succeeding Age*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- . "Bloodstained Wattle or Red Heather? The Scottish Strain in the Australian Labour Movement", *Australian Studies*, 12, 2, (1997), pp. 91-103.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- . *Propaganda and Empire: The manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
- McLachlan, Noel. *Waiting for the Revolution: A History of Australian Nationalism*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1989).
- McQueen, Humphrey. *A New Britannia*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1980 [1970]).
- Malouf, David. *The Great World*, (London: Picador, 1991 [1990]).
- . *Remembering Babylon*, (Sydney: Vintage, 1993).
- Mandle, W.F. *Going it alone: Australia's national identity in the twentieth century*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1980 [1978]).

- Markus, Andrew, and M.C. Ricklefs. *Surrender Australia? Essays in the study and uses of history*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- Marr, David. *Patrick White: A Life*, (Sydney: Random House, 1992 [1991]).
- Martin, Ged. *Bunyip Aristocracy: The New South Wales Constitution debate of 1853 and hereditary institutions in the British colonies*, (Sydney and London: Croom Helm, 1986).
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, (trans. S. Moore, 1888), (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1986).
- Mathews, John. *A Culture of Power: Rethinking Labour Movement Goals for the 1990s*, (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1988).
- Matthews, Trevor. "Interest Group Politics: corporatism without business?", in Francis G. Castles, (ed.). *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 191-218.
- Melleuish, Gregory. "Universal Obligations: Liberalism, Religion and National Identity", in G. Stokes, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 50-60.
- Melucci, Alberto. *Nomads of the Present: Social movements and individual needs in contemporary society*, (ed. J. Keane and P. Mier), (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989).
- Mendus, S. and J. Rendall, (eds.). *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary studies of gender in the nineteenth century*, (London: Routledge, 1989).
- Millar, T.B. *Australia in Peace and War*, 2nd ed., (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1991 [1978]).
- Mishra, Vijay, and Bob Hodge. "What is Post(-)colonialism?", *Textual Practice*, 5, 3, (1991), pp. 399-414.
- Moorehouse, Frank. *Grand Days*, (London: Picador, 1994 [1993]).
- Murphy, Brian. *The Other Australia: Experiences of Migration*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, 1993).
- Murphy, John. "Conscripting the Past: The Bicentenary and Everyday Life", in S. Janson and S. Macintyre, (eds.), *Making the Bicentenary*, a special ed. of *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, 91, (October 1988), pp. 45-54.
- Murray, Les. "The Bonnie Disproportion", in L. Murray, *The Paperbark Tree: Selected Prose*, (London: Minerva, 1993 [1992]), pp. 103-128.
- Nairn, Tom. "The Twilight of the British State", *New Left Review*, 101-102, (February-April 1977), pp. 3-61.
- . *The Break-Up of Britain*, 2nd ed., (London: NLB, 1981 [1977]).
- . *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy*, (London: Vintage, 1994 [1988]).

- Nicholas, Steven, and Peter Shergold. "Non-British Convicts", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 32-36.
- Nile, Richard. "Editorial: The Pauline Hanson One Person Party", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 52, (1997), pp. 1-9.
- O'Brien, John, and Pauric Travers. *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, (Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1991).
- O'Connor, Tamsin. "A Zone of Silence: Queensland's Convicts and the Historiography of Moreton Bay", in Ian Duffield and James Bradley, (eds.), *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 124-141.
- O'Farrell, Patrick. *The Irish in Australia*, (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1986).
- . *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929*, (text of letters ed. Brian Turner), (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1984).
- . "Writing the History of Irish-Australia", in O. MacDonagh and W.F. Mandle, *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 217-228.
- O'Neill, Judith. *So Far From Skye*, (London: Penguin, 1993 [1992]).
- Orton, James, (ed.). *Debrett's Handbook of Australia*, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Debrett's Peerage (Australia) Ltd., 1987).
- Osmond, John. *The Divided Kingdom*, (London: Constable, 1988).
- Papadakis, Elim. "Does the new politics have a future?", in Francis G. Castles, (ed.). *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 239-257.
- Parés i Maicas, Manuel. "An Approach To Cultural Identity And Its Connections With Mass Communication", *Scottish Affairs*, 17, (1996), pp. 98-111.
- Partington, Geoffrey. *The Australian Nation: its British and Irish Roots*, (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publications, 1994).
- Pascoe, Rob. *The Manufacture of Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Pascoe, Robert. "The AFL 1996 Centenary Celebrations", *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, 108, (1997), pp. 113-117.
- Paterson, Lindsay. "Conclusion: Does Nationalism Matter?", *Scottish Affairs*, 17, (1996), pp. 112-119.
- Payton, Philip. "Re-Inventing Celtic Australia: Notions of Celtic Identity From the Colonial Period to the Era of Multi-Culturalism", *Australian Studies*, 12, 2, (1997), pp. 78-90.
- Pedersen, Howard, and Banjo Woorunmurra. *Jandamarra and the Bunuba Resistance*, (Broome: Magabala Books, 1995).

- Peers, Juliet. *What No Man Had Ever Done Before*, (Malvern, Victoria: Dawn Revival Press, 1992).
- Pesman Cooper, Roslyn. "Majestic Nature – Squalid Humanity: Naples and the Australian Tourist 1870-1930", *Australian Cultural History*, 10, (1991), pp. 46-57.
- Pettit, Philip. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Pilger, John. *A Secret Country*, (London: Vintage, 1992 [1990]).
- Pocock, J.G.A. *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition*, (Princeton NJ and London: Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Pons, Xavier. "Stamp Duty", *Australian Studies*, 7, (November 1993), pp. 36-45.
- Poole, Millicent E., Philip R. De Lacey and Bikkar S. Randhawa, (eds.). *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities*, (Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group, 1985).
- Prentis, Malcolm D. *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland 1788-1900*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983).
- . *The Scottish in Australia*, (Melbourne: AE Press, 1987).
- . "Scottish Recruitment to the Australian Elites", in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 774-780.
- Proudfoot, Bruce. "A Perspective of the Scottish Economy", *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 100, 2, (1984), pp. 96-103.
- Pybus, Cassandra. *Community of Thieves*, (Melbourne: Minerva, 1992 [1991]).
- Quanchi, Max, and Ron Adams. *Culture Contact in the Pacific*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Rawson, Don. "Has the old politics reached an impasse?", in Francis G. Castles, (ed.), *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 219-238.
- Reece, Bob. "Writing about the Irish in Australia", in J. O'Brien and P. Travers, (eds.), *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, (Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1991), pp. 226-242.
- Republican Advisory Committee. *An Australian Republic: The Options – An Overview*, (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1993).
- . *An Australian Republic: The Options – The Report*, (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1993).
- Reynolds, Henry. *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998).

- . *Aboriginal Sovereignty: Reflections on race, state and nation*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996).
- . "'That Hated Stain': The Aftermath of Transportation in Tasmania", *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, 14, 53, (1969), pp.
- Rickard, John. *Australia: A Cultural History*, (London: Longman, 1989 [1988]).
- Richardson, A. *British Immigrants and Australia: A Psychosocial Inquiry*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974).
- Riemer, Andrew. *The Demidenko Debate*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996).
- Robbins, Keith. "Core and Periphery in Modern British History", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LXX, (1984), pp. 275-297.
- Robinson, Cedric. "Notes Towards a 'Native' Theory of History", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, IV, 1, (Summer 1980), pp. 45-78.
- Rosenau, James N. "The Relocation of Authority in a Shrinking World", *Comparative Politics*, 24, 3, (1992), pp. 253-272.
- Rosie, George. "Museumry and the Heritage Industry", in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.). *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp. 157-170.
- . "The Establishment and the Aristocracy", in M. Linklater and R. Denniston, (eds.), *Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works*, (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992), pp. 26-42.
- Ryan, Lyndall. *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1981).
- Sabbioni, Jennifer. "Aboriginal Women's Narratives: Reconstructing Identities", *Australian Historical Studies*, 27, 106, (1996), pp. 72-78.
- Sahlins, Marshall. *Islands of History*, (London and New York: Tavistock, 1987 [1985]).
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin, 1991 [1978]).
- . *Culture and Imperialism*, (London: Vintage, 1994 [1993]).
- Scates, Bruce. *A New Australia: Citizenship, Radicalism and the First Republic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Schaffer, Kay. *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1988]).
- . "Women and the Bush: Australian National Identity and Representations of the Feminine", *Working Papers in Australian Studies*, 46, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, University of London, (1989).
- Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*, (London: HarperCollins, 1995).
- Schwartz, Hillel. *The Century's End: A Cultural History of Fin de siecle from the 1990s through the 1990s*, (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

- Scotland-Australia Bicentennial Committee, *Scotland-Australia 1788-1988*, (Edinburgh: Commonwealth Institute, 1988).
- Seers, Dudley. *The Political Economy of Nationalism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- Shapiro, Ron. "Ethics, the Literary Imagination, and the Other: The Hand that Ought, or was Imagined, to have Signed the Paper", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 50/51, (1996), pp. 42-50.
- Shepperson, George. "Ourselves as Others: Some Comments on Cedric Robinson on George Shepperson", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, IV, 1, (Summer 1980), pp. 79-87.
- Shoemaker, Adam. "'Don't Cry for Me, Diamantina': An Alternative Reading of Pauline Hanson", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 53, (1997), pp. 20-28.
- Sluga, Glenda. "Bonegilla and Migrant Dreaming", in Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, (eds.). *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 195-209.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Martin Robertson & Co., 1979).
- . *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
- . *National Identity*, (London: Penguin, 1991).
- . *Nations and Nationalism in the Global Era*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).
- . "National identity and the idea of European unity", *International Affairs*, 68, 1, (1992), pp. 55-76.
- Smith, David. *Continent in Crisis: A natural history of Australia*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1990).
- Smout, T.C. "Centre and periphery in history; with some thoughts on Scotland as a case study", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, XVIII, 3, (March 1980), pp. 256-271.
- . "Scotland and England: Is Dependency a Symptom or a Cause of Underdevelopment?", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, III, 4, (Spring 1980), pp. 601-630.
- . "Perspectives on the Scottish Identity", *Scottish Affairs*, 6, (Winter 1994), pp. 101-113.
- Solomos, John and Les Black. *Racism and Society*, (London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Spearritt, Peter. "Royal Progress: The Queen and Her Australian Subjects", *Australian Cultural History*, 5, (1986), pp. 75-94.
- Stokes, Geoffrey, (ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Summers, Anne. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The colonization of women in Australia*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1975).

- Tait, Robert. *Trashtown*, (Sydney: BlackWattle Press, 1997).
- Tanton, John, Denis McCormack and Joseph Wayne Smith, (eds.). *Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies*, (Aldershot and Brookfield VT: Avebury, 1996).
- Taylor, J. *From Self-Help to Glamour: the Workingmen's Club, 1860-1972*, (Oxford: History Workshop Pamphlets, 1972).
- Teall of Teallach, Gordon and Philip D. Smith. *District Tartans*, (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1992).
- That Land of Exiles: Scots in Australia*, (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1988).
- Thesiger, Wilfred. *The Danakil Diary: Journeys through Abyssinia, 1930-1934*, (London: HarperCollins, 1996).
- Thompson, Willie. *The Good Old Cause: British Communism 1920-1991*, (London: Pluto Press, 1992).
- . *The Long Death of British Labourism: Interpreting a Political Culture*, (London: Pluto Press, 1993).
- Thomson, Alistair. *ANZAC Memories: Living with the Legend*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995 [1994]).
- Thorpe, Rosamund. "Community work and ideology: an Australian perspective", in R. Thorpe and J. Petruchenia, (eds.), *Community Work or Social Change? An Australian Perspective*, (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 11-27.
- Trainor, Luke. *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]), pp. 15-42.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald, (ed.). *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994).
- Turnbull, Malcolm. *The Reluctant Republic*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1993).
- Uhr, John. "Prime Ministers and Parliament: Patterns of Control", in P. Weller, (ed.). *Menzies to Keating: The Development of the Australian Prime Ministership*, (London: Hurst & Co., 1993 [1992]), pp. 81-108.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: Sage, 1990).
- Walker, David. "Youth on Trial: The Mount Rennie Case", *Labour History*, 50, (1986), pp. 28-41.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Capitalist World-Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

- . "One Man's Meat: The Scottish Great leap Forward", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, III, 4, (Spring 1980), pp. 631-640.
- . *The Politics of the World-Economy: The states, the movements, and the civilisations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- . "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity", in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 71-85.
- . *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the changing world-system*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1991]).
- with P.D. Phillips. "National and world identities and the interstate system", in I. Wallerstein, *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the changing world-system*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1991]), pp. 139-157.
- Walter, James. "Necessary Myths", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 26, (May 1990), pp. 26-36.
- Wannan, Bill, (ed.). *The Heather in the South: A Scottish-Australian Entertainment*, (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1966).
- Ward, Russel. *The Australian Legend*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989 [1958]).
- Watson, Don. *Caledonia Australis: Scottish Highlanders on the frontier of Australia*, (Sydney: Vintage, 1997 [1984]).
- Way of Pleas, George, and Romilly Squire. *Scottish Clan and Family Encyclopedia*, (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1994).
- Weller, Patrick, (ed.). *Menzies to Keating: The Development of the Australian Prime Ministership*, (London: Hurst & Co., 1993 [1992]).
- Welsh, Irvine. *Trainspotting*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1993).
- Whitaker's Almanack*, 119th Vol., (London: J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 1987).
- White, Patrick. *Letters*, (ed. David Marr), (Sydney: Random House, 1994).
- White, Richard. *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992 [1981]).
- . "Bluebells and Fogtown: Australians' first impressions of England, 1860-1940", *Australian Cultural History*, 5, (1986), pp. 44-59.
- . "The Retreat from Adventure: Popular Travel Writing in the 1950s", in John Murphy and Judith Smart, (eds.), *The Forgotten Fifties*, a special ed. of *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, 109, (1997), pp. 90-105.
- . "Inventing Australia Revisited", in W. Hudson and G. Botlon, (eds.), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp. 12-22.
- Whitlam, Gough. *The Truth of the Matter*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1979).

- Whitrow, G.J. *Time in History: Views of time from prehistory to the present day*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 [1988]).
- Wicker, Hans-Rudolf, (ed.). *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity: The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997).
- . "Introduction: Theorizing Ethnicity and Nationalism", in H.-R. Wicker, (ed.), *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity: The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), pp. 1-42.
- Wilson, Gordon. "The Scottish Contradiction – A Nation in Limbo", *Contemporary Review*, 247, 1435, (August 1985), pp. 57-61.
- Wilton, Janis, and Richard Bosworth. *Old Worlds and New Australia: The post-war migrant experience*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1984).
- Winchester, Simon. *The Pacific*, (London: Arrow Books, 1992 [1991]).
- Winter, Denis. *Making the Legend: The War Writings of C.E.W. Bean*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1992).
- Winterton, George. *Monarchy to Republic: Australian Republican Government*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1986]).
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Ethnic/racial divisions and the nation in Britain and Australia", *Capital and Class*, 28, (1986), pp. 87-103.