

REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE AND ROMANCE: THE PORTRAYAL OF PEOPLE OF SCOTTISH DESCENT IN NORTH AMERICA BY BRITISH NEWSPAPERS, 1997- 1999

Euan Hague

INTRODUCTION: RACISTS AND ROMANTIC BUFFOONS?

The late-1990s was a moment when the issue of Scottish identity came to the fore in popular culture. In the United Kingdom, the 1997 devolution referendum and subsequent establishment of a Scottish parliament in 1999 led to the issue of what it means to be Scottish being widely discussed in the British media. Arguably, however, the major factors shaping these assessments came from North America. The release of Mel Gibson's phenomenally successful film **Braveheart** (1995) and the inauguration of National Tartan Day in the United States in 1998 saw US interest in Scotland soar. In 2000, the US census recorded a '40 per cent rise in the number of US citizens who claim to be of Scottish ancestry' (Kerevan 2001, p.1) and in 2002 nine thousand bagpipers were parading through the streets of Manhattan setting a world record for the largest pipe band (Hall 2002a).

My own scholarship was complicit in this process. In 1998 and 1999 I presented research papers at the national conferences of the Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers (Hague 1998a, 1999). On both occasions British newspapers and radio became intensely interested in

*DePaul University, Geography Department, Suite 4300, 990 W. Fullerton Avenue,
Chicago, IL 60614, USA.*

Scottish Affairs

my studies. To compare and contrast representations of Scotland I had interviewed members of the trans-Atlantic Scottish diaspora, namely people resident in Scotland and people of Scottish descent in North America.¹ Despite my reference to both groups, it was the opinions of the North Americans that newspapers focussed upon, attention which extended the ongoing media interest in perceptions of Scotland by persons of Scottish descent in North America. Drawing on Michael Billig's (1995) thesis of banal nationalism to analyze how the debate about Scottish nationality and the Scottish diaspora appeared in British newspapers during the late-1990s, here I argue that portrayals of Scottish-Americans and, to a lesser extent, Scottish-Canadians depicted them as either romantic buffoons fixated with a mythical Scottish past or as connected to racist white supremacist organisations that utilised Scottish symbols and history.²

Examining one day's output by British newspapers, Billig (1995, p.119) demonstrates how journalists write in a manner that forwards a self-assured national patriotism which contrasts with the foreign, located safely beyond the homeland's borders:

Daily, we, the regular readers, flick our eyes over the directing signs. Without conscious awareness, we find our way around the familiar territory of our newspaper. As we do so, we are habitually at home in a textual structure, which uses the homeland's national boundaries, dividing the world into 'homeland' and 'foreign', *Heimat* and *Ausland*.

During the late 1990s, British newspaper depictions of people in North America of Scottish descent were constructed in precisely this manner, the self-

¹ For fuller details of this research see Hague (1998b).

² Many of the British newspapers, such as *The Times* (London) and *The Telegraph* (London) produce Scottish sections and editions that are slightly different to those available elsewhere in the UK. At times these variations can amount to an entire supplementary section, such as *The Sunday Times*' 'Ecosse' insertion. On other occasions, stories published in Scotland did not appear in the English editions – for example, *The Telegraph*'s 1999 story 'Nationalists deny US fund-raising operation' did not appear in the main English editions of the newspaper. The selection of articles referred to in this discussion is based on those I discovered during my research into this phenomenon. I may have missed some, but there is no reason to suspect they would offer vastly different perspectives.

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

assured Scottish homeland being implicitly contrasted with the exotic foreigners who claimed Scottish identity. For example, in August 1997, Glasgow's major newspaper, **The Herald**, reported:

Braveheart and a bastardised and wholly fictitious form of Celtic mythology is fuelling the fantasies of socially disconnected right wing extremists and racists in the United States (**The Herald** 1997, p.14).

A few months later, **Scotland on Sunday**, published in Edinburgh, reported on Scottish-Canadian Jack Ross who lives in a replica of Dunvegan Castle in Nova Scotia:

Jack Ross lives in a time warp in his bizarre little piece of Scotland ... He has never visited his ancestral homeland as it could upset his eighteenth century view and sense of cultural identity. (Deveney 1997, p.20)

These examples typify the major themes of newspaper articles about Scottish trans-Atlantic cultural connections that were published in Britain between 1997 and 1999. UK newspapers represented Scottish-American and Scottish-Canadian people as romantic buffoons or as 'racist Scots' with white supremacist viewpoints (Hawkes 1999, p.14). These newspaper reports utilised a rhetorical technique, deixis, which encourages readers to identify with words and phrases like 'we', 'our' and 'this country' to present a dichotomy between 'us' – the newspaper readers in Scotland – and 'them' – those of Scottish descent in North America (Billig 1995). In addition, and within this deictical context, I also address how these newspaper articles represented me as an academic researcher born in Scotland and working in the United States. Depending on how Scottish or American I was portrayed to be, my viewpoints were either legitimated or discredited.

The central theme running through this examination is the status of Scottish national identity at the start of the twenty-first century. I maintain that Scottish identity is neither static nor simply defined. Rather, it is flexible and open to redefinition and reinterpretation by different people and organisations depending on the context of its evocation. Yet setting boundaries that demarcated who was and was not truly Scottish was implicit in the press articles. Birth or residence in Scotland were tacitly assumed to confer a normative Scottish nationality, and newspapers presumed that this real Scottish identity was self-evident to their readers in Scotland. Indeed, much of the controversy that resulted from my January 1999 presentation stemmed from the belief amongst many commentators in Scotland that 'Scottish' had a singular

Scottish Affairs

meaning and that other interpretations of Scottishness, for example, by genealogy or ethnicity, were deviations from this norm and were thus flawed.

THE GROWTH OF SCOTTISH HERITAGE COMMUNITIES IN NORTH AMERICA

Before investigating British newspaper representations of people in North America of Scottish descent it is useful to review the development of Scottish-American and Scottish-Canadian communities in the final decades of the twentieth century when North American interest in Scotland and Scottish heritage grew rapidly. During this period, hundreds of clan societies, genealogical organisations and bagpipe bands were founded and the US Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps and Military Academy all registered their own official tartans, as did numerous US states and Canadian provinces (Hewitson 1993; Young and Macfarlane 1998; Hague 2001, 2002a). By the mid-1990s at least half a dozen magazines served Scottish-Canadians and Scottish-Americans, many established within the final quarter of the twentieth century (e.g. **The Scottish Banner** began publication in 1977 and **Scottish Tales** in 1997). In 1998 the United States joined most of Canada's Provinces in identifying 6 April as Tartan Day (Congressional Record-Senate 1997, 1998; Hague 2002b; Ascherson 2002). Prominent members of the Scottish diaspora in the United States published books listing the achievements of Scottish-Americans, most notably Duncan A. Bruce whose **The Mark of the Scots** (1998) and **The Scottish 100** (2000) put him in a position to comment in Scottish newspapers on Scottish-American issues as a leading representative of the Scottish-American community (e.g. Hall 2002b). Scottish historians, in turn, re-evaluated connections between Scotland and the United States and contributed to the on-going public debate about Scottish-American issues in the British press (e.g. Hewitson 1993; Hunter 1994; Hook 1999). Other writing, though perhaps less academic, was at least as widely read. Romance novels with Scottish historical settings written by US women for a US readership included Janet Bieber's (1999) **Highland Bride** and Karen Marie Moning's (1999) **Beyond the Highland Mist**, amongst many others. The right wing American televangelist Pat Robertson also got in on the act. Following his business partnership with the Bank of Scotland, Robertson dismissed Scotland as a 'dark land' populated by 'homosexuals' prompting protests in Scotland and pressure on the financial institution to abandon their partnership (Pat Robertson quoted in McNeil 1999b, 1999c).

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

The most visible aspects of this phenomenon were Highland Games and Scottish festivals in the United States which grew in number in the final decades of the twentieth century (Hague 2001). In 1979, there were sixty such events in the United States (Berthoff 1982). By the early 1990s, between seventy-five and a hundred Scottish heritage events occurred annually (Brander 1992, 1996). At the end of the 1990s there were between two and three hundred Scottish games and festivals in North America (US Scots 1996; Ray 1998, 2001; Roberts 1999; Cornwell 2000). Such was the popularity of Scottish heritage that, writing in **The Herald**, historian Michael Fry confidently asserted, 'there is not one of the 50 [US] states that does not host some sort of Scottish celebrations every year' (Fry 1998, p.19). Other promotions of Scotland included a month-long 'ScotsFest' in New York City in January 1998, and September 1999 witnessed the opening of a major exhibit at Atlanta's International Museum entitled 'The Tartan: Cultural Fabric of a Nation' (Cauley 1999). Similar trends could be observed in Canada.

Since the mid-1970s, there has been growing interest in genealogy and Scottish heritage in North America. According to Stryker-Rodda (1987, p.7), genealogy has become the 'most popular hobby' in the USA. Stimulated by a number of synchronous events, including the celebration of the US Bicentenary in 1976, the ideological promotion and political recognition of multiculturalism that merges identity with ethnicity, and the success of popular television programmes and novels such as Alex Haley's **Roots**, throughout North America there has been a boom in ancestral research (Beard with Demong 1977; Stein and Hill 1977; Stryker-Rodda 1987; Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Byron 1999). Within this context, self-help guides to discovering one's Scottish predecessors appeared (e.g. Cory 1990; Baxter 1991). With this impetus the Scottish community in North America grew as more people discovered and identified with their Scottish ancestors, and yet Waters (1990, p.34) observed that in the 1980 US census, 'Scottish appears to be unpopular' as a choice of ethnicity in the USA when compared to Italian, English, German and other European nationalities. By the 1990s, however, things had changed and from Highland Games to Hollywood movies, all things Scottish became increasingly popular in North America, leading one commentator to claim that Scotland had superseded Ireland as the 'Celtic flavor du jour' in the United States (Roberts 1999, p.24).

Scottish Affairs

**BRITISH NEWSPAPER REPRESENTATIONS OF PEOPLE IN
NORTH AMERICA OF SCOTTISH DESCENT**

This growth of interest in Scotland throughout Nort

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

stereotypical perceptions of Scotland. For example, in **The Herald** Michael Fry (1998, p.19) unceremoniously described Scottish events in North America as ‘tartan nonsense.’ Others writing in the Scottish press are more sympathetic, Jim Hewitson (1998, p.29) explaining to **Herald** readers, ‘it’s correct that Americans should want to celebrate all those positive contributions made by Scots.’ Still others, when reporting on events within the Scottish-American community, poke fun at Scots more generally. Thus Linklater, again in **The Herald** (1998, p.3), can report on a bitter dispute amongst Scottish heritage societies in New Mexico over which design should be selected as the official state tartan and describe the argument as ‘ludicrous’ and, therefore, well within the bounds of Scottish tradition.

At times, however, playful mockery becomes outright derision, spreading beyond general descriptions to naming specific North American individuals who are celebrating their Scottish heritage. In **The Herald**, for example, Michael Fry (1998, p.19) describes the wedding photographs of ‘two friends’ who married at a Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, Utah:

He is in the tartan of the MacLeods with a resplendent sporran made of what seems to be horsehair about three feet long. Her tartan is Dundas, set off with a bunnet perched too straight on her head ... Does it not make the Scots blood race in your veins? Well, it may in yours, but it hardly can in theirs, because they have so little of it ... [The couple] are typical American mongrels, living in the Wild West, the most shallow of human societies. Lacking roots, they would dearly like to have some. They prefer the roots to be more rather than less exotic.

Fry’s article continues by outlining how, as a historian and public speaker, he is able to travel the Scottish heritage circuit in North America telling those of Scottish heritage the romantic myths they want to hear. Fry implies that the material he reproduces as lectures is somewhat false and that those buying his services do not know any better. All in all, North Americans of Scottish descent appear to be deluded by a romantic representation of Scottish nationality that Fry (1998, p.19) is happy to provide:

Americans love it [Scottish heritage, Highland Games, etc.] because it seems to them both colourful and authentic, however phoney it may be to us. I supplement my own income by lecturing to clan societies in the US (including Clan Smith). They are never less than rapt. I lay it on with a

Scottish Affairs

trowel, piling the stuff up till it drips down all over them and still they cry:
'More! More! Give us more of our heritage!'

The use of deixis is clear here. What is 'colourful' and 'authentic' to them is 'phoney' to us. 'They' who are 'rapt' by romanticism are impressionable North American enthusiasts who are *not* Scottish, the implication being that readers in Scotland are. This 'us and them' dichotomy is thrown into starkest relief when a journalist from Scotland travels to the United States or Canada to participate in Scottish heritage events. Entering a world that they are arguably inclined to mock from the outset, upon returning to Scotland their writing explicates a duality of Scottish reality versus North American fantasy. Such an event turned **Herald** journalist Ruth Wishart (1998, p.13) to drink:

Everyone at the gathering was impeccably turned out: Highland evening dress for him, silk tartan sash for her. Toes already a-tapping in anticipation of the upcoming hours of Scottish country dancing. So you will clock at a glance that the proceedings were being staged in the Yoonited States of America where they know a thing or three about Scottish heritage. Opposite me at dinner were a Canadian lawyer and his wife who were able to tell me without notes (and without pause) about their impeccable Celtic ancestry ... Recognising that I was comprehensively out-tartanned, I took to the cocktail bar.

Despite dismissing critics of Scottish heritage celebrations in North America as 'very sniffy indeed,' Wishart (1998, p.13) builds a similar dichotomy between the cynical, knowing, real Scot (i.e. herself and readers of **The Herald**) and the apparently preposterous, tartan-clad romantic North Americans of Scottish descent. Similarly, other journalists also struggled to maintain their initial determination to avoid disparaging members of the Scottish diaspora in North America. For example, despite noting that it would be easy to ridicule him, and that he should be taken perfectly seriously, Deveney (1997, p.20) proceeded to make light of the beliefs of a Scottish-Canadian in **Scotland on Sunday** in 1997:

There is a cardboard cut-out of Mel Gibson in Dunvegan Castle. He stands guard on the balcony above the living quarters, the cathedral-style ceiling soaring up, up above his head. Wee Dunvegan Castle that is. Wee Dunvegan Castle, Nova Scotia ... It would be easy to look at the Gibson cut-out and assume that the Scottish culture which has grown up in North America is based on the same fantasy of Hollywood films. [Wee Dunvegan

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

Castle's owner] Jack Ross wears the kilt, belongs to the Clan Ross Society, travels round the Highland Games circuit and attends a local Culloden Memorial Service every April. Round his house hang replicas of the ancient Scottish weapons that he has crafted himself. Yet no one from his family has actually made the journey back to Scotland in the two and a half centuries since they departed ... The family experiences which have been passed down to him remain frozen in the mid-18th century and he likes it that way. 'I was brought up with a history of Scotland that is over 200 years old. I'm more Scottish than the Scots as far as ancient culture goes'.

The very fact that Deveney's article is presented for a readership resident in Scotland invites audience derision, particularly because the Scottish-Canadian man is quoted as believing that he is 'more Scottish than the Scots'. This article is illustrated with two colour photographs. One, the larger, is of Jack Ross outside Wee Dunvegan Castle wearing a kilt, holding a shield and a sword that stands with its point on the ground and comes up to his shoulder. The other is of 'the real Dunvegan Castle on the Isle of Skye' and shows casually-dressed tourists in jeans and brightly-coloured coats wandering the battlements. The photographs make the two buildings look wholly dissimilar. Further, they enhance the implication that the Scottish-Canadian representation is unreal (contrasted with the 'real Dunvegan Castle') and thus so too is the Scottish-Canadian's Scotland. A fantastical figure, armed and parading in front of his castle, is semiotically contrasted with the half dozen tourists, real people, wandering through the real castle, in the real Scotland.

The play between reality and fantasy was noted by **Scotland on Sunday** columnist Alan Cochrane whose review of the declaration of Tartan Day by the US Senate chastised those in Scotland who distinguished between 'real' Scots in Scotland and what he monikered 'reel' Scots in North America (Cochrane 1998, p.13). Dismissing those who believe in such distinctions as 'purists' who are 'a bit pathetic,' Cochrane 'applaud[ed] the American initiative' and challenged that there should be a Tartan Day in Scotland. Lamenting that Scottish politicians, primarily those of the Labour Party, are not pursuing the creation of such a date to be honoured in the Scottish calendar, Cochrane (1998, p.13) continued: 'kilts and overt manifestations of Scottishness are for lairds and "pretend" Scotsmen, they [i.e. Labour politicians] seem to believe, rather than viewed as for the bulk of the population, a bit of fun and an excuse for dressing up.'

Scottish Affairs

Cochrane's comments about the US designation of Tartan Day comprised one of the eleven articles about the inaugural Tartan Day that appeared in Scotland's three major national newspapers, **The Scotsman**, **The Herald**, and **Scotland on Sunday** between 22 March and 6 April 1998. In the period under assessment, this event caused most reaction amongst journalists and commentators on the issue of Scottish heritage in North America. **The Scotsman** operated an internet message-board forum and between 23 March and 8 April 1998 that received 279 postings on the subject of Tartan Day and North American representations of Scotland. Some of these messages commented on this extensive media coverage, in particular the articles by Fry (1998) in **The Herald** and McArthur (1998) in **Scotland on Sunday**. **The Scotsman** itself reported on preparations for Tartan Day in New Jersey, again identifying a Scottish heritage enthusiast as someone who is fundamentally disconnected from Scotland and revels in kitsch images and romantic representations:

Places such as Kearney, New Jersey, for instance, a small town bedecked with Saltires, pie shops and a bar festooned with pictures of Loch Lomond and Princes Street. 'It's great news, wonderful news,' said a Kearney resident, Tom McMullen, whose collection of Andy Stewart records is the closest he has got to the old country (Hall and Doran 1998, p.2).

Citing Andy Stewart records indicates to readers resident in Scotland and aware of this popular crooner's songs and reputation that Tom McMullen of Kearney, New Jersey, has an understanding of Scotland on the level of **Brigadoon**, a Hollywood fantasy of a mythical, colourful, rural, tartan-drenched Scotland. If such music was as close to Scotland as this Scottish-American had come, the implication is that he had never got close to the real Scotland. As with the other examples, these journalists constructed a representation that utilised deixis to position themselves and their readership as self-evidently real Scots and the North American Scot as of dubious and, indeed, ludicrous Scottish identity.

Of critics writing in Scottish newspapers, McArthur (1998) was probably the most acerbic in his rejection of the Scottish romanticism evident in North America. Known for his attacks on, and reconfigurations of, Scottish stereotypes and kitsch tartan images (e.g. McArthur 1982, 1994, 2003), McArthur launched an assault on Tartan Day:

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

Consider it if you will: pipes wailing, banners fluttering, bandy legs draped with psychedelic tartans, none of which will ever have seen a 'wee bit hill and glen,' bronzed Florida property developers marching in step with fat-gutted California car-salesmen and South Carolina tartan-necks, all led by an Eton-accented 'clan chief' specially Concorded in for the occasion (McArthur 1998, p.13)

Like the other newspaper stories mentioned, McArthur deictically constructed a dichotomy between 'you' – the reader resident in Scotland – and the 'tartan-necks' of North America replete with their romantic symbols of Scotland from bagpipes to aristocratic 'clan chief.' Yet in his article McArthur argued that if a Scottish Day was to be held, it should celebrate other aspects of Scottish history; he suggested the Enlightenment. It should also recognise, he contended, that Scotland both historically and today has a primarily urban population. McArthur's (1998, p.13) rejection of Scottish romanticism argued that the representation of Scotland produced by Tartan Day and the 'execrable' **Braveheart**, 'imagines Scotland as pre-modern, highland/agrarian rather than urban/industrial, and ethnically homogeneous rather than racially and culturally diverse.' One of the newspaper commentators to make a connection between race and the representation of Scotland in the romantic imagination, McArthur's comments are pertinent and worthy of more sustained investigation.³ Indeed, the issue of race, Scottish identity and Scottish heritage in the United States in particular became a central theme in articles about the Scottish diaspora in the late-1990s.

Race and Scottish identity

A year before McArthur's attack on Tartan Day was published in **Scotland on Sunday**, James Hunter (1997) raised the issue of the relationship between Scottish identity and racial whiteness in the same newspaper. Describing US interest in Scotland as a 'growing obsession,' Hunter's perceptive essay about the complex legacy of Scottish-North American relations presaged his BBC Radio series and followed his book on this topic (Hunter 1994). Hunter

³ McArthur (1998, p.13) asks 'Has anyone asked Asian and Asiatic Scots how they feel about tartan as signficatory of their identity?' Although Saeed et al (1999) provide some indicators of the attitudes towards Scottish identity held by Scottish-Pakistani teenagers in Glasgow, they do not ask their interviewees McArthur's pertinent question.

Scottish Affairs

explained he had recently received from the USA a copy of the notorious white supremacist novel **The Turner Diaries** – supposedly the model for the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995. Rhetorically, Hunter (1997, p.17) asked: ‘the novel’s author ... adopts the pseudonym of Andrew Macdonald – as Scottish a name as one could devise. Coincidence? Perhaps. But I do not believe so.’ Three months later a major story appeared in **The Herald** that made myriad connections between Scottish history and its utilisation by the far right in the United States (Scott 1997). Kirsty Scott’s article also reviewed the Oklahoma City bombing and noted the Scottish associations of both the pseudo-religious doctrine Christian Identity and the Ku Klux Klan. Extremist organisations in the United States, Scott argued, endorse **Braveheart** and revere the Declaration of Arbroath. Adherents of Christian Identity, she continued, ‘see the Scots and the Irish as the “most pure” Aryan peoples’ (Scott 1997, p.12). Supporting its journalist, a **Herald** editorial (1997, p.14) maintained that although it was a pro-UK newspaper and that the SNP leadership behaves in ‘an exemplary manner’ when utilising a cultural product such as **Braveheart** in their literature, such movies – although ‘hogwash’ – are also used by the far right in the United States. Quoting a lecturer in Scottish History from Edinburgh University, Scott’s article explained that, ‘there is a very frightening right-wing interest in Scotland which extends beyond the militia movement to the more mainstream groups,’ such as the neo-Confederate political organisation the League of the South (Alex Murdoch, quoted in Scott 1997, p.12; see also McPherson 2000; Sebesta 2000; Hague 2002a).⁴

Andrew Hook (1997) further assessed the associations between the far right in the United States and representations of Scotland in **The Herald**. Hook (1997, p.17) argued that US groups were ‘claiming kinship with Scotland and the Scottish past, thus appropriating and exploiting Scottish history for their own sinister purposes.’ These recent developments, Hook (1997, 1999) maintained, were not unique, because in the nineteenth century Confederate sentiment was often constructed through reference to Scotland and Scottish history. Pursuing this point, Fry (1998, p.19) reflected on the relationship between Scottishness and whiteness explaining that it ‘has been lurking in the American undergrowth for some time. It first appeared in the Old South, in Virginia and the Carolinas, I suspect as a substitute for no legitimate Confederate feeling. Somebody of

⁴ *The League of the South was designated a ‘hate group’ with ‘racist’ viewpoints by the Southern Poverty Law Center in September 2000. The SPLC monitor militia and extremist groups in the United States.*

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

Scottish descent was by definition not of black, Jewish, or other undesirable blood.’

These media reports, making a link between Scottishness and whiteness in the United States, did not refer to or implicate Scottish-Americans themselves. They focused solely on extremist organisations jumping onto the bandwagon of **Braveheart**’s success and public profile. This distinction between people of Scottish descent and people with white supremacist views, however, was not clearly maintained following my own presentation in January 1999 (Hague 1999). My lecture described myriad constructions of Scottishness in the United States, including those of white supremacist organisations, those portrayed at Highland Games and those depicted by the Scottish National Party whose pamphlets had been available at Scottish events in North America in the mid-1990s. The newspaper articles that appeared after my presentation subsequently drew direct connections between Scottish-Americans attending Highland Games, white supremacists and SNP members.⁵ For example, I spoke with a journalist whose resultant article sensationally stated:

The Scottish National Party is recruiting thousands of members in the United States and soliciting donations from ‘tartan’ clubs, even though political parties have banned foreign donations. (Brown 1999, p.4).

The media, of course, intends to create dramatic stories to attract an audience and in this case the stimulus for much of the ensuing newspaper coverage came from this article in **The Guardian**.⁶ Journalists continued to sensationalise the issue, reducing the complexities of my analyses of the multiple constructions of what Scottish can mean, to banner headlines and opening lines crying, as in **The Times**: ‘Scottish societies in the United States with extreme views about a

⁵ *My work had drawn upon Scott (1997), Hook (1997) and Fry (1998). I complemented the information presented by these media sources with other work I had conducted, both on the image of Scotland in North America held by Scottish-Americans and the North American activities of the Scottish National Party (SNP). In retrospect, I was perhaps not rigorous enough in making clear the distinctions between these three positions and the different people and groups articulating them.*

⁶ *The 1999 reports on my research, particularly the article by Paul Brown (**The Guardian**) that was placed on international news wire services, were reprinted in a number of US regional newspapers including those in Atlanta, Boulder (Colorado), Memphis, San Francisco and Chicago.*

Scottish Affairs

pure white Caledonian culture are forging links with the Scottish National Party' in what were otherwise relatively balanced pieces (Hawkes 1999, p.14).

Although in some part these reports did accurately reproduce what I had stated, they stretched the material on two counts. Firstly, they erroneously assumed that Scottish-Americans, white supremacists and SNP supporters based in North America comprised the same individuals, and as a result many of the articles in the Scottish press proceeded to imply that the Scottish National Party was recruiting racists and that Scottish heritage societies in the United States were white supremacists. For example, **The Daily Mail** reported:

Euan Hague... claimed there were links between American white supremacists and Scottish groups in the U.S. (MacDonnell, 1999, p.17)

and **The Guardian**:

Some US [Scottish heritage] groups involved had strong links to the Republican Party and white supremacist groups (Brown 1999, p.4).

Secondly, journalists assumed my research was up-to-the-minute rather than based over a number of years (as academic projects typically are). Indeed, one reason why my presentation gathered so much attention was its timing. In September 1998 the Neill Report ended any funding of British political parties by persons ineligible to vote in the UK. During the development of this legislation the SNP had actively argued for the right to raise funds internationally (Lord Neill 1998). In January 1999, a few months after this legislation, I presented my research. Thus it appeared that the SNP were breaking this new law and UK-wide media attention followed. The SNP called a press conference on 8 January 1999 to explain their US operation to journalists and to dismiss my allegations about their North American fund-raising activities.⁷

After this press conference some newspapers published more considered reviews of the information I had presented. For example, **The Scotsman** printed a column that contained an interview with a former white supremacist

⁷ *It must be stressed that the SNP abide by the regulations established following the 1998 Neill Report. The SNP publication mentioned in my presentation had been collected at a Highland Games in the United States in August 1996. The SNP closed its affiliated US branch in 2002 (see MacLeod 2002).*

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

from the USA (Booth et al 1999, p.4). This individual explained that Aryan Nations, the organisation to which he had belonged, promoted an image of 'tough, hardy people in the Highlands who fight a London government which cares nothing for its culture or its people' (Thomas Leyman, quoted in Booth et al 1999, p.4).⁸ Gerald Seenan writing in **The Guardian** discovered that far right organisations in the United States, 'take inspiration from Scotland, and seem to be getting more obsessed by it' (Mark Potok, Southern Poverty Law Center, quoted in Seenan 1999, p.12).

In **Scotland on Sunday**, Young and Laing (1999) reported on further research by Roberts (1999) a version of which also appeared in **The Times**. Roberts had argued, as had Scott (1997), Hook (1997, 1999), Seenan (1999) and myself (Hague 1999-2000), that **Braveheart** was being construed differently by different people.⁹ This range of interpretation had led to political organisations as divergent as the SNP and Ku Klux Klan, although reading the movie in vastly different ways, utilising **Braveheart** with the same aims – to boost support and stimulate recruitment. Following Roberts's publication an SNP spokesperson dismissed her as 'losing the plot' (Will McLeish quoted in Young and Laing 1999, p.5). In turn David McLetchie, leader of the Conservative Party in Scotland at the time, stated, 'it is grossly insulting to compare a Scottish national hero with a leader of the Ku Klux Klan' (quoted in Young and Laing 1999, p.5). Insulting it may be, but this does not mean that it cannot be done. In 1996, Clyde Wilson, a director of the right wing secessionist neo-Confederate organisation the League of the South told delegates at his political movement's annual conference to 'Imagine the film of our **Braveheart**: The Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest' (Wilson 1996, p.30). Forrest was the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan (Wade 1987).

When reporting on the issue of racial representations of Scottish nationality and national symbols, British newspapers again invoked a binary relationship. In much the same way as they deictically constructed a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' to contrast the 'fantasy' of Scottish North American romantic buffoons with the 'reality' of their readership resident in Scotland, so too these

⁸ *Aryan Nations utilises the pseudo-religious doctrine of Christian Identity (see Barkun 1997).*

⁹ *Morgan (1999) identifies **Braveheart** as a 'white settler' colonial narrative that specifically demarcates Scottishness as a white, male nationality.*

Scottish Affairs

publications portrayed members of the Scottish diaspora in North America as racists while implying that Scots in Scotland were without such prejudices.

My mention of the Scottish National Party in relation to constructions of Scottish identity in the US fanned the flames of this debate and the subject became a political issue, thus gaining even more press attention. I now turn to assess the resultant newspaper articles of January 1999 in more detail as it was my own identity that became contested between journalists and politicians – was I a ‘real’ Scot from Scotland or a ‘reel’ one from North America?

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE RESEARCHER

‘An Edinburgh-born academic ...’ began McKillop in **The Herald** (1999, p.6), ‘spent much of yesterday back-tracking after letting loose a hornet’s nest by declaring that the SNP was in danger of jumping into bed with right-wing US Caledonian Societies in much the same way as Sinn Fein had courted the American Irish.’ In the nine articles published in British newspapers in January 1999 reporting on the connections between Scottishness and whiteness in North America, my research was mentioned in eight of them. In these articles, rhetorical deixis presented me to readers in a specific manner. Articles, such as McKillop’s, typically began by establishing me as a qualified academic, born in Scotland and having spent some years studying in the United States. For example:

Dr Euan Hague ... noticed the growing popularity of Scottish nationalism while spending four years in the United States studying the overseas perceptions of Scottishness (Booth et al 1999, p.4).

This discourse constructed me as a real Scot, born in Scotland, and positioned me on moral high ground, implicitly more knowledgeable about Scottish affairs than those in North America who assert their Scottish identity through genealogy. I am therefore presented as one of ‘us’ rather than one of ‘them.’ Further, noting my academic credentials tacitly gave me authority to judge and offer explanation as a detached observer. The newspapers thus presented me as being authentic and objective when it came to assessing Scottish identity, primarily because I was from Scotland and, secondarily, as I am academically

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

qualified.¹⁰ Positioning me as a real Scot by virtue of my birthplace also gave me an authority to indirectly speak about the Scottish National Party and their operations.

Mentioning the SNP in an academic presentation about Scottish nationality, race and the representations of Scotland and Scottish identities in the United States saw two different reactions in the press. Firstly, as many British newspapers are unionist and were warning at the time that the SNP's demand for Scottish independence would split up Britain, some attempted to tar the SNP with ethnic chauvinism. This reflected a newspaper's political stance against Scottish independence and the SNP were quick to refute such accusations. The SNP stated that they considered 'Scottish' to be demarcated by residence, a purely civic national identity, and thus without ethnic or racial implications. To promote this position, the SNP pointed to the success of organisations affiliated to them such as Scottish Asians for Independence and the presence at their national conferences of Scottish Asians wearing their Asian rather than Scottish national costumes. Despite such assertions of a civic Scottishness, the flexibility and attractiveness of symbols and representations of Scotland continues to enable many different organizations and individuals to invoke them in different ways and vastly divergent meanings can be communicated through their utilization. The meanings of Scottish nationality are fluid rather than fixed and thus, despite SNP assertions at the time, some people did interpret Scottishness as an ethnic identity while others insisted it was civic.¹¹

Secondly, the SNP dismissed my research as 'balderdash' (unattributed quote in MacDonnell 1999, p.17) and avoided the very point that I was making in relation to Scottish identity, namely that this can be interpreted differently from different political positions and as a result can be given conflicting and discordant meanings. In contrast to previous constructions of my subject position in the media that established my Scottish nationality as a legitimating

¹⁰ *Having reflected on the events described in this article, I realise that at various stages when presenting my work I too had assumed a subject position legitimated by my birthplace and academic credentials.*

¹¹ *Billig (1995, p.47) argues a division between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalisms is problematic in that it typically assumes the former are immeasurably tolerant, that the latter are 'intolerant bigots' and constructs representations accordingly.*

Scottish Affairs

fact, to further rebut my position the SNP utilised the extant discourse that demarcated those of Scottish heritage who are resident in North America to be deluded. An SNP spokesperson's argument suggested that, by living in the United States, I had become too detached from Scottish reality:

This is an academic who, I think, has spent rather too long in the sun in the American south and not long enough in the refreshing, cold Scottish rain discovering the reality of the situation (Mike Russell, SNP chief executive, quoted by Booth et al 1999, p.4).

I could have further recovered my Scottish sensibilities by speaking with those who are resident in Scotland and are thus fundamentally Scottish, namely the SNP:

Chief executive Mike Russell ... added that Mr. Hague could have got the real picture from the SNP had he bothered to approach the party but he had not. 'He should make sure he knows what is going on rather than making spurious academic speeches,' he said (MacDonnell 1999, p.17).

Despite the fact that I had not conducted research in the 'American south,' I believe that the SNP officials constructed me in this manner for two reasons. Firstly, as I was not resident in Scotland my opinions and views could be rejected as fantastical in the same manner as other Scottish North Americans were being dismissed in the press as romantic buffoons. I was not attuned to the 'real picture,' which implied that my view from North America was false. The comments also insinuated that I was suffering from sunstroke or some other heat-induced ailment that clouded my judgement – something that would seemingly be restored upon return to residency in Scotland. This rhetoric suggests that knowledge of Scotland and Scottish nationality can only be gained by ongoing residence in Scotland. Scotland was thus constructed as reality whereas North America is fantasy, and residence in the latter precludes awareness of the former.

Secondly, I suggest that because the SNP's position on what it meant to be Scottish generally referred to people resident or entitled to vote in Scotland, they may have felt no need for further discussion. Debate about nationality often opens uncomfortable boxes about alternative meanings of national identity, many of these tied up with race and ethnicity. Such a development could challenge the civic understanding of Scottish identity that the SNP were promoting at the time and arguably present a less palatable ethnic construction of Scottish identity evident within Scotland.

EXAMINING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN WHITENESS AND SCOTTISH IDENTITY

Following these January 1999 newspaper reports activists on both sides of the Atlantic contacted me repeatedly. Some argued that I misunderstood the SNP, others that my research was badly written and had no academic merit, accusing me of damaging Scotland as a whole because I portrayed Scottishness as a national identity that some people, admittedly extremists, equate to whiteness. Others informed me they had experienced incidents where the unspoken equation of Scottishness to whiteness had been thrown into stark relief. One venue for these latter experiences was Highland Games and Scottish Festivals in North America. Further research evidenced that during the final years of the twentieth century far-right political organisations, having identified an association between whiteness and Scottishness, attended some Scottish heritage events in the United States.¹²

One such occasion was in 1998 when a neo-Nazi organisation targeted the San Diego Scottish Games and Gathering of the Clans held in Vista, California.¹³ Pamphlets were distributed praising 'Aryan genius' and welcomed the Scottish Games as 'one of the only places left in San Diego County where a WHITE person can gather with others of his or her own race in a peaceful and harmonious celebration of pride' (emphasis in original). A month later, in July 1998, the Virginia Scottish Games and Gathering of the Clans, held in Alexandria since 1974, was visited by the right wing organisation, the Council of Conservative Citizens. Members of this group distributed leaflets outlining their opposition to 'Third World immigration.' Reporting that their leaflets were 'greatly received' by visitors to Virginia Scottish Games, the organisation repeated the exercise at a Scottish heritage event in Maryland in July 1999 (**Citizens Informer** 1998, 1999).

Another example of the equation of Scottishness to whiteness concerns the Ku Klux Klan. This organisation has a long history of association with Scotland.

¹² *At the end of the twentieth century many white supremacist groups in North America changed their strategy from promoting Whiteness to euphemistically asserting the importance of European ancestry (Berbrier 1998).*

¹³ *The San Diego Games has been an event in North America's Scottish heritage calendar since 1972 and in the mid-1990s attracted an average of ten thousand people (US Scots 1996).*

Scottish Affairs

People of Scottish ancestry in Tennessee founded the Klan in the late-1860s (Hewitson 1993; Hook 1997). Walter Scott's novels and poetry arguably influenced both the organisational structure of the Klan and its decision to burn crosses (Hook 1997, 1999). Thomas Dixon's 1905 novel **The Clansman** claimed that members of the Ku Klux Klan were not only of the superior Aryan race, but were the 'reincarnated souls of the Clansmen of Old Scotland' (Dixon 1970, no pagination). Dixon's novel became the screenplay for D.W. Griffith's infamously racist 1915 movie **Birth of a Nation** (Lang 1994). More recently, extremist groups have welcomed **Braveheart**, and the racist Christian Identity doctrine uses the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) and Stone of Destiny to support its white supremacist ideology (see Barkun 1997; Bushart et al 1998). Certainly for some, therefore, Scottishness is synonymous with racial representations of whiteness and journalists learned that US extremists who equated Scottish nationality with whiteness occasionally approached the Scottish National Party. Rightly, the SNP immediately rejected such advances (see Booth et al 1999; MacDonnell 1999; McKillop 1999). Despite this recognition of a relationship between Scottishness and whiteness, throughout 1997-1999 it was in relation to Scottish identities held by people in North America that the British media sensationalized this issue. These newspapers geographically situated 'their' Scottish-white identities in North America and, I contend, this deixis simultaneously constructed 'our' Scottish identities in Scotland as safely multiracial and multicultural, part of a civic Scottish nationality without the distasteful racial connotations of a white, ethnic Scottish identity.

These kinds of presumptions, namely that we know what comprises real Scottish identities, are dangerous to make. They can result in avoiding discussion of what it means to be Scottish solely on the basis that we do not need to ask. Indeed, it is all too easy to dismiss ethnic, white Scottish identity as being pertinent to a few crazy North American buffoons and to shift the issue of racial inflections of Scottish national identity outside Scotland, implicitly constructing racism as a problem 'over there' in North America's continent of Scottish fantasy and something that people resident in Scotland could not exhibit as part of their Scottish identities. This results in a situation where racialised Scottishness in Scotland could remain unacknowledged and unchallenged.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION: SCOTLAND, NORTH AMERICA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The repositioning of Scottish-American relations initiated in the 1990s continues into the twenty-first century. The U.S.A.'s National Tartan Day is now annually commented on in Scottish newspapers – where, somewhat ironically, it attracts considerably more coverage than in the United States. The extensive Tartan Day celebrations in New York and Washington DC in 2001 and 2002 stimulated a great deal of Scottish newspaper attention (e.g. McNeil 2001; Scott 2001; Gray 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; Hall 2002a, 2002b). A year later, Frank Urquhart (2003) reiterated the historical links between nineteenth century Scottish emigrants and the white supremacist KKK in the United States. By 2005, however, there were signs that Scottish enthusiasm for America's annual tartan celebration was waning. Reiterating familiar discourses, Brian Wilson (2005, p.21) dismissed Tartan Day's 'unproductive orgy of stereotypes' and lamented that the American celebration of all things Scottish had 'ambushed the whole issue of Scotland's image in the world' to the detriment of Scotland's ability to define itself. People from Scotland, Wilson (2005, p.21) argued, should maintain their personal connections with the United States but avoid the 'confection of artificial events.'

Disengaging from North American celebrations of Scottishness will, however, only exacerbate the misconceptions about Scotland and Scottish identity that abound in the British press when discussing North Americans of Scottish descent, people whose interest in their Scottish ancestries form crucial parts of their self-definition. Their lack of knowledge about contemporary Scotland does indeed result in outdated stereotypes that are difficult to reconcile with the daily realities of life in Scotland, but this problem results from the lack of a mutually respectful dialogue between Scots resident in Scotland and the Scottish diaspora, a dialogue that if it happens can widen the definition of Scottish nationality. Indeed, the characterisations reviewed here perhaps represent most of all a missed opportunity to examine what comprises Scottish nationality and nationalism at the start of the twenty-first century. Any serious discussions of diasporic Scottish identities were overshadowed by dismissive portrayals of North American views of Scotland and irreproachable assertions of the real Scottish nationalities of journalists and readers resident in Scotland.

The construction of national identities is a complex, continuous process and one that needs work to maintain and reproduce. Nationalities are neither as stagnant nor as simplistic as these newspaper representations of romantic

Scottish Affairs

buffoonery, racial whiteness and self-assured real Scottishness suggested. Indeed, it is a regressive nationalism that righteously assumes what comprises Scottishness and determines who is and is not properly Scottish based on a fixed set of criteria. How can we produce, therefore, a Scottish identity that would not be assessed by the authenticity of one's tartan clothing, extensiveness of genealogy, birth or residence in Scotland, but result from working together to generate a nationality that all Scots, resident in Scotland or beyond, could share? Although John McTernan (2002, p.18) writing in **Scotland on Sunday** repeated the trends I have identified, noting connections between Scottish settlers and the Ku Klux Klan and describing Tartan Day in Washington DC as an 'unreal kitsch' that 'has to be endured to be believed,' his essay on trans-Atlantic Scottish identities rightly argues that Scots should focus on the realities of tackling poverty in Scotland, 'generating modern business' and '[b]uilding first-rate teaching and research programmes' at Scottish universities, rather than travelling to the United States every April to celebrate 'Brigadoon on the Potomac.' Tartan Day, an event created by Americans which has tenuous or downright dubious connections to Scotland 'starkly illuminates,' for McTernan (2002, p.18), 'how confused we have become about our identity.' Yet rather than concurring with McTernan's dismissive assertion that 'true patriots don't wear plaid' and its reassertion of the romantic buffoonery discourse that implies it is false patriots who are dressed in tartan, would it not be better to heed his other words and develop a Scottish identity in which proponents, wherever they live, actively struggle for the well-being of their fellow Scots and the Scottish nation? A Scottish nationality claimed not by self-assured derision of those who perform it differently, but one produced through the exchange of ideas, mutual support and wellbeing for compatriots? A Scottish national identity that is, as McTernan (2002, p.18) hopes, 'confident,' 'inclusive,' 'modern' and works to eliminate not only 'our poverty,' but that of all?

Such a Scottish identity will need work, and will challenge how nationalities are constructed. National identities, as we understand them today, originally developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were centred upon determining which people were, and were not, 'us.' A twenty first century national identity must look different. It must not be about defining who does and does not belong, but about practices that are supportive of people who identify themselves with a nation. For people who see themselves as Scottish, the nationality should be invoked to generate empathy and exchange, and to advance common nation-enhancing values such as equality and opposition to poverty. It should not be about the border patrolling of who is and is not a 'real

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

Scot.’ As McTernan rightly notes, educational efforts will be critical in building such a twenty-first century trans-national Scottishness, and academic pursuits of Scottish Studies in North America and American and Canadian Studies in Scotland could be bolstered by funding more scholarships, exchanges, and genuine engagements rather than giving people what they want to hear, be it tartan stereotypes in North America or the derision thereof in Scotland.

The recent visit of First Minister McConnell to the United States and Canada is perhaps a small step towards generating a new trans-Atlantic understanding of Scottish nationality that is about advancing education and social well-being rather than exclusivity. Coming in October 2005, a month without a celebratory Scottish day, it took in the stuff of everyday politics – a visit to a school in New York’s Bronx borough, business meetings at Harvard University and with the ‘Globalscot’ network of entrepreneurs, visits to universities in Ontario, and discussions with the Canadian Prime Minister (Gordon, 2005a, 2005b).¹⁴ In the run up to this visit, Sandro Contenta reported in the **Toronto Star** that because Scotland’s population is declining, First Minister Jack McConnell was appealing to expatriate Scots and the descendants of Scottish emigrants to come and live in Scotland (Contenta 2005). Yet given the evidence presented above, how can it be expected that such people would want to reside in Scotland when the Scottish identities practised by North Americans of Scottish descent typically invite ridicule in the British media? If we are indeed to build an inclusionary Scottish national identity, efforts such as those recently initiated by McConnell must continue. In time, these could produce educational, economic and political networks to replace the stereotypes about Scottish nationality that are currently held by people on both sides of the Atlantic and generate a Scottish nation to which people want to belong and contribute – one that does not understand some people as ‘more Scottish’ than others, but rather one in which people recognize that there are multiple ways to be Scottish, and many ways to contribute to building a vibrant, diverse twenty-first century nationality.

¹⁴ Noticeably, however, McConnell’s visit did not receive any coverage in major US newspapers, although Canadian titles did report on his trip (e.g. Contenta 2005; Boswell 2005).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A version of this paper was originally presented at The Emigrant Experience: The Scottish Diaspora, a conference hosted by the University of Guelph. Thanks to Scott Moir and Elizabeth Ewan for inviting me to participate. As this paper developed, the editor and referees at **Scottish Affairs** and numerous colleagues made valuable comments and suggestions – thanks to everyone, particularly Carrie Breitbach with whom I discussed the concept of national identity and Farrad DeBerry who had the thankless task of tracking down missing page numbers for newspaper articles.

REFERENCES

- Alba, R. D. (1990). **Ethnic Identity: The transformation of white America**. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Ascherson, N. (2002). **Stone Voices: The search for Scotland**. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Barkun, M. (1997). **Religion and the Racist Right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement**. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, revised edition.
- Baxter, A. (1991). **In Search of Your British and Irish Roots: A complete guide to tracing your English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish ancestors**. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., revised edition.
- Beard, T. F. with Demong, D. (1977). **How to Find Your Family Roots**. New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Düsseldorf, Mexico and Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Berbrier, M. (1998). White supremacists and the (pan-)Ethnic imperative: On 'European-Americans' and 'White Student Unions'. **Sociological Inquiry**, vol 68, 498-516.
- Berthoff, R. (1982). Under the kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American ground. **Journal of American Ethnic History**, vol 1, 5-34.
- Bieber, J. (1999). **Highland Bride**. New York: Fawcett Gold Medal.
- Billig, M. (1995). **Banal Nationalism**. London: Sage.
- Boswell, R. (2005). Hello Dolly – Scotland trumpets its successes. **Ottawa Citizen**, 28 October 2005, p.A5
- Brander, M. (1992). **The Essential Guide to Highland Games**. Edinburgh: Canongate.

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

- Brander, M. (1996). **The World Directory of Scottish Associations**. Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing.
- Bruce, D. A. (1998). **The Mark of the Scots: Their astonishing contributions to history, science, democracy, literature and the arts**. Secaucus: Citadel Press.
- Bruce, D. A. (2000). **The Scottish 100: Portraits of history's most influential Scots**. New York: Carroll and Graf.
- Bushart, H. L.; Craig, J. R. and Barnes, M. (1998). **Soldiers of God: White Supremacists and their Holy War for America**. New York: Pinnacle Books.
- Byron, R. (1999). **Irish America**. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cauley, H. M. (1999). A nation in plaid. **The Atlanta Journal-Constitution** (Section: CityLife Atlanta (Extra)), 16 September 1999, p.4
- Chapman, M. (1978). **The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture**. London: Croom Helm.
- Chapman, M. (1992). **The Celts: The construction of a myth**. London: Macmillan.
- Citizens Informer** (1998). Very active CofCC in DC area. 3rd Quarter, 4.
- Citizens Informer** (1999). National capital region CofCC. Summer, 4.
- Congressional Record-Senate (1997). Senate Resolution 155 – Designating National Tartan Day. **Congressional Record-Senate**, S12478-S12479.
- Congressional Record-Senate (1998). National Tartan Day. **Congressional Record-Senate**, S2373.
- Contenta, S. (2005). Come home, Scotland urges expats. **Toronto Star**, 12 October 2005, p.A2.
- Cornwell, T. (2000). Roots, mon. **The Scotsman**, On-line edition, 12 March 2000. Available at: <http://www.parsonage.net/macpherson/news/tartanday00.html> [accessed 14 February 2006]
- Cory, K. B. (1990). **Tracing Your Scottish Ancestry**. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- Dixon, T., Jr. (1970 [1905]). **The Clansman – An historical romance of the Ku Klux Klan**. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Donnachie, I. and Whatley, C. eds (1992). **The Manufacture of Scottish History**. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- Gordon, T. (2005a). McConnell seeks tips from the top at Trump Tower in quest for investment. **The Herald**, 22 October 2005, p.3
- Gordon, T. (2005b). McConnell wants pupils to sign pledge. **The Herald**, 25 October 2005, p.7
- Gray, A. (2002a). Going home and away for Tartan Day. **The Scotsman**, 6 April 2002, p.5

Scottish Affairs

- Gray, A. (2002b). Piping in a new era for Scots tourism. **The Scotsman**, 8 April 2002, p.9
- Gray, A. (2002c). Tartan pipe dream. **The Scotsman** (S2), 1 May 2002, p.2
- Hague, E. (1998a). Masculinity and Myth: Mel Gibson, *Trainspotting* and Scottish National Identity. Institute of British Geographers-Royal Geographical Society Annual Conference, Kingston University.
- Hague, E. (1998b). **Places of Memories, Memories of Place: Scotlands and Scottishnesses in the 1990s**. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University.
- Hague, E. (1999). The production and consumption of Scotland and Scottishness in the United States. Institute of British Geographers-Royal Geographical Society Annual Conference, Leicester University.
- Hague, E. (1999-2000). Scotland on Film: Attitudes and opinions about **Braveheart**. **Etudes Ecossiases**, no 6, 75-89.
- Hague, E. (2001). Haggis and Heritage – Representing Scotland in the United States. **Culture, Consumption and Commodification**, ed J. Horne, 107-130. Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association.
- Hague, E. (2002a). The Scottish diaspora: Tartan Day and the appropriation of Scottish identities in the United States. **Celtic Geographies: Old culture, new times**, eds D. C. Harvey, R. Jones, N. McInroy and C. Milligan, 139-156. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hague, E. (2002b). National Tartan Day: Rewriting history in the United States. **Scottish Affairs**, no 38, 94-124.
- Hall, J. (2002a). Pipe bands take Manhattan in Tartan Day New York invasion. **Scotland on Sunday**, 7 April 2002, p.3
- Hall, J. (2002b). Jocks and the city. **Scotland on Sunday** (Review), 7 April 2002, p.1
- Hewitson, J. (1993). **Tam Blake and Co.: The story of the Scots in America**. Edinburgh: Canongate Books.
- Hook, A. (1999). **From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural Theory**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- Hunter, J. (1994). **A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States and Canada**. Edinburgh: Mainstream Press.
- Jacobs, B. (1999). SNP recruiting from far right groups in the USA. **Evening News**, 8 January 1999, p.15
- Kerevan, G. (2001). More Americans want to make mark as Scots. **The Scotsman**, 8 September 2001, p.1

Portrayal of People of Scottish Descent in North America

- Lang, R. ed. (1994). **The Birth of a Nation – D.W. Griffith, director**. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Lord Neill (1998). **Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life** (2 volumes), London: HMSO.
- MacLeod, M. (2002). It's a mystery as SNP amputates American wing. **Scotland on Sunday**, 20 January 2002, p.4
- McArthur, C. ed. (1982). **Scotch Reels: Scotland in cinema and television**. London: British Film Institute.
- McArthur, C. (1994). Culloden: A pre-emptive strike. **Scottish Affairs**, no 9, 97-126.
- McArthur, C. (2003). **Brigadoon, Braveheart and the Scots: Distortions of Scotland in Hollywood Cinema**. London: I.B. Tauris.
- McCrone, D. (1992). **Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation**. London: Routledge.
- McCrone, D.; Kendrick, S. and Straw, P.eds (1989). **The Making of Scotland: Nation, culture and social change**. Edinburgh: University Press.
- McCrone, D.; Morris, A. and Kiely, R., (1995). **Scotland - The Brand: The making of Scottish heritage**, Edinburgh: University Press.
- McInnes, K. (1999). Academic sparks debate on Scots image abroad. **The Sentinel**, 15 January 1999, p.10
- McNeil, R. (1999a). Bank's venture with far-right zealot sets alarm bells ringing. **The Scotsman**, 3 March 1999, p.3
- McNeil, R. (1999b). Robertson's dour view of Scotland the grave. **The Scotsman**, 31 May 1999, p.4
- McNeil, R. (1999c). Robertson could cost bank MSP accounts. **The Scotsman**, 2 June 1999, p.1
- McNeil, R. (2001). A trip to Washington and back for an old fruit-and-nutcase. **The Scotsman**, 7 April 2001, p.18
- McPherson, T. (2000). 'I'll take my stand in Dixie-net' - White guys, the South, and cyberspace. **Race in Cyberspace**, eds B. E. Kolko; L. Nakamura and G. B. Rodman, 117-131. New York and London: Routledge.
- McTernan, J. (2002). Why the true patriots don't wear plaid. **Scotland on Sunday**, 7 April 2002, p.18
- Moning, K. M. (1999). **Beyond the Highland Mist**. New York, Dell.
- Morgan, S. J. (1999). The ghost in the luggage: Wallace and **Braveheart** - post-colonial 'pioneer' identities. **European Journal of Cultural Studies**, vol. 2, 375-392.

Scottish Affairs

- Nairn, T. (1977). **The Break-Up of Britain**. London: Verso.
- Ray, C. (1998). Scottish heritage Southern style. **Southern Cultures**, vol 4, no 2, 28-45.
- Ray, C. (2001). **Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South**. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Roberts, D. (1999). Your clan or ours? **Oxford American**, no 29, 24-30.
- Saeed, A.; Blain, N. and Forbes, D. (1999). New ethnic and national questions in Scotland: post-British identities among Glasgow Pakistani teenagers. **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, vol 22, 821-844.
- Scott, D. (2001). Perfect time for Tartan Week. **The Scotsman**, 7 April 2001, p.11
- Sebesta, E. H. (2000). The confederate memorial tartan - officially approved by the Scottish Tartan Authority. **Scottish Affairs**, no 31, 55-84.
- Stein, H. F. and Hill, R. F. (1977). **The Ethnic Imperative: Examining the new white ethnic movement**. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Stryker-Rodda, H. (1987). **How to Climb Your Family Tree: Genealogy for beginners**. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.
- Trevor-Roper, H. (1983). The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland. **The Invention of Tradition**, eds E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, 15-41. Cambridge: University Press.
- Urquhart, F. (2003). Whisper it – KKK roots are Scottish. **The Scotsman**, 3 July 2003, p.7
- US Scots (1996). **The 1996 Guide to Games and Festivals**. Columbus: US Scots.
- Wade, W. C. (1987). **The Firey Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America**, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waters, M. C. (1990). **Ethnic Options: Choosing identities in America**. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press.
- Wilson, B. (2005). Pomp and insignificance. **Scotland on Sunday**, 10 April 2005, p.21
- Wilson, C. (1996). After Independence. **Southern Patriot**, vol 3, no 4, 27-30.
- Womack, P.(1989). **Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands**. Basingstoke: MacMillan.

APPENDIX: BRITISH NEWSPAPER ARTICLES PUBLISHED 1997-1999 ABOUT PEOPLE OF SCOTTISH DESCENT RESIDENT IN U.S.A. AND CANADA

	Headline	Newspaper	Author	Date	Page
1	How should we treat America's growing obsession with its Scottish connections?	Scotland on Sunday	James Hunter	11 May 1997	17
2	The fatal attraction	The Herald	Kirsty Scott	6 Aug. 1997	12
3	Danger of mythology: fuel for extreme right wing fantasies	The Herald	Editorial	6 Aug. 1997	14
4	They have taken over Hollywood's vision of a heroic Scotland	The Herald	Andrew Hook	29 Nov. 1997	17
5	A siege mentality	Scotland on Sunday	Catherine Deveney	14 Dec. 1997	20
6	*Nations live down to their stereotypes	The Times	Nigel Hawkes	7 Jan. 1998	7
7	*Braveheart gives Scots heroic image in US	The Telegraph		7 Jan. 1998	11
8	*Hollywood hype perpetuates myth of dumb tragic Scots	Scotland on Sunday	John Lloyd	11 Jan. 1998	12
9	The day America will turn tartan	Scotland on Sunday	Noel Young and Colin Macfarlane	22 Mar 1998	7
10	After roots it's hoots, as US sets up Tartan Day	The Scotsman	Alan Hall and Paula Doran	23 Mar 1998	2
11	Americans set April 6 as date for National Tartan Day	The Herald	Robbie Dinwoodie	23 Mar 1998	6
12	Tartan army with an American accent	The Scotsman	Editorial	23 Mar 1998	14
13	Plaid by the wrong rules	The Herald	Michael Fry	23 Mar 1998	19
14	Why are we singing Uncle Sam, whaur's yer troosers	Scotland on Sunday	Alan Cochrane	29 Mar 1998	13
15	Scotland may rue the day	Scotland on Sunday	Colin McArthur	5 April 1998	13

16	Americans pay tribute to their Scots roots	The Scotsman	Chris Barry	6 April 1998	8
17	Day the US wraps itself in tartan	The Herald	Alexander Linklater	6 April 1998	2
18	It's a plaid day for America	The Scotsman	Jonathan Aiken	6 April 1998	11
19	Tartan army's new force	The Herald	Ruth Wishart	6 April 1998	13
20	Tartan stooshie down New Mexico way	The Herald	Alexander Linklater	10 Apr. 1998	3
21	Tartan Day, check it out	The Herald	Jim Hewitson	2 May 1998	29
22	Help for the Old Country	The Herald	Paul O'Hare	16 Sept. 1998	18
23	*Americans conduct odd love affair with Scottish nationalism	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Olga Wojtas and Jennifer Currie	8 Jan. 1999	6
24	*SNP in appeal to US right	The Guardian	Paul Brown	8 Jan. 1999	4
25	*Racist Scots in US have links to SNP	The Times	Nigel Hawkes	8 Jan. 1999	14
26	*Nationalists deny US fund-raising operation	The Telegraph	Aisling Irwin and Jon Hibbs	8 Jan. 1999	6
27	*American extremists use SNP as inspiration	The Scotsman	Jenny Booth, David Scott and Allan Hall	9 Jan. 1999	4
28	*Nationalists link to US racists claim	The Daily Mail	Hamish MacDonnell	9 Jan. 1999	17
29	*Warning to Nats over US racists' backing	Daily Record	Carlos Alba	9 Jan. 1999	2
30	*SNP pours scorn on critic	The Herald	James McKillop	9 Jan. 1999	6
31	Klansmen take their lead from Scots	The Guardian	Gerald Seenan	30 Jan. 1999	12
32	Land of the free lives the Scottish dream	The Sunday Times (Ecosse)	Andrew Hook	4 April 1999	4
33	Magazines provide a lesson in history	The Herald	-	12 May 1999	2

34	*Nostalgic Dixie whistles up a Scottish melody (Correction added 7 September 1999, p.8)	The Times	Diane Roberts	16 Aug. 1999	15
35	Ku Klux Klan 'hijacked' Braveheart	Scotland on Sunday	Noel Young and Peter Laing	28 Nov. 1999	5

* Articles marked with an asterisk specifically mention my research