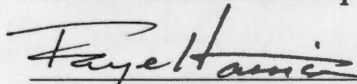


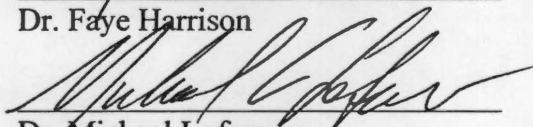
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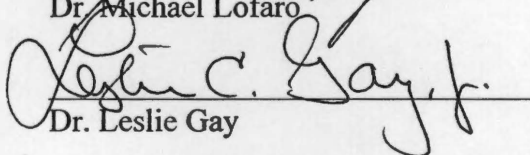
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Stevan Reagan Jackson entitled "The Celtic Harp Revival: Ethnicity and Marginality in Scottish Culture." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.


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**THE CELTIC HARP REVIVAL:
ETHNICITY AND MARGINALITY
IN SCOTTISH CULTURE**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Stevan Reagan Jackson
August 1999

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DEDICATION

**This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Robin H. Jackson,
without whom I could not have completed this project
nor would it have had the meaning that it does.**

‘S e an gaoth fo mo sgéithan a tha annadsa.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Lastly, the greatest debt is owed to my wife, Robin. Without her help and encouragement I would never have reached for this moment. A huge debt as well goes out to my children, Katie and Madison, whose understanding while I was at the computer all those many hours is most appreciated.

Abstract

The focus of this research is the Celtic harp revival in the British Isles and how that revival relates to the political sentiments of its participants. Devolution and the possibility of outright independence from Great Britain are on the minds of contemporary Scottish citizens. In the context of music's historical association with Scottish political protest and the centrality of the harp to imagery of the Celtic past, this study examines the political sentiments of contemporary Scottish harpers. The study employs the concepts of internal colonialism, cultural hegemony, and transnationalism to explore the intersection of Celtic invented traditions, in particular, the world-wide Celtic music revival, with Scottish ethnicity, identity, and nationalism.

Harpers appear to be a distinct subculture of Scottish musicians. They are primarily female and are older than most of the other musicians in the Scottish folk scene. Usually, they are performing on the harp as either a hobby or as a second income in the family. The Scottish harpers also tend to have a higher socioeconomic status and tend to express more conservative political views than an opportunistic sample of the general Scottish population. They are cultural nationalists not political nationalists. Alison Kinnaird, widely considered to be the prime force behind the current revival of the Celtic harp, draws clear distinctions between the Scottish and Irish instruments and styles of playing. She disavows the romanticized notions of Celtic music and identity that she associates with musicians and others who claim membership in the transnational diaspora of Scots, or particularly, modern day Celts.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is no question that the world is currently experiencing a revival of interest in Celtic culture. A part of this revival is the increased interest in the music of the Celtic (Scottish-Irish-Folk) harp, which many revivalists consider to be an integral part of Celtic cultural history. Through examining this small portion of Celtic culture, I hoped to gain some insight into the relationship between nationalism and folk revivals in general.

Throughout British and American history, there are numerous examples of artists becoming involved in political causes, attempting to influence events through the medium of their art. The perception, at least in America, is that artists of all forms often become involved in political, social, and environmental causes.

George M. Cohan wrote “You’re A Grand Old Flag” for the 1942 musical film “Yankee Doodle Dandy” to inspire patriotism to help get America through a great crisis. During the McCarthy era of the 1950s, there was a blacklisting of artists from all media who were thought to be too politically left. Merle Haggard sang about “Okie from Muskogee” during another period of American history in which it was felt by many that our patriotism needed to be kicked up a notch. Rockers like Bruce Springsteen extol the virtues of being “Born in the USA.” John Denver inspired many environmental movements with such songs as “Rocky Mountain High.” All these are examples of the many hundreds of artists who have used their stage as a forum for political and social change.

Britain, through her old ballads and stories, heard the fates and foibles of her kings and queens and how the people felt about them. The penny broadsides brought the news of the day, including the political news, to the people on street corners. The folk revival of the 1960s in America influenced the music of the British Isles, thus creating its own brand of folk revival. In a violent part of the British Isles during the 1960s, Northern Ireland, as the Catholics marched in protest for better housing and better treatment by the Protestant majority, they adopted as their protest anthem “We Shall Overcome,” a folk protest song most often associated with the American civil rights movement and the resistance expressed by such singers as Pete Seeger and Guy Carawan.

Although many such songs traveled from America, Scottish artists began to take up their own causes through the medium of song. The arrival of nuclear submarines in Scotland, which ironically came from America as did the song influence, was fought not with guns, but with protest songs like “We dinna want Polaris” (Munro 1996:40). Hamish Henderson’s poignant political plea, “Freedom Come-all-ye,” is often suggested for adoption as the Scottish National Anthem (Munro 1996:43).

Scotland, an ancient land of quixotic myth and harsh reality, has always been a place that intermingles political intrigue and artistic creativity. Scottish traditional musical art from the time of the bards of pre-Christian Scotland onward has often been a vehicle of expression for social and political change. There have been cultural revivals throughout Scottish history and musicians and their satirical or socially conscious pieces were an integral part of these revivals. Scotland today is in the throes of political change, the likes

of which may never have been seen in that land of glen and braes; although unimaginable fifty years ago, independence from London soon may re-direct hundreds of years of history. The current move toward devolution and possibly outright independence from the United Kingdom is on the minds and the lips of virtually all Scottish citizens today. What role have cultural revivals played in changing the Scottish political environment? Have players of the harp, one of those most indigenous of traditional Scottish musical instruments, played a role in these changes alongside the folk singers?

Dominant societies throughout the world often overshadow other, more subordinate, societies that are in close proximity to the dominant society's periphery. "Wallerstein perceives the world as divided into a 'core,' those areas which dominate and profit from the international division of labor, and a 'periphery,' those regions whose production is expropriated and whose people are subordinated within the system" (Basch, et al. 1994:11). World history is filled with examples of such domination and subordination. Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany, those countries historically associated with the Celtic culture of western Europe, have long been peripheries to England and France. As early as 1975, Michael Hechter scrutinized Scotland's relation to the United Kingdom and pronounced it a classic case of internal colonialism.

Scotland, a country with mixed heritage of Celtic culture and English influence, is, at this writing, still politically associated with England. Culturally, part of the population associates itself with England as well, but many associate themselves with the Celtic part of Scottish history, particularly in a romantic sense. An important part of this cultural

history has to do with the arts in general and the harp, specifically. The Scots pride themselves, currently and historically, on being a nation of the muses, one in which artistic creativity and expression are extremely important to daily lives. Domination and the struggle to resist it occurs in cultural as well as political and economic arenas. There is currently a revival of Celtic culture in the old Celtic lands, the natural habitat for such a revival. But there is also a revival of Celtic culture flourishing within a large community of Celtic descendants who have been scattered throughout the world through centuries of the Celtic, particularly Scottish and Irish, diaspora. Cultural components such as music, literature, and art are currently enjoyed, admired, and bought in stores, through specialty magazines, at festivals, and at other annual events celebrating the heritage of the Celtic past.

The terms Celtic/Gaelic/Scottish are often used more or less interchangeably in popular culture. In the discussion of the population for this study, I recognize that the term “Scottish” is more inclusive than Gaelic, but for the purposes of my research I chose to look at the Gaelic culture because of its popular association with the term Celtic. The term Gaelic refers to a language, but it is also a culture covering, at one time, most of Scotland, but today is found only in the Highlands and the Islands. As to the origins of the Gaelic culture, “Even the relationships of the Picts and Scots, in what would usually be considered historical times, are very obscure, and the time of arrival and the spread, of Gaelic speech and culture, can be plotted only with the aid of speculation” (Thomson 1986:175).

It is generally accepted that the term Celtic has three meanings. First, it refers to the language family that includes Scots Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, Breton, Manx, and Cornish and the culture that ancestors of these language groups supposedly shared along with the parent language. There has been a vagueness in the origins of this culture, which will be discussed further. However, Michael Dietler pondered this cultural conundrum and asked,

What, for example, does the word *Celtic* [his emphasis] mean and where does it come from? Today the term is applied to everything from a basketball team in Boston to a soccer team in Scotland, to art and music styles, and to a literary genre. As with the Boston Celtics basketball team, the term is generally assumed by Americans to refer to an affiliation with an ethnic heartland in Ireland or Scotland. However, it is highly unlikely that the people of either of these regions ever called themselves Celts before the 19th century. This identification is a product of modern historical philology, which recognized the linguistic connections between modern Irish Goidelic, Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Manx, and the ancient Celtic languages of the continent. (Dietler 1994:585)

To further operationalize Dietler's definition of the term "Celtic," he goes on to say that, "Scholars today usually reserve the term *Celtic* to designate a group of closely related languages of the Indo-European family that were spoken in the first millennium B.C. over large portions of central and western Europe and that are now spoken only in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany" (Dietler 1994:586).

Second, the term Celtic refers to the mythic Celtic past. As pointed out earlier, this

mythic Celtic past has been greatly romanticized by modern Celtophiles. According to one author, the term “‘Celtic’ applied to something or someone is an immensely positive adjective” (Bowman 1993:147). For the purpose of this study, Bowman suggests that, “The Celt in the New Age transcends both history and geography. Within the British Isles, Celtic is broadly interpreted to embrace Scots, Irish, Welsh, Manx, Northumbrian, people from the West Country – more or less everyone who is not, as it were, mainstream English” (Bowman 1993:148).

And thirdly, the term Celtic is a label for contemporary music that has roots in the traditional music of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, but has become a transcultural phenomenon with popular and New Age dimensions. Frank Harrison operationalizes the definition of Celtic music as “. . . musical practices in Celtic or partly Celtic regions which have or had some characteristics differentiated to recognizable extents from those contemporary non-Celtic societies” (Harrison 1986:252).

Goals of the Research

This research examines a particular aspect of cultural revivals in the British Isles, the Celtic harp revival, and its relationship to identity, nationalism, and political attitudes in Scotland. Through examining this specific cultural microcosm, this research demonstrates the importance of invented traditions in constructing and maintaining ethnic boundaries and political solidarity, and the salience of Hutchinson’s distinction between political and cultural nationalism. Contemporary political attitudes of Scottish harpers and

non-harpers are interpreted in the context of Scottish history and Celtic romanticism, employing a diverse array of theoretical perspectives on ethnicity, nationalism, colonialism, hegemony, and transnational diaspora.

The central hypothesis tested in the attitude survey was the proposition that participants in folk revivals, specifically Scottish harpers, have stronger ethnic and nationalistic identification than non-participants. This nationalistic identification might involve cultural nationalism or political nationalism or perhaps even both. Examples such as the Broadside ballads that often told stories of protest that aroused social consciousness, or the role of folk musicians in social protests of the 1960s, show that musicians and their music have long been subversive to the political status quo in the United States. These musical forces are in play from revival musicians just as they have been from first-hand, traditional ones. Whether participants in the Celtic harp revival are active in the political process, simply discussing politics, voting, or engaging in more activist types of behavior can be measured by a variety of techniques such as survey questionnaires and interviews.

By the 1990s there seemed to be quite a history, at least from the late 1950s or early 1960s, of political and social involvement by folk musicians in Scotland, similar to the American pattern. Because of my personal interest in the harp, I chose to focus specifically on the worldwide Celtic harp revival, generally accepted as being started by Alison Kinnaird of Scotland. If Scottish musicians share a community of like interests and experiences, then will they have similar attitudes about Scottish politics, nationalism, and

cultural revival? If the harp is a real Celtic instrument, do harpers have strong ethnic identification and nationalistic sentiments and associate their music with Celtic revivalism? Does it follow that Scottish harpers will exhibit more nationalism than people who are not active participants in the revival of Celtic music?

My belief going into the research was that the Celtic harp players of Scotland would exhibit the same type and intensity of political activity as any other Scottish musician and that they would express stronger nationalistic sentiments than the non-musician Scottish population. I tested these assumptions through interviews, observation, and an attitude survey.

Participant Observation

Relying on several definitions and theoretical perspectives discussed throughout as grounding for this research, I did fieldwork in several locations within Scotland. As an anthropological researcher and a musician, I conducted a participant observation research project within the revivalist Celtic musical community itself. The data collection included written surveys completed by harpers and by an opportunistic sample of non-harper Scots, as well as several one-on-one interviews with musicians, particularly harp players. My musical background greatly aided in this participant observation process. The ensuing immersion into the musical culture of Scotland served to broaden and expand my knowledge of the Scottish musical culture and aided in gaining insight into the relationships between Scotland's musical culture and its political culture.

As preliminary background for this research, I spent several weeks on three preliminary trips to Scotland laying the groundwork before my fourth and final fieldwork experience. The dates of these fieldwork trips were 1989, 1993, 1995, and 1996. During that time, I got to know on a personal basis several Scottish musicians, traditional storytellers, as well as professors at the University of Edinburgh, in particular those at the university's School of Scottish Studies. I attended many performances at folk clubs, pubs, ceilidhs, and many other informal settings, thus acquainting myself with the social contexts in which musicians perform. As a participant observer in musical performance settings, I had the advantage of a strong link between the Appalachian music with which I am familiar due to my personal background of growing up and playing music in Appalachia, and the traditional music of Scotland and Ireland from which much of Appalachian music stems. There is a natural bond between the two types of cultural musical performances, which proved essential to this research. By emphasizing my musical background and de-emphasizing the conducting of a "scientific endeavor," the rapport building process so crucial to any participant observation study was quicker, easier, better, and stronger.

Fieldwork Sites and Sampling

Even though there are basically two primary historical cultures within Scotland, that of the English influenced Lowlands and that of the Gaelic Celtic Highlands, this research focuses mainly on the Celtic realm of Scotland, since it is perceived by many abroad, much to the chagrin of the numerous English influenced Scots, as the embodiment

of “Scottishness.” This “Scottishness,” rightly or wrongly perceived, is nonetheless a strong perception throughout the world, particularly in the United States, and the harp is intimately tied to the Celtic past.

The collection of data for interpretation in this study was done from the participant observation method, as well as key-informant interviews, and survey questionnaires. I became involved in *Comunn na Clàrsach*, the Scottish harp society, on my second trip to Scotland. This group is based in Edinburgh, but has chapters throughout Scotland and a few in England as well. The contacts with the group on earlier trips to Scotland and the personal acquaintances I made then were extremely useful throughout this fieldwork experience. By using their Gaelic name, *Comunn na Clàrsach* symbolically separates themselves culturally from England and from Lowland Scotland, where Scots and English were spoken and English influence was more pervasive. *Comunn na Clàrsach* was an excellent source from which to select key informants for interviews and recruit volunteers to complete the survey questionnaire.

A number of harpers from this group perform together as a musical entity in a huge ensemble, basically a harp orchestra. It is called *Na Clàrsairean*, the Scottish Gaelic name for *The Harpers*. Once again, the Gaelic language is used to help establish cultural boundaries that set this group of harpers apart from others. While in Scotland on two different occasions, I attended several of their practice sessions in which there were usually 26 or more harpers playing together. Many of these provided information and insight into the conclusion of this study. To protect their anonymity, interviewees are

referred to by number, e.g., harper #3. The exception is Alison Kinnaird, a world famous harper who has granted interviews for Public Radio International and who agreed to speak on the record about similar topics for this dissertation. She would be immediately recognizable to Celtic music listeners because of her celebrity status.

Na Clàrsairean is attended by anywhere from 25 to 45 harpers consisting of all age and ability levels. The ages range from approximately seven to approximately seventy years of age. The abilities range from the very beginning level to highly classically trained virtuosi. It is an orchestra in the sense that there are not just a large number of harps playing the same melody in unison. There are written parts in which the listener will be hearing three or four part harmony and counterpoint melody lines. The harpers with more ability will of course take the more difficult melody passages while those with lesser ability take the inner harmony parts. Even the very basic beginning students, usually the young ones, will have parts in which they will strike a note in certain places. That way everyone regardless of ability can participate in the orchestral process.

The rehearsals for *Na Clàrsairean* are held year round on a weekly basis, although the numbers are down during the summer months due to members coming in and out on holiday. The rehearsals have a family atmosphere to them. Even a stranger like myself, literally just off the bus with my harp, is welcomed with warm greetings and is certainly encouraged to participate with the group, even if it is just going to be for a rehearsal or two. Harp players visit with one another before a rehearsal, discussing family members, friends, other musical endeavors that they might be into, and other items of interest. This

atmosphere is continued after the rehearsal when refreshments are brought out and those who can stay, engaging in a bit of craic (friendly talk) before getting on with the rest of the week away from *Na Clàrsairean*. It is apparent that many of the harpers are friends beyond the rehearsals, no doubt socializing in other places when the time permits. In other words, the harpers exhibited a family and community-like ambiance during their rehearsals.

The orchestra performs mainly around Edinburgh for concerts and various civic functions much as a small orchestra or a community band would do in the United States. They do tour other parts of Scotland when finances permit and hope to tour the U.S. some day. An album of *Na Clàrsairean* music was produced in 1995 to help raise funds for such an endeavor.

Most of the musicians interviewed and surveyed are members of *Comunn na Clàrsach* and *Na Clàrsairean* and are therefore in the nonprofessional category, i.e., they do not make a living from the performance or teaching of their music; however, I also became acquainted with several professional harpers while in Scotland. One was harper #3, a professional harp player and teacher from Edinburgh whose intense interest in the traditional music of Scotland made her an excellent key informant. I took several harp lessons from her, which allowed me to get to know her in a professional manner, thus building rapport for our interview session. Interviewee #3 performs in Scotland and all over Europe as a solo artist as well as being a part of a musical ensemble that uses Scottish Gaelic in its name. This commercial musical group also chose to use a Scottish

Gaelic name from the Celtic culture, like the harp orchestra, thus denoting a degree of cultural awareness of their Celtic background and/or influences.

Another source of sampling for this study was through Interviewee #9, who became a friend of mine several years back in the United States. Interviewee #9 has a Ph.D. in folklore and also works as a performer of traditional folk tales. She is American by birth, but is married to a Scotsman, who is a maker of traditional Scottish clàrsachs. That is the name he uses for his instruments, which is the Scottish Gaelic and Celtic term for “harp” (Dwelly 1977:206) although, technically, according to some harp experts, the style of harps he makes, i.e., gut-strung, should not be called a clàrsach. The Gaelic term clàrsach specifies the wire-strung harp that is more associated with Ireland, according to some harp players interviewed for this research.

Their offspring, recently graduated from an American college, is a clàrsach player and another source of an interview. I have attended a number of cèilidhs at their home outside Edinburgh in which world-class professional musicians have been in attendance. Cèilidh is the term Interviewee #9 uses for her get-togethers and is the Scottish Gaelic word meaning “gossiping, visiting, visit” (Dwelly 1966:184). A gathering using this term, cèilidh, is usually associated with music and storytelling.

Another fieldwork site was in the folk clubs and pubs in Edinburgh, Penicuik, Inverness, and the Isle of Skye. Scotland continues to have a very strong tradition of folk music and one can go into a number of pubs any night of the week and find performances, professional and amateur in quality and style, of folk music. Besides the pub scene, there

are also several active folk clubs in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland that meet and have cèilidhs on a regular basis. I attended several of these clubs as both a researcher and a performer. The rapport building process is excellent in these places because virtually everyone is expected to participate in this musical evening.

The comparison group, whose responses to the attitudes survey are reported in chapter five, consisted of Scots from all walks of life. During three fieldwork experiences, many interviews and surveys were taken from an indiscriminate sampling of people. I did not use random tables or charts to draw a random sample or construct a stratified sample. Rather, I talked to many people literally on the street, in shops, at churches, in schools, on buses, and in restaurants chosen at random during the normal course of a day's activities. Although the data gathering process was primarily based in Edinburgh, I also administered the survey questionnaire in Scotland's other urban center, Glasgow, as well as rural Scotland, in the islands on the Isle of Skye, and in several smaller towns of Scotland, such as Mallaig and Inverness. Some data were gathered through correspondence with Scots by e-mail.

Definitions of Key Concepts

For the purpose of replicability, this section clarifies certain definitions and concepts that were pertinent to the study. One basic term in this research, folk music, is given a standard definition by the International Folk Music Council:

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the

process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (1) continuity which links the present with the past; (2) variation which springs from the creative individual or the group; and (3) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives. (Johnson 1972:6)

Of concern in this research is folk music in Scotland, an enduring artistic endeavor in that country. David Johnson suggests that, "Folk music has always, so far as is known, flourished in Scotland" (Johnson 1972:6).

For folk revival I paraphrase Jan Brunvand's definition for folk song revival thus coming up with the following definition: "the widespread popularizing through professional musicians and groups, and concerts and the mass media of music that was or was purported to be folk music" (Brunvand 1976:138). For the definition of professional singers and groups I use, "those people who have made money, either full or part-time, while performing their music." I use the definition, "any performer who has learned his/her craft through a non-traditional (i.e. not handed down orally from another generation) method," to define what I mean by a folk revivalist. A folk revivalist may or may not be a professional under my previous definition. A non-participant in this study of clàrsach players is defined as "a non-player in either the professional or amateur category of the clàrsach." The people of the non-participant category may enjoy listening, but do not actively take part in any musical endeavors. They are non-participants in the folk music revival and not public performers of any musical genre. In other words, the comparison group is made up of people who did not perform, either professionally or otherwise, on

the harp.

The Celtic harp playing community in Scotland falls somewhat between the definition of art music players and folk music players in the traditional sense of the term. Whereas art music players represent those who play in orchestral or other fixed musical settings, that “Music . . . for the learned” (Johnson 1972:4), and traditional folk players represent those who play through “the process of oral transmission” (Johnson 1972:6), many Celtic harp players in Scotland are classically trained musicians who then apply that learning to the genre of playing a folk-oriented instrument. On the one hand, they embrace the “learned” music but on the other hand they respect the folk heritage of the harp.

Anthony Cohen defines community as “. . . that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediate than the abstraction we call ‘society’” (Cohen 1986: 15). I assume that Scottish musicians would experience this closeness because musicians in America often view themselves as a specific community apart from the mainstream community around them. I know from the personal experience of being a musician that musicians in America often feel that their musical community is, if one interprets Cohen as I do in the sense of intensity rather than mere number, “greater than kinship.” I found in my interviews with Scottish musicians that this is the pervasive attitude in Scotland as well, and perhaps even more so because of the fact that active musical participation in Scotland is actually much stronger than in the United States. As my fieldwork unfolded in Scotland, I discovered that musicians in that part of the world do feel this musical community tie, that certain players such as the harping community, the

fiddling community, and the piping community, develop strong ties among themselves.

The fieldwork experience also shows evidence of community spirit within pubs that are known for folk music. One example, the Royal Oak in Edinburgh, has regular clientele and regular musicians who frequent the establishment. However, a few nights of regular attendance make newcomers, even the foreign ones, feel as if they were also part of that particular pub community. These musicians often show up at different nights at the Royal Oak followed then by nights at the Tron Ceilidh House, then the Fiddle Tree, and then the next pub. Often the clientele rotate from establishment to establishment in search of their favorite musicians and their favorite music. There is always traditional music to be found in a Scottish city such as Edinburgh and Glasgow and quite frequently in the small towns as well.

The concept of ethnicity is quite complex. Social scientists often disagree on the definition of ethnicity, although most definitions are either “cultural” and “situational,” according to Brackette Williams (1989:402). “Lay persons trying to redefine the bases on which they might construct a sense of social and moral worth” (Williams 1989:401) usually attempt to maintain customs, language, and other cultural traits, such as religion, dress, or food ways, or musical practices that become markers of that group’s ethnicity. The term ethnicity is actually a modern one dating back only to 1954 when it was first defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (Chapman 1993:19), but the concept of ethnicity, like its Greek root *ethnos*, has been permeated with the implication of minority status and subordination. The subordinate “ethnic” culture, by virtue of being different from the

mainstream, has always been considered inferior by the population of the dominant culture. There is a terminology problem, according to Brackette F. Williams, in the “lay and academic tendencies to equate ethnic with lower-class or ‘minority’ status” (Williams 1989:410).

Williams notes that, “R. Cohen defines ethnicity as ‘a *series* of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness’ within which ‘the process of assigning persons to a group is both subjective and objective, carried by themselves and others, and depends on what diacritics are used to define membership’” [Cohen’s emphasis] (Williams 1989:414). The process of labeling someone else, in this case an ethnic group, does not necessarily mean that a group’s self identification will correspond, but labeling may help to either initiate a distinction, foster it, or, at the very least, maintain it. People the world over and throughout time, whether living in a small-scale culture or a large-scale one, have exhibited this type of *ethnos* sentiment toward other people, thus fostering the “us-them” or “we-they” oppositional situation. R. Cohen says that, “The division into exclusive groupings is always done in relation to significant others whose exclusion at any particular level of scale creates the we/they dichotomy” (Williams 1989: 415).

In his classic work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Frederik Barth suggests that an ethnic group is “. . . *largely* (Barth’s italics) biologically self-perpetuating.” An ethnic group must have some degree of continuity through history to be considered an ethnic group. Members of an ethnic group must consider themselves to be members of that

particular ethnic group by virtue of their shared values and their shared communications (Barth 1969:10-11). Barth considers the sharing of common cultural traits, which is usually regarded as a prime characteristic in the definition of ethnic groups, as an implication or result of ethnic group organization (Barth 1969:13-14).

It is ethnic boundaries that define a group, therefore making these boundaries more important than the “cultural stuff” [Barth's words] that lies within the boundaries of a group. As different cultural groups come into contact with one another, there is the desire to maintain some separation, at least culturally. Barth argues that the more contact a group has with outside groups, the more it will attempt to maintain its boundaries as a point of separation and, therefore, embrace features of cultural distinctiveness as ethnic markers.

Barth's work suggests that situational needs to create or sustain ethnic boundaries account for the salience of particular ethnic symbols, such as the Celtic harp. Hobsbawn's observations on cultural invention and Trevor-Roper's study of Scottish cultural invention, in particular, illustrate the dynamic nature of ethnic symbols and identity. In this research I assumed that Scots would express ethnic identification by maintaining customs and traditions, through language choice, and in their sociopolitical attitudes.

For this study, I consider nationalism, another broad term, to be sentiments and actions whose primary function would be the creation of an independent state or nation. For this purpose, I use John Hutchinson's definition of nationalism as “. . . a doctrine that holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain

characteristics that can be ascertained, and the only legitimate type of government is national self-government” (Hutchinson 1987:10). Whereas this definition is political, the delineation between cultural and political nationalism proved to be extremely important to this study. Hutchinson’s cultural nationalism potentially transcends politically created borders.

Linda Basch, et al., define transnationalism as “. . . the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, et al., 1994:7). The authors emphasize that this concept places immigrants’ social life across boundaries of geography, culture, and politics. “Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span borders we call ‘transmigrants’” (Basch, et al., 1994:7). Second and third generation Celts find the link to their motherland just as near and dear as if they were recent immigrants off the boat.

Using the definitions above, the ethnicity that defines the “dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness” of groups suggests that the included group will embrace nationalism as a way to promote the status quo and that the excluded group will embrace transnationalism as a means of promoting its uniqueness that marks it as being different from the included group. It is often the ethnic us-they relationship that the transnationals take with them on their diasporic journeys across those geographic, cultural, and political boundaries. Scottish ethnic feelings in the diaspora help to “sustain [those] multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, et al.,

1994:7).

The Survey

Nationalistic and community feelings of revival participants were ascertained largely by using a carefully designed objective type of questionnaire. Questions were designed to obtain opinions of ethnicity, traditionalism, nationalism, community spirit, revivalism's role in fostering cultural growth from a minority point of view, reactions to the majority British dominance over a periphery of Scotland as well as other issues. The survey instrument can be found in Appendix A.

The completion of the surveys by the harpers varied. When visiting the harp orchestra, I sat in and played a rehearsal with them. Afterwards, the leader announced to the group who I was and what I was doing there, i.e., doing the research and not just playing music. After the rehearsal broke up, I gave instructions to those who wanted to take the survey (not all did) and then distributed it. All of the harpers I interviewed also completed the survey. These interviews were administered at the harper's respective homes, with the exception of one, which was done in a classroom at the School of Scottish Studies.

I chose my comparison group on an opportunistic basis from the Scottish people at large. Instead of using any systematic sampling formula, I simply gave questionnaires to people I would meet on a daily basis while going about my normal business. I talked to people at the university with whom I made contact as well as non-musicians in pubs,

shops, grocery stores, and on the streets. Everyone was fair game to be stopped and questioned. For example, while checking out at a bookstore, I struck up a conversation with the sales clerk and conducted a survey with her. Once again, it bears saying that none of the non-harpers were professional musicians, although two or three did profess to playing around (learning) the guitar for their own enjoyment in their own home. The friendliness of the people in Scotland made it quite easy to gather survey responses, both in the city of Edinburgh, at the university as well as other smaller places, such as on the Isle of Skye or in Inverness.

Upon approaching potential participants for my study, I would give them a brief description of myself and my purpose with a brief overall description of the study, the questionnaire, and the nature of the information I sought. I assured them of anonymity. After this initial request for someone to be a participant in my study and their agreeing to do it (once again, not all did), I would then give them a more detailed description of the questionnaire, including more assurances of anonymity, the ability to quit the survey at any point or to only answer those questions with which they were comfortable, types of questions, etc. An informed consent sheet (see Appendix C) was then offered for the participants to sign at this point, that is, before they actually began the survey process. Some declined. Those who agreed to participate were given the survey (see Appendix A), a pencil, and instructions to take as much time as was needed for them to complete it. No monetary or any other material incentive was offered to the participants to complete the survey. The entire process from introduction to goodbye and thank you averaged about

thirty minutes for each participant. I used this same procedure for both musicians and non-musicians alike. The data from the non-musicians were important in order to make comparisons between the general Scottish population and the revivalist harper population.

Interviews

Interviews and life histories were used to ascertain more subjective feelings on ethnicity and nationalism and general feelings of how their music relates to the political scene of Scotland, particularly activism in support of devolution and independence. The interview process generally followed a somewhat different technique. Rapport with the interviewee was quite crucial. All of the interviewees were harpers and most were ones whom I had met in previous musical settings on previous field trips. There were two, however, who were gracious enough to be interviewed on simply a cold call. For the first part of the interviews, I proceeded the same as the surveys, letting them complete the same survey form as the other participants. After the completion of the survey, I turned on the tape recorder (prearranged with written and verbal permission) and proceeded asking questions. I had a set of questions that would guide the interview in the direction I wanted (see Appendix B), but would let the interviewee set his or her own course to some degree, steering back on course if the discussion got too far off the mark. All of the interviewees agreed ahead of time to the procedure, including the questioning, the recording, the signing of the consent form, etc. Although all interview participants agreed that they had no problem with me using their names in the study, I did use pseudonyms for everyone,

with the exception of one, the subject of my life history, who would have been difficult to disguise because she is so well known. Permission was granted by this person to use her name in my research. The interviews averaged about ninety minutes per session.

Chapter Two provides a brief overview of Scottish history with discussion of Celtic origins and Celtic romanticism. Chapter Three discusses Scottish politics by tracing political party histories. Chapter Four focuses on the lore, history, and meaning of the Celtic harp (see Appendix D for a Celtic harp discography). Chapter Five presents attitudes survey results and discusses them in light of the interviews. Chapter Six is a life history of one of the more famous harpers on the Scottish musical scene, Alison Kinnaird, based on an interview with her. The summary and conclusions of the research follows in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER II

SCOTLAND'S HISTORY OF CONQUEST AND RESISTANCE

Scotland has had a considerable amount of anthropological as well as folkloristic study conducted within its borders. Being a relatively small country in the northern part of the British island which also plays host to England and Wales, Scotland is politically a constituent part of the United Kingdom. Geographically Scotland extends 274 miles from its border with England north to Duncansby Head. Scotland has the Atlantic Ocean on the west and north and the North Sea on the east. There are numerous islands within its political borders, including the Inner and Outer Hebrides to the west and the Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands far to the north as well as others.

The area of Scotland was a land of Celtic culture quite different from that of neighboring Saxon England in terms of language, folklore, customs, architecture, and material culture. The Celtic or Gaelic name for the area was Alba with the name Scotland being first used during the eleventh century A.D. The name Scotland comes from the name of the Celtic tribe, the Scotti, which migrated over from Ireland to settle western Scotland during the sixth century (Delaney 1986:57). When the ancient Romans occupied the main island, they referred to the area north of England as Caledonia. The total area of Scotland today is 30,414 square miles, making it roughly the equivalent to the geographic size of South Carolina in the United States. In 1991, Scotland had a population of 4,957,289 people, which is approximately the population size of the United States in 1800 or the

metropolitan area of Philadelphia in 1990 (CIE 1996).

The Celtic region of the British Isles was repeatedly the object of attempts at forced assimilation. The early Romans penetrated but failed to conquer Scotland, building Hadrian's Wall around 120 A.D. for the purpose of defending the northernmost point of their empire in Britain. Scotland was occupied then by several groups of Celts and a group of people of whom little is known called the Picts. The Pictish peoples were the dominant group in the northern part of Britain until the Celtic Scots (Scotti) migrated from Ireland and eventually spread through the west of Scotland, forming the kingdom of Dalriada and founding missions and monasteries throughout the region. Germanic tribes settled in the southeast as early as the fourth century A.D. and formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. West of this kingdom, from Dumbarton and the Solway River into England, was the kingdom of Strathclyde, which was settled by Romanized Britons (MacLean 1995:20-21).

The entire history of Scotland, like the entire history of the Celts, is beyond the scope of this work, but it is essential to the work to point out that Scottish history has been filled with periods of intense Scottish nationalism, which have included several attempts to overthrow its political ties with the English. The story of William Wallace has recently been made known to all, with varying degrees of historical accuracy, through the Mel Gibson movie, "Braveheart," a story of Scottish nationalism in the late thirteenth century. After killing an English sheriff as revenge for the death of a lady, possibly his wife, Wallace, "Within weeks . . . was leader of a fast-spreading movement of national

resistance” (MacLean 1995:37). The 24th of June, 1314, saw Scotland free from England’s governmental control in an extreme exhibition of nationalism with the defeat of the English forces at the Battle of Bannockburn (MacLean 1995:41-42).

Over time and following complex political developments, including Elizabeth I’s imprisonment and beheading of her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, for plotting with the French against England, Scotland once again came under control of the English parliament. As Elizabeth’s heir, James VI of Scotland became the king of England and, taking the name of James I, moved to England. “Though he continued to speak broad Scots for the rest of his life, he was only once again to return to Scotland” (MacLean 1995: 103). James helped continue the course of union between Scotland and England. “As for the affairs of Scotland, [James] would ideally have favoured a union of the two Kingdoms as well as of the two Crowns and, whenever he could, used the name Great Britain to cover both, while the new joint flag bore the name of Union Jack” (MacLean 1995: 108). During this period of the rule of James I, the ethnicity of the Scots, particularly those in the Highlands and the Islands, would be intact because “the old Celtic culture still persisted” (MacLean 1995:109) in much of Scotland. Even though James I was an ethnic Scot, his position allowed him and other elite Scots to identify with the English.

With the Scottish Celtic identity persisting, the year 1651 saw Scotland become formally united with England by a Treaty of Union and become a part of Oliver Cromwell’s Commonwealth. The Scottish Parliament ended its regular sessions and thirty of its members began to represent Scotland in the Commons at Westminster. The

forfeiture of Scottish independence was rationalized through economic advantages of being in the union. However, Robert Blair wrote at that time that, “As for the embodying of Scotland with England, it will be as when the poor bird is embodied with the hawk that hath eaten it up” (MacLean 1995:133). A strong expression of nationalistic sentiment to be sure, but apparently not prevalent enough to cause any drastic political resistance in Scotland. The hegemonic domination of England had once again asserted itself on Scottish soil.

The hegemonic domination of England over Scotland became even more official and complete in the year 1707 with the enactment of the Act of Union that united the Scottish and English parliaments in the form that has persisted until today. This union was protested by many Scottish citizens who reacted with mob violence and treated the High Commissioner who helped broker the agreement very rudely as he was “chased down the Canongate to Holyrood by an angry crowd who stoned his coach” (MacLean 1995:153). But the protests by the Scottish citizenry were not loud nor coordinated enough to prevent passage of this final act that has denied the Scottish people any form of political, and in many ways cultural, independence for nearly three hundred years. Benedict Anderson agrees with Tom Nairn that

the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland [was] a ‘patrician bargain,’ in the sense that the union’s architects were aristocratic politicians. Still, it is difficult to imagine such a bargain being struck between the aristocracies of two republics. The conception of a United *Kingdom* was surely the crucial mediating

element that made the deal possible [Anderson's emphasis]. (Anderson 1983:26)

Resistance against English oppression continued during the eighteenth century.

The first Jacobite uprising occurred in 1715, dubbed "The Fifteen," and was the Jacobite rebellion in support of James Edward Stuart, 'James VII', the Old Pretender. The 1745 ("The Forty-five") uprising saw Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, landing in Scotland and being defeated at the bloody Battle of Culloden by the English in 1746. The Scottish Gaelic or Celtic culture, which was represented by Bonnie Prince Charlie's forces, was harshly suppressed in a severe set of punishments by the English after these two rebellions, especially after the "Forty-five."

Much of the Highlands were forcibly depopulated by the landlords during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when large-scale sheep grazing was introduced in what became known as the Highland Clearances. "Eviction of tenant-farmers went on all over the Highlands, from the 1760's onwards, as farms were cleared to make way for the easier profits of sheep" (MacLean 1995:193). The Scottish Clearances were bad enough in that sheep life was preferred over human life, but were exacerbated even more by the fact that many of the original Scottish landlords had been put out by Scottish Lowlanders, of English influence, or by some English industrialists themselves. What was in reality driving the Scottish Clearances, therefore, were those representatives of the political and economic dominant core who were mainly from England. There were many Scottish Lowlanders as well as English industrialists who bought out the Highlanders in an economic imperialistic move against the Scottish landowners.

This was a major historical event in Scottish history that greatly added to the Scottish diaspora as many of its citizenry were forced to spread throughout the world just to make a viable living in whatever occupations immigrants could obtain. Interestingly enough, although this was a significant event in Scottish history, it garners only this short paragraph in the apparently biased British publication *Young Oxford History of Britain and Ireland*:

In the 1790s landowners in the Highlands, eager to use their land for grazing sheep, began to clear out the crofters who had grown crops in fenced fields near their cottages. After 1815 these 'clearances' became widespread. In the words of an eyewitness, the landowners used, 'every imaginable means, short of sword or musket . . . to drive the Highlanders away, to force them to exchange their farms and comfortable cottages, built by themselves or their forefathers, for inhospitable rock on the seashore . . . Many deaths followed from alarm, fatigue, cold.'

Thousands of crofters had their homes burned. Some perished, others made for Glasgow and other industrial towns, or for America. (Morgan 1996:302)

During the same period, the Industrial Revolution began to create major industrial centers in the central Lowlands, which drew huge numbers of the rural populace into the industrial regions such as the Clyde Valley.

Internal Colonialism

Michael Hechter (1975) used Scotland's relationship to the English core of Great

Britain as a classic example of internal colonialism. This theoretical model focuses on the core's political domination and material exploitation of peripheral regions or minority groups within the larger nation state. The periphery may appear to be culturally and economically isolated from the core (Hechter 1975:39); however, Cunningham (1987) and others maintain that rhetoric of the dominant society typically characterizes the periphery as "isolated" at the very time when core interests are staging intrusions into the periphery and asserting their control over it.

Viewed in this perspective, the "progressive" reform of Scottish agriculture that lead to the Clearances produced a form of stunted development or underdevelopment through which the core more efficiently extracted resources and labor from the periphery without fostering sustainable development of the periphery. Political economic inequality is mirrored culturally through labeling the peripheral group "backward." Because of cultural and economic differences between the core and the periphery, members of the core group seldom want to participate in the culture of the periphery group, except in occasional romantic revivalistic movements.

Local elites from the periphery who become managers for core interests - for example, Scottish gentry who participated in the Clearances, often become assimilated into the dominant value system. Antonio Gramsci has thoroughly explored the processes and practices of cultural hegemony through which gentry from the periphery are drawn to identify with the core and serve its interests.

Cultural Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony rests on the premise that the domination of one class over one or more others is accomplished because of a "tight net of intellectual and moral relations that involve a capacity for determined leadership on the one hand and more or less spontaneous acceptance of this leadership on the other" (Pellicani 1981:3). Marxist theory would suggest that all social and economic domination is based on power and class rule by force. Not so with Gramsci, and Auguste Comte from an earlier time, who suggest that "the ultimate foundation of social order . . . is the institutionalization of a hegemonic principle and its values, norms, and ultimate ends" (Pellicani 1981:60).

Gramsci used hegemony primarily as a political concept in explaining why the people living under capitalism, with its inherently oppressive and exploitative nature, have not thrown off the system for more of a socialist one. According to Gramsci's writings, hegemony refers ". . . to a condition in process in which a dominant class(es) doesn't merely rule but *leads* [Storey's italics] a society through the exertion of moral and intellectual leadership" (Storey 1993: 119). Gramsci departed radically from Nikolai Lenin's ideas of mobilizing the proletariat in a revolutionary conquest of power over the bourgeois state. Gramsci saw this as a more difficult task than Lenin assumed, because there is actually consent of the subordinate classes in being controlled rather than the type of control based on the coercion that Lenin suggested.

Social theorists following Antonio Gramsci suggest that dominant cultures, whether referring to the British examples or others, make, through the use of hegemony,

“... concessions and alliances with other groups thus enabling them to adopt a leadership role and assert themselves as the embodiment of national interest” (McCrone 1989:191). However, other social theorists, such as social anthropologist Malcolm Chapman, suggest that there may be certain cultural inventions by the “Other” that facilitate any sociopolitical and economic domination. Therefore, any cultural interactions between the dominant and subordinate cultures play an important role in the development of sociopolitical and economic domination.

Raymond Williams suggests that hegemony is “the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes” and that it is a “system of meanings and values -- constitutive and constituting -- which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming” (Basch, et al., 1994:12).

J. and J. Comaroff define hegemony as an order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies -- drawn from a historically situated cultural field -- that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it This is why its power has so often been seen to lie in what it silences, what it prevents people from thinking and saying, what it puts beyond the limits of the rational and credible. In a quite literal sense hegemony is habit forming. For these reasons, it is rarely contested. (Basch, et al, 1994:12-13)

Following these lines of reasoning, a society might become quite socially stable through a high degree of consensus between the dominant and subordinate classes, if the subordinate

classes “. . . *actively* [Storey’s italics] support and subscribe to values, ideals, objectives, cultural meanings, which bind them to, incorporate them into, the prevailing power structure” (Storey 1993:119). Hegemonic theory would suggest that, in this consensus between the dominant and subordinate classes, it is easy for the dominant group to instill nationalistic loyalty to the nation-state over the subordinate class. However, in spite of a fostering of nationalistic loyalty into the periphery group, there may also be friction and therefore resistance to the domination by the core caused by ethnic group loyalties and nationalistic aspirations of ethnic groups. What develops is a resistance by the periphery to the core group at the same time that this consensus between the two groups is taking place.

Even proponents of classic modernization theory, who conceived of acculturation as an irreversible phenomenon in which traits from the “modern” culture would eventually replace “traditional” culture, recognized that culture contact might lead to violent confrontation in nativistic movements, or trait resistance through withdrawal. Hechter believes that acculturation among diverse cultures seldom comes about in an orderly manner (Hechter 1975:24). There are obviously numerous examples of violent confrontations between the periphery and core, such as the Troubles of Northern Ireland and Scotland’s efforts to reassert Jacobite control in the eighteenth century. The less a subordinate group has retained of its own customs, laws, language, and education, the more easily the dominant group can assert control. Therefore, acculturation becomes a major strategy of hegemonic control by the core, and conversely, heightened awareness of

ethnicity and cultural revivalism become strategies of resistance against hegemonic domination.

The Celts and Invented Tradition

The culture that brought us the harp with its general association to Celtic bards goes back into several millennia of prehistoric activity. The origins of Celtic culture are as difficult to pinpoint as are the origins of most groups of people. According to Nora Chadwick, it is “difficult to define concisely what is meant by Celt or Celtic” (Chadwick 1970: 17) partly because the people of prehistoric times did not leave us neatly written little history books of their cultural existence. Frank Delaney suggests that, “The word ‘Celtic’ excites immediately, automatically, a host of images: memories of gold and music, of bards, princes and Druids, of fighting, talking and horsemanship - or pictures of thatched cottages, round towers, harps, high crosses, rocky coasts and shawls” (Delaney 1986: 15). These romantic images of Celtic culture are given to us through archaeological evidence of some of the early peoples that became known as the Celts, even if the exact origins of these mysterious people are not truly known.

The Celts have been researched archaeologically as far back as the late Bronze Age period known as the Urnfield Culture of the second millennium (Chadwick 1970: 25; Delaney 1986: 29). This particular culture of “proto-Celtic” people of central Europe was distinguished from others of their day by the rite of cremation burial in cemeteries in which the ashes of the dead were buried in pottery urns, hence the name “Urnfield” (Chadwick

1970:28; Delaney 1986:25; Herm 1975:82). This culture spread by the fourteenth century B.C. across the Rhine River and reached southern France by 750 B.C. The Urnfield culture is named for its archaeological sites which have also been found in southern Germany, Burgundy, Switzerland, northeastern Spain, northern Italy, Sicily, the Lipari Islands, Britain, and other places on the European continent (Chadwick 1970:29; Delaney 1986:25).

The Urnfield culture lasted until the seventh century B.C. and then was succeeded by the appearance of the Celts of the Hallstatt area of Austria. These Celts are also characterized by rich archaeological finds. The development of the use of iron by the Hallstatt Celts distinguishes that group from the earlier Urnfield Celts who used bronze. The Hallstatt culture persisted from the eighth century to the fifth century B.C. Many artifacts that were found in a village south of Bad Ischl in central Austria are very typically Celtic in design. These are early examples of designs that would become ethnic markers of the Celtic culture in twentieth century Scotland and beyond, as well as giving us some possible examples of historical and cultural continuity between ancient and modern Celts. Specific examples of these early markers are four-wheeled wagons used as burial furnishings of chieftains, metal clasps in spiral forms, metal neck rings (torcs) and pottery with intricate designs that are immediately recognizable as “Celtic” by today’s Celtic aficionado. Many of these items can now be found in reproduction as part of the current Celtic revivalism in Scotland and virtually any location where Scottish culture is fostered (Chadwick 1970:34-36; Delaney 1986:26-30).

The artistic reproductions of many of the modern revivalists of Celtic culture are generally more associated with the culture of the second Iron Age in Europe called La Tène. This name derives from an archaeological site in Switzerland whose culture lasted from the fifth century to the first century B.C. The artifacts associated with this site and the extent to which they have been found all over Europe illustrates the spread of this particular Celtic culture. The art style that came out of this period is what is typically, or stereotypically, today called Celtic art. La Tène artifacts have been discovered throughout the area occupied by the Celts in earliest historic times, stretching from Ireland to the borders of the Ukraine, and from the Alps to northern Germany (Chadwick 1970:38-39; Delaney 1986:30-32; Herm 1975:122-125).

One group of Celts crossed into Anatolia to establish the state of Galatia, an ancient territory in what is now Turkey. The name Galatia was derived from its early inhabitants who were a branch of an Indo-European tribal confederation called Celts or Galli or Gauls. In 25 B.C., the Romans created the large province of Galatia that included the Galatian people between Cappadocia and the province of Asia Minor on the west. According to Nora Chadwick,

Even in this area . . . there is evidence that some Celts at least were seeking land for settlement, as is shown by the Galatae, who were allowed to settle in the vicinity of modern Ankara and who, as the Galatians of the New Testament and as late as the fourth century A.D., appear to have survived as a recognizable cultural group, even to the extent of retaining as their second language one which appears

to have been recognizably Celtic. (Chadwick 1970:39)

It was none other than Saint Paul who addressed the early Christian churches founded there with his epistle to the Galatians that is found in the New Testament of the Bible (Delaney 1986:33). “In his Epistle to the Galatians St Paul warns [the Celts] not only against idolatry, sorcery and jealousy, but just as strongly against hatred, murder, drunkenness, gluttony and the like” (Herm 1975:43). It seems that St. Paul experienced the culture of the Celts that becomes romanticized many years later. St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians, or Celts, according to Herm, “. . . is certainly the most humane of all documents on Celtic history: a plea for humility directed at a people accustomed to putting their trust in the sword” (Herm 1975:44) as opposed to the Lord.

Much of our knowledge about the Celts in literature comes from the ancient Romans and Greeks through writers such as Julius Caesar, Strabo, and Diodorus. Celtic culture today is more popularly associated with the British Isles although, as has been pointed out, they have an extensive history in other parts of Europe. These people who roamed from Galatia to Galicia to the Gàidhealtachd remained mostly a marginal culture throughout their existence, especially in the sense that they never achieved any great degree of political independence or influence. To the Greeks and Romans, the Celts were merely outsiders, therefore contaminated with cultural traits not of their liking. They were considered barbarians, although the term barbarian did not have quite the sharp edge that it does today, or possibly they were considered those with a “Funny Face, or Twisted Nose” (Campbell 1988: 105). By being called barbarians by the Greeks and Romans, the

Celts were simply relegated to the periphery of these countries' frontiers, to the marginality of their civilized cultural existence. The Celts, by virtue of never developing structural organizations in the same sense as the Roman and Greek governments, were to remain permanently on the margins of European civilization. It is this cultural marginality in the Celtic land of Scotland that is important to this study.

The question arises as to whether these pre-Christian Celts are related directly to modern Celts and all the Celts in between. In other words, was there an ethnolinguistic, historical, or a cultural continuity through the ages of this group or were there several groups that were simply called Keltoi with the connotation that their marginality to the dominant cultures of the day defined them as such? Opinion on such matters certainly differs. Nora Chadwick suggests that, "To the Greek and Latin writers of the second half of the first millennium B.C. the Celts were recognizable as a cultural entity occupying part of Europe" (Chadwick 1970:17) and that there did indeed exist a group of people called "... Celts, something of whose culture, languages, law, and social institutions has survived into modern times. [These people] would seem to be the inheritors of a Celtic way of life which originated in the prehistoric past" (Chadwick 1970:17).

Frank Delaney would suggest that the continuity of the Celts has brought them into the present but that the Celts "... are now preserved - somewhat - in the language of those people who still speak, however diminishingly, a Celtic tongue. But principally they reside in the notebooks of archaeologists and in the cases of Europe's museums" (Delaney 1986:215). Frank Delaney calls himself a modern-day Celt and admits that he is a part of

this native Celtic culture. He suggests that he, himself, is “. . . a native of a Celtic Fringe country, in whose archaeology and whose history, powerful trails offer connections between the people of Ireland and the Celts of Europe” (Delaney 1986:216).

Malcolm Chapman, in *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (1992), also discusses the importance of the native Celtic tongue when he suggests that the Celtic language has been important in the perpetuation of Celtic continuity. He specifically points out as well in another body of research, *The Gaelic Vision in Culture* (1978), that “. . . Scottish folklore is located, *par excellence*, within the Gaelic language” [his italics] (Chapman 1978: 131). In yet another work of his, *Social and Biological Aspects of Ethnicity*, Chapman discusses the attempts that have been made in classifying the Celts.

Malcolm Chapman says that:

[a]ccording to most modern authorities, the Celts are one of the ‘peoples’ of Europe, who emerged as a pan-European power in the middle of the first millennium BC, and who have reproduced themselves culturally, linguistically, and biologically, from this ancient time to the present day -- a present day in which they are confined to the far northwestern borders of Britain, France, and Ireland, and dwindling. (Chapman 1993:24)

In the process of colonial conquest, ethnicity is usually ascribed to subordinate groups by the more dominant group and new ethnicities can be created in the process, as in the creation of the Keltic identity (Celts) out of those whom Greeks and Romans labeled barbarians. According to Malcolm Chapman, Celtic culture historically has been

based primarily on its marginality. The entire historical continuity of the Celts, from its earliest inception in the central part of Europe on to the British Isles, has been one of marginality in respect to the dominant European culture surrounding it. Celtic culture spread throughout the world largely by way of other people's perceptions about who the Celts were and then by the fulfilling of those perceptions by the Celts themselves. These cultural constructions of what it was to be a Celt then took on a real life of their own and thus became important resources for cultural identity as well as for resistance to hegemonic relationships with others. Often important in the display of cultural perceptions is the use of the arts, which may be also employed politically as a means of identity as well as a means of resistance. This may be seen in the arts associated throughout the ages with the Celtic culture.

For constructed ethnic groups, genetic continuity may be suspect or demonstrably lacking, and cultural markers may be recent inventions. Historical scrutiny may reveal that members of an ethnic group come from quite diverse religious or linguistic backgrounds, yet they still feel an affinity to a common ethnic group not because of true genetic ties or cultural continuity, but because what has been "sold" to them as ethnicity once experienced, believed, and acted upon becomes their ethnic reality. Constructed ethnicity may be transposed into feelings of nationalism expressed culturally or politically. Nationalistic sentiments within an ethnic group may be generated from some unusual sources.

Chapman states that anthropologists should harbor some doubt as to a continued

and distinct biological genealogy of the Celts that spans two or three thousand years. His skepticism is highlighted by his statement that “[t]here has, however, been a fascinating collusion of archaeologists, linguists, historians, folklorists, and nationalists, which has fully substantiated the idea of the continuous Celts” (Chapman 1993:24).

More than a passing similarity is evident between the Ossian legend from the Scottish Highlands and the Finnish nationalistic folklore of the *Kalevala*. In 1760, James Macpherson traveled over the sea to Skye collecting folklore about the legendary Celtic Scottish hero Ossian. The resulting collection and subsequent publications of his works set the tone for the romantic Celtic/Scottish passions that continue to this day, not only in Scotland but all over the world. In what Hugh Trevor-Roper calls “bold forgery,” James Macpherson, in conjunction with a partner named John Macpherson (no blood relation, only a cultural one) who was a reverend living on the Isle of Skye, “. . . created an indigenous literature for Celtic Scotland and, as a necessary support for it, a new history” (Hobsbawn 1983:17). Together they “invented” much of the Celtic/Scottish tradition by writing their “oral legends” and then passing it off as authentically collected folklore. The Highland, Gaelic, or Celtic Scots, like the Finns, base much of their contemporary ethnicity on this constructed piece of folklore. Trevor-Roper suggests that Scottish history never fully recovered from “. . . the distorting and interdependent fabrications of the two Macphersons” (Hobsbawn 1983:18).

The quintessential ethnic marker of the Scots, the kilt, or philibeg in Scottish Gaelic, is not as traditional as is usually believed, or desired, by many Scottish, or

Scottish-American romantics. This traditional Highland dress, so popular with sentimental Scottish-Americans, actually came to the Highlands by way of the Scottish Lowlands, England, and, before that, from Flanders. An Englishman originated the idea of the small kilt as a facet of Highland tradition after the Union of the Crowns of 1707. The earlier Gaelic tradition of the kilt was the philimor, which was simply a large swath of cloth draped around the shoulders and then around the waist. It took no stitchery from a Scottish seamstress. English fabricators also invented the clan tartans some time later in Scottish history. According to Hugh Trevor-Roper,

We may thus conclude that the kilt is a purely modern costume, first designed, and first worn, by an English Quaker industrialist and that it was bestowed on the Highlanders in order not to preserve their traditional way of life but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather and into the factory. (Hobsbawn 1983:22)

For many Scots, and hyphenated Scots, English duplicity in the creation of any Scottish cultural markers certainly would be the unkindest cut of all upon the fabric of their ethnic identification.

Traditions that are of recent birth or creation may claim great age, yet these invented traditions become salient ethnic markers and arouse genuine sentiments. An invented tradition is one that is considered to be “. . . a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies

continuity with the past” (Hobsbawn 1983:1).

As an example, much of the Finnish feeling of nationalistic pride today is based on one piece of folklore, the aforementioned *Kalevala*, a book of Finnish epic poems published by Elias Lönnrot in 1835. Publication of this one work, with some supporting documents, has filled the Finnish people with so much ethnic and national pride that this work is given credit for bringing about Finnish independence in 1917. Many Finns consider the *Kalevala* the “. . . independence book of the Finnish nation” (Wilson 1976:ix). The publication of this work is apparently only surpassed by Christianity and the Reformation in importance in Finnish history. According to William A. Wilson, “The publication of the *Kalevala* had an almost magical effect upon the Finnish nationalists, or the ‘Fennomaniacs’” (Wilson 1976:41).

For all practical purposes, however, the written book of *Kalevala*, supposedly of Homeric proportion, was very much the creation of one person, Elias Lönnrot. This Finnish folklorist had supposedly collected the bits and pieces of old folk tales from authentic folklore sources and transcribed them in the tome that became the Finnish epic. However, apparently Lönnrot had actually synthesized many of the folkloristic fragments with some of his own literary embellishments and even original material to produce this epic on which many Finns, even today, base much of their nationalistic pride. Once Finns accepted Lönnrot’s work, it became the foundation for construction of Finnish nationalism and its folkloric authenticity became moot.

Invented traditions can be constructed and then immediately incorporated into a

culture or they may take a certain period of time to become incorporated. Hobsbawn suggests that invented traditions actually happen more often when there is a swift cultural change that has been experienced by a society. This swift change may have the effect of weakening or destroying the social patterns in which the original traditions had been designed as support within a society. This, in effect, has the result of producing new traditions that were not earlier applicable to that culture. These new traditions may often replace those traditions that were not flexible enough to withstand any rapid cultural changes (Hobsbawn 1983:4-5). Usually these inventions of tradition have been the creation of individuals who are not in the power structure, but rather who do feel that, if they are accepted, the “new” traditions will offer some positive gain or advantage for that society (Silverman and Gulliver 1992:20). Traditions are so important in nationalistic movements, both culturally and politically, that quite often there has to be the invention of historic continuity within a culture that is accomplished “. . . by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity either by semi-fiction (Boadicea, Vercingetorix, Arminius the Cheruscan) or by forgery, (Ossian, the Czech medieval manuscripts” (Hobsbawn 1983:7). The aforementioned *Kalevala* would also be an example of invented traditions influencing feelings of nationalism within a population.

In a Hugh Trevor-Roper discussion on the invention of traditions in Scotland, he suggests that many of the cultural components of Scottish traditions have been manufactured ones. As far back as the seventeenth century, according to Trevor-Roper, many traditions in Scotland were changed and parts of history were often rewritten. Many

of the elements of Scottish culture that Americans identify so distinctively with that group of people are invented traditions. A big part of these inventions have been the fabrications of either the aforementioned James Macpherson or similar ones by the Sobieski Stuarts. These and other cultural inventors “. . . imagined a golden age in the past of the Celtic Highlands” and, unknowingly, created a commercially lucrative cultural tourism industry for Scottish businesses and tourism boards all over the world. “The wealth which they generated went to the manufacturers of the differentiated clan tartans now worn, with tribal enthusiasm, by Scots and supposed Scots from Texas to Tokyo” (Trevor-Roper 1983:41). It was through the inventions of traditions by Macpherson, in particular the “translations” of Ossian, and not through actual cultural transmission that “. . . the Scottish Gael found his way into the European imagination . . .” (Chapman 1978:23) and, indeed, into creative imaginations the world over. From Sir Walter Scott to the Kailyard School of literature to kilt-wearing Scottish-Americans of the 1990s, the Scottish population has endured a romanticization of their culture like virtually no other in existence, real or created. This romanticization has created a world-wide community of Scottish/Celtic romantics who spend a large portion of their waking hours and their disposable income pining for the old country and the old traditional ways of life, regardless of the harshness of reality.

Pan-Celtic Romanticism

Such notable English Victorian intellectuals as Matthew Arnold, William Morris,

Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Alfred Tennyson (Ashe 1985:182) had an impact in shaping Celtic romanticism. Matthew Arnold, who held the Chair of Poetry at Oxford, became intrigued with the Celtic languages and Celtic literature. Not possessing fluency in any of the Celtic languages did not stop Arnold from romantically pontificating on Celtic literary subjects. Charles Squire both describes and endorses Arnold's views when he writes that Arnold "... was probably right in asserting that, while we owe to the Anglo-Saxon the more practical qualities that have built up the British Empire, we have inherited from the Celtic side that poetic vision which has made English literature the most brilliant since the Greek" (Squire 1979:3). Although he embraced the romanticism of Celtic poetry, Arnold's propensity toward cultural elitism overshadowed any feelings other than English condescension toward Celtic culture generally.

Arnold's own words betray the cultural hegemonic attitudes of the English people toward the culture of Wales.

I must say I quite share the opinion of my brother Saxons as to the practical inconvenience of perpetuating the speaking of Welsh The fusion of all the inhabitants of these islands into one homogeneous, English-speaking whole, the breaking down of barriers between us, the swallowing up of separate provincial nationalities, is a consummation to which the natural course of things irresistibly tends; it is a necessity of what is called modern civilization The sooner the Welsh language disappears as an instrument of the practical, political social life of Wales, the better; the better for England, the better for Wales itself The

language of a Welshman is and must be English (Delaney 1986:171-172)

Such attitudes expressed by cultural elites such as Matthew Arnold helped Great Britain rationalize the imposition of their language for control over all of their colonies.

One of the ways in which Britain attempted to secure its control over the indigenous population was by means of the imposition of a version of British culture (a standard practice for colonists everywhere): part of the process was to institute English as the official language. (Storey 1993:119-120)

On a grander scale, Arnold would suggest that culture should provide “. . . social order, social authority, won through cultural subordination and deference” (Storey 1993:25). The romanticism of the Welsh and Celtic nationalism was lost in the practical, political social life of England. Although the likes of Matthew Arnold and Ernest Renan helped promote a Celtic romanticism, “[The] magical dreaminess is a mirage, seen through the sights of domination, of the repressed wholeness which seems magical to those whose horizon is limited by the lines of instrumental rationality” (Cunningham 1987:170).

Throughout the centuries the dominant cultures within the Celtic lands, whether English, French, Roman, or Norse, have subjugated the Celtic people and to some extent have even attempted genocide, either physical genocide through the use of military campaigns or ethnocide that would eliminate Celtic culture by assimilating Celtic peoples into the dominant establishment's own nationalistic agenda. “A key target of forced assimilation policy is the elimination of ethnic boundary markers: language, religion, modes of dress, and any cultural institution that readily distinguishes the population”

(Peoples and Bailey 1994:403).

Cultural Resistance and Revival

In Scotland itself, does the current folk revival of Celtic culture express cultural resistance rather than romantic nostalgia? If, as Antonio Gramsci and many other social theorists have pointed out, dominant groups try to assert control through cultural hegemony, then culture becomes the arena in which oppressed groups resist this control. This conflict will always be weighted materially in favor of the dominant groups, but subordinate groups possess cultural capital and will use their revival activities to intensify ethnic markers, generate symbolic identification with their cause, and promote solidarity among themselves. "All cultural forms made visible by their ethnic 'marking' are alternate forms of lower-class culture relative to the homogenized mainstream or other such references to a 'mass culture'" (Williams 1989:412).

Lois Kuter, in her studies of the Breton Celtic culture, suggests that some modern Bretons are rejecting their cultural identity because they view their traditional cultural markers as things of the past and therefore not progressive as far as looking to future endeavors for their society. These people see traditions as a "... part of a past to be forgotten" (Kuter 1981:2). The primary goal of these particular Breton Celts is to assimilate their "fringe-ness" into the core of French culture. However, there are also the Celts of modern Brittany who view their tradition as something that they can mix with their present culture, thus giving them some identity for the future. These people see

tradition not as fixed in time, and therefore stuck in the past, but rather as a form of transmission, or transition, that they are constantly experiencing. They see their “fringe-ness” as an ongoing culture and that their culture “. . . is not disappearing, only changing and evolving” (Kuter 1981:2).

It may, therefore, be either cultural or nationalistic survival that is at the heart of folk revivals such as the current one of Celtic harp playing. According to Michael Hechter, “Peripheral regions of developing countries have tended to resist the incursions of central authorities imposing their omnivorous bureaucracy and haughty culture” (Hechter 1975: 16). Scotland has certainly seen its share of resistance throughout its history, with some of it being violent, but perhaps now coming to a resistance through revivalism. Folk revivals, which help to generate and maintain markers for delineation of ethnic identities, can be a viable form of resistance against these incursions of “omnivorous bureaucracy and haughty culture.”

The tradition-rich Atlantic fringe of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany is the primary region where Celtic cultural heritage survives today. Wales offers an interesting case of cultural revivalism in the service of nationalism. Politically a part of Great Britain since the Act of Union with England in 1536, the Welsh have faced the danger of being culturally swallowed up by the English hegemonic dragon longer than Scotland. In attempting to counter the cultural hegemony of England in the mid-1800s when romantic nationalism flourished in Europe, many people composed songs, patriotic poetry, and hymns for the expressed purpose of bolstering nationalistic pride in their Welsh popular

culture. Evan and James James wrote a national anthem entitled “Land of My Fathers” in 1856 (Delaney 1986:170). Welsh citizens began groups and associations for the express purpose of fostering old Welsh traditions.

In most cultural relationships, language is the key to maintaining cultural identity. The Welsh language, more than any other Celtic language, has been used as a point of nationalism. The Welsh language, which, like all Celtic languages, had been waning in Wales for years often at the insistence of the dominant English culture, became popular again with the founding of the University of Wales in Aberystwyth in 1872. And in 1907, the National Museum in Cardiff was founded and, according to Frank Delaney, “Welsh culture and self-conscious nationalism surged ahead, a literal renaissance . . .” (Delaney 1986:170). Benedict Anderson suggests that the language of the ruling class was important to national consciousness. “It is essential to bear in mind the [Early English] was a series of ‘state,’ not ‘national’ languages; and that the state concerned at various times not only today’s England and Wales, but also portions of Ireland [and] Scotland” (Anderson 1983:45).

As a counter to English industrial developments borne out of the Industrial Revolution, there was a revival of Welsh national consciousness in the industrial and rural towns of Wales. “Welsh-language enthusiasts founded societies and newspapers to prevent the spread of English, while encouraging the love of Welsh” (Delaney 1986:170). Delaney writes today, in agreement with many romantic enthusiasts of the Scottish and Irish revivalist past, that he believes the Welsh of the late eighteenth and early

nineteen hundreds not only were descendants of the Celts but “. . . still bore the peasant traces of the old Celts” (Delaney 1986:171). Welsh romantic nationalism was embraced by the middle-class, which felt united with the popular classes in a struggle against the elite.

Scottish politics offers an interesting counter example of accommodation. The Scottish Labour Party was established in the 1880s alongside the trade union movement that accompanied industrial growth and immigration to the Clyde Valley. “Its programme included . . . the nationalization of land, the abolition of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church and Home Rule for Scotland” (MacLean 1995:206-207). Ironically, the Scottish Labour Party later merged with the British Labour Party, thus losing its separate Scottish identity. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Scottish Liberalism began to resemble the values expounded by the Labour Party. Once again, the theories of Antonio Gramsci may be applied to this period of political unrest because Liberalism had been so ingrained in Scottish politics that “. . . its values became ‘common sense’” (Brown, et al. 1996:122). Invoking the writings of Gramsci to define this ‘common sense’, Brown, et al., suggests that Liberalism is a term used by Gramsci himself to describe “. . . the social values and institutional bedrock of a community, be it city or nation, which underpin individual and collective views of the world” (Brown, et al. 1996:122). It is this historical perspective of industrial Scotland at the turn of this century that makes it ripe for Gramscian analysis.

Cultural and Political Nationalism

Nationalism based on ethnicity and its cultural markers may emerge when marginalized groups resist political and economic domination and cultural hegemony. Hutchinson makes an important distinction between political nationalism and cultural nationalism (1987: 9-10). In looking at the two types of nationalism, Hutchinson also suggests that political and cultural nationalism entail distinctly different concepts of what the nation should be. Each of these movements has different strategies for achieving their stated objectives, although political and cultural nationalists share an aversion to the established bureaucratic government (Hutchinson 1987:12). The political nationalists, according to Hutchinson, want to obtain a representative national state that will insure basic rights to its citizens. These political nationalists usually form legally organized groups to work against the establishment in order to insure those basic rights.

Nationalism is commonly viewed as a political movement whose primary function is the creation of an independent state or nation-state, i.e., a political system where the power and legitimate use of force is concentrated in a central government (Haviland 1993:319). "This unity is expressed through the medium of a single currency, a unified fiscal system, a single 'national' language (national culture being acquired through a powerful education system), and a unified legal system" (Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996: 26). One can also contrast with the state the idea of nation as being, "Communities of people who see themselves as 'one people' on the basis of common ancestry, history, society, institutions, ideology, language, territory, and (often) religion" (Haviland

1993:320). Using these guidelines, there are roughly 200 states today, but over 5,000 nations (Haviland 1993:320). Brown, et al., define nation-states as “. . . self-governing territories [that] are judged to be culturally homogeneous and socially bounded with the right of self-determination” (Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996: 25). It is using this logic that Brown, et al., declare that Scotland has been a stateless nation in the sense that it has the mechanisms for government, but does not have an independent legislature. Unlike many ethnic groups that are presently aspiring to become independent, Scotland was a nation-state in the past. Scottish nationalism is aimed at restoring its status prior to its entering the United Kingdom in 1707.

John Hutchinson suggests that political nationalism can be interpreted as “. . . a doctrine that holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics that can be ascertained, and the only legitimate type of government is national self-government” (Hutchinson 1987:10). The feeling of political nationalism has been growing in recent years in Scotland with many Scots believing that “the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.” Many Scottish nationalists have expressed frustrations to this author because they feel that “. . . independence is their manifest destiny” (Kernohan 1990:10) and that this independence is not coming fast enough. As late as 1992, the Scottish National Party (SNP) started polling higher numbers than the conservatives in some of the local elections did. Kernohan feels that a case can be made that the Scottish National Party is now the second major political party of Scotland. This would place the SNP behind the Labour Party, but slightly ahead

of the Tories (Kernohan 1990:10). Going into the elections of 1997 with a commanding lead over the Tories, the Labour Party expected to be carrying the standard of much of the Scottish Nationalist Party's nationalist agenda, particularly in their attempts at achieving devolution or outright independence. With the current Tony Blair government, there is now support for a new Scottish legislative body.

For the cultural nationalist, however, the state is perceived as a conquering hegemony that will naturally place upon them the dominant group's set of uniform cultural characteristics. Therefore, the members of the minority or subordinate culture become victims because "[t]he glory of a country comes not from its political power but from the culture of its people and the contribution of its thinkers and educators to humanity" (Hutchinson 1987:15-16).

Because cultural nationalists perceive and seek to resist cultural hegemony, through which dominant groups undermine local resistance, culture becomes the "... site of struggle between the forces of resistance of subordinate groups in society, and the forces of incorporation of dominant groups in society" (Storey 1993:13). It is the use of this cultural hegemony that allows the dominant groups to undermine local forces of resistance through the manipulation of sentiments. The conflict of groups can be seen in the "... ideological struggle between dominant and subordinate classes, dominant and subordinate cultures" (Storey 1993:13).

Cultural nationalism is quite often manifested in folk revivals that involve traditions, real or otherwise, that foster the ethnic identity of a particular cultural group.

Folk revivals are often more than just a strong desire to preserve and perpetuate a once viable part of someone's culture. Revivalists of an ethnic culture may see their national unit as a creative force that is constantly changing through periods of decline and then regrowth while at the same time being in competition with similar groups around them (Hutchinson 1987:9-10). Hutchinson also points out that cultural nationalism is usually a movement that is independent of political nationalism (Hutchinson 1987:9). This cultural nationalism often manifests itself through romanticism.

CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH POLITICS AND IDENTITY

Scotland is an official member of the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and as such does not have its own parliament. Recent elections have given Scotland the right to create its own Parliament within the United Kingdom, which should be done by the end of 1999. The Scottish population is, however, currently governed from Westminster in England where it elects members to the British House of Commons. The Scottish people are represented in the House of Lords. The central administration of Scottish domestic affairs policies is done by the secretary of state for Scotland, a British cabinet officer, whose job it is to govern relating to welfare and economy in Scotland. The individual burgh councils usually handle local government policies. Scotland is represented in the British Parliament by more than 72 members. In 1987, three of the Scottish Parliament members were Scottish Nationalists. The Scottish legal system is separate and different from that of the rest of Great Britain, however. Their own law derives from the Roman code with a supreme civil court, called the Court of Sessions, which sits in Edinburgh's old Parliament House and dates back to 1532 (CIE 1996). The High Court of Justiciary is the supreme criminal court, and its civil counterpart is the Court of Sessions. For the purposes of local government, Scotland was divided into thirty-three counties until 1975 when they were reorganized into nine administrative regions (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995).

The beginning of the twentieth century saw Scotland attempt to exist in the world as a member of the British Empire. However, as the century wore on, the British Empire, once of huge worldwide proportion, diminished drastically, as has Scottish desire to be an integral part of this dwindling empire (Brown, et al. 1996:26). Nationalism in Scotland began to grow with the impulse to do what many of the former British colonies had done, achieve independence. The Scottish National Party developed out of these feelings in 1934. And in 1948, Scottish nationalist feelings were given a boost by the beginning of the Scottish Covenant, which requested the government of the United Kingdom to allow them a Scottish Parliament. During a two year period, “. . . over a million and a quarter Scots signed this Covenant demanding a measure of self-government for Scotland” (MacLean 1995:212). It was a short time later, in 1952, that the famous Scottish nationalistic icon, the Stone of Scone (pronounced Scoon), was stolen by Scottish students and taken back to Scotland from England. The Stone of Scone has become a symbol of Scottish nationalism because it was on this stone that the early Scottish kings had been enthroned. Other than those few weeks in 1952 when it was kidnapped and held by Scottish students, this Scottish symbol of nationalism had remained at Westminster from 1297 (Morgan 1996:131). That is, until early 1997, seven hundred years later, when it was once again returned to Scotland, this time through legal means.

By the mid-twentieth century, Scottish nationalism was becoming more popular with the Scottish populace. A Scottish Nationalist candidate, Winnie Ewing, won a seat in the House of Commons at Westminster in the Hamilton by-election in November of 1967

“... amid enthusiasm that it was her aim to see Scotland seated at the United Nations between Saudi Arabia and Senegal” (MacLean 1995: 213; Brown, et al. 1996:140). That has not happened yet.

This new nationalist movement in Scotland got an economic boost from the discovery of the North Sea oil reserves in 1970s. Scotland certainly received some benefit from the development of North Sea oil deposits, but England received the lion's share of the prosperity from the natural resources during the Margaret Thatcher years of power at 10 Downing Street. The Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party declined in power during the last half of the twentieth century to be replaced in power by the Scottish Labour Party, the Liberal, and the Scottish Nationalist Party (MacLean 1995:220). Home rule, which failed to win approval in a 1979 referendum, has been gaining new support in the early to mid-1990s.

Many people in Scotland today believe that political changes are indeed at hand, either with devolution, with a degree of independence, or out-right independence. Devolution would give Scotland decision power over much of its domestic issues while the Parliament at Westminster would retain all other powers. In 1973, a Royal Commission on the United Kingdom Constitution recommended that “... a directly elected Scottish assembly be established with legislative powers covering the main areas of social policy dealt with by the Scottish Office still answerable through the Secretary of State to the Westminster Parliament” (Brown, et al. 1996:20). This would have given the Scottish people, had this form of devolution come to fruition, the power over their own

economic development, their universities, and their own law and order system. Although many in Scotland support out-right independence, there is also support for some form of devolution because, “There is a growing perception and belief that a Scottish Parliament can offer a real opportunity to have policies which reflect the needs and priorities of Scotland” (Brown, et al. 1996: 116).

Political Parties

Scotland currently has several political parties that factor into its political arena. Many of these parties have had a long history in the country’s governmental process. Moreover, it is within the boundaries of these political parties that the governmental process takes place and it is against these party boundaries that political and cultural resistance often occurs. It is therefore quite pertinent to this discussion to delineate the major players in contemporary Scottish politics.

Liberal Party

Scotland had a change in political character in the early 1800s. The politicians being sent to Parliament in Westminster by the Scottish voters became more and more liberal and the Liberal Party, created from the old Whig Party, was the dominant force in Scottish politics for the majority of the nineteenth century (Brown, et al. 1996:7). “This Liberal ascendancy in Scotland was to last for the best part of a century. At only one general election between 1832 and 1917 did Scotland fail to return a majority of Liberal

Members to Parliament” (MacLean 1995:206-207). However, after 1922, the Liberal Party in Scotland began to decline until they had virtually no power in Parliament by the middle of the 1900s. The Liberal Party of Scotland was split in the early 1900s and the Liberal Unionist Party began, which eventually combined with the Conservative Party in 1912.

Unionist Party

When the Liberal Unionist and the Conservative parties joined forces they became known as the Unionist Party. The joining of the conservative and liberal branches of Scottish politics at first appears to be a political anomaly. However, it was this party that promoted reform in Scotland. “Thus the Scottish political right came to be represented by a party that believed in state intervention, if only because it relied on working-class votes. Being a strong Protestant party, the Unionists also drew on the Presbyterian ethic of civic responsibility that had dominated Scottish liberalism in the nineteenth century” (Brown, et al. 1996:14).

Conservative Party

The increase in popularity of economic and social conservatism thrust the Margaret Thatcher government into power in the 1980s, paralleled by the rise in conservatism in the United States under the Ronald Reagan presidency. These conservatives, although gaining favor in England, never garnered the same kind of support

in Scotland. “Scotland has retained an essentially social-democratic majority, while large parts of southern England have moved to the right” (Brown, et al. 1996:62). What seemed like a worldwide conservative political movement apparently was not taken up, on the whole, in Scottish politics.

The Conservative Party in Scotland, however, dates back to the early 1800s. Although it has maintained seats in Parliament from 1832 when ten conservatives won seats, conservatives generally have controlled substantially fewer seats than the Liberals early on and Labour later on. The Scottish Conservative Party had the most seats in their history in 1837 with 20; the twentieth century low point came in 1965 with eleven seats (Brown, et al. 1996:8-9). The Scottish Conservative Party never seemed to get the power base in Scotland that it did in other parts of the UK, primarily because it had trouble attracting the working class vote. Even in 1874, when the English Conservatives were doing well, the Scottish Conservatives could only muster 18 seats for themselves. The Conservative Party has been simply too narrowly defined for Scottish politics (Brown, et al. 1996:126) and has not been able to amass the necessary power base in Scotland because the country has for some time had a reputation as a “. . . country [containing] strong socialist traditions” (Brown, et al. 1996:144).

Scottish National Party

There have been several attempts at creating a national political party in Scotland during the country’s modern era of political history. One of these attempts was made in

the 1890s, another in 1923, and again in 1924. The party organizers had hoped that Scotland would break away from Great Britain and achieve a Home Rule type of devolution through Liberalism and Labourism. However, neither Liberalism nor Labourism would be the force to achieve Home Rule in the 1920s. The prime reason according to many for failure of this goal at that time was lack of grass roots support in the general Scottish population. As contemporary citizens of Scotland remarked about this issue, there was just not enough interest shown by an adequate number of common Scottish individuals. One Scot pointed out in my interviews: "Perhaps the Scots just have not suffered enough at the hands of the British to have that strong a desire for independence" (personal communication #5 1995). Recent electoral events seem to point differently, at least in terms of Scottish devolution. And a March 14, 1999, CNN poll on their web site, although admittedly not a scientific one, showed an 83 to 17 percent advantage toward total independence (CNN.com.POLL: 1).

The Scottish National Party had several pro-independence organizations as its forerunners. One was the Scots National League, established by Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr in 1921. This party, along with others during this time period, had a two-fold political agenda. One was land reform of the Highland region, while the second key agenda plank was revival of the Scottish Gaelic language. This ancestral language of Scotland had been declining rapidly since 1921, largely due to the British government's insistence on the official use of English in Scottish schools. This insistence was so strong that students were often beaten for speaking any Gaelic in school, even as late as the 1960s, according to one

contemporary native Gaelic speaker interviewed for the research.

Another precursor to the Scottish National Party was the Scottish National Movement. Instead of being simply a political movement as the others had been, the Scottish National Movement was more of a cultural movement whose members were attempting to preserve and perpetuate various aspects of Scottish culture. The movement was an outgrowth of the Scottish literary renaissance with its principal leader being a talented Scottish poet by the name of Lewis Spence (Scottish National Party Literature 1995). Although this movement had some influence in Scotland, it did not become the promoter of independence for which many had wished.

The Glasgow University based Scottish Nationalist Association was started in 1927 by John MacCormick, a law student at that university. He soon took the lead in an attempt to unify the aforementioned groups into a large, more politically viable unit. The result was a joint meeting in January of 1928 in which the National Party of Scotland was created. Their credo was, "Self government for Scotland with independent status within the British group of nations" (Scottish National Party Literature 1995).

Another nationalistic political organization began in 1932 under the simple name of The Scottish Party. The creation of two parties at virtually the same time with the same goals served to emphasize just how divided the citizens of Scotland were during these early attempts at creating a nationalistic-oriented political party. However, not long after 1932, the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party consolidated. The Scottish National Party (SNP), as the official political entity that exists today is known, began out

of this consolidation of the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party in Scotland in 1934.

The Scottish National Party and the Labour Party have had a bittersweet relationship with one another over the years. Many in the Scottish National Party today believe that the creation of their party would have come about at a much earlier time had it not been for the promise of the Labour government to achieve many of the goals of the SNP. The primary failure was the promise and enticement of Home Rule for Scotland. In 1924, George Buchanan, Minister of Parliament for the Gorbals, a lower socio-economic area of Glasgow, introduced a Scottish Home Rule Bill in Parliament. It failed after its second reading in May of 1924. Some three years later, after the Labour Party was no longer in power, the Reverend James Barr introduced a bill that advocated Scottish dominion status. Although there was considerable support in Scotland, the Labour Party did not support the bill and it subsequently failed as the Home Rule Bill had three years earlier.

The first major electoral success of the Scottish National Party came in April of 1945 in a by-election when Dr. Robert McIntyre from Motherwell became the first Scottish National Party Minister of Parliament. However, it was a short-lived victory for the seat was lost to the Labour Party when the 1945 General Election was held a few months later. This early success was apparently just a quirk because the party averaged only one percent or less at general elections throughout Scotland during its first thirty years. According to a current information pamphlet disseminated by the Scottish National

Party, this election fluke came about “. . . because the Party was only able to contest a small number of seats. In 1955, for example, the Scottish National Party candidates won an average of 14.5% of the votes of contested seats. But there were only two Scottish National Party candidates, which meant a national share of the vote of just 0.5%” (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995).

The progress of the Scottish National Party was enhanced in the 1950s because of two events that demonstrated an increase in Scottish nationalist identity. One was the retrieval of the Stone of Destiny by Scottish nationalists while the other was the turmoil caused by Queen Elizabeth’s coronation in 1953. On Christmas of 1950, four university students from the University of Glasgow removed the Stone of Destiny from England and returned it to Scotland, where in 1296, the stone at Scone under which the medieval Scottish kings were crowned, was stolen by the English conqueror, Edward I, and taken to Westminster Abbey in England. This university prank caused quite a stir of Scottish nationalism until it was returned to England in April of 1951. However, there was a rumor that masons forged a replica and that it was the replica that was actually taken back to England in 1951 (Scottish National Party 1994:2).

The other stir was when two members of the Scottish Covenant Association, John MacCormick and Ian Hamilton, who also led the Stone of Destiny raid, filed legal action against the right of Queen Elizabeth to use the numeral II in Scotland because she was the first Elizabeth to be Queen of Scots. They did not win their legal case, but they were able to achieve some concessions that amounted to a moral victory. And they certainly caused

a stir. "Some Scots vandalised, and even blew up, post boxes which carried the Queen's insignia and there was broad nationalist agitation against her title, which was generally supported by the Scottish people" (Scottish National Party 1994:3).

There were steady increases in electoral support for the Scottish National Party in the General Elections from 1966 to 1974. From 2.4% in 1964, the SNP share of the votes increased to 5% in 1966, to 11.4% in 1970, and then jumped to 21.9% in February of 1974, according to SNP statistics. The Scottish National Party's first elected Minister of Parliament during a General Election was Donald Stewart, who was elected from the Western Isles in 1970. The Scottish National Party went on to contest every Scottish seat in the October 1974 election, garnering 30.4% of the vote while seating eleven MPs.

Due in part to the North Sea oil deposits off Scotland's eastern shore, the government at Westminster began to take more of an economic interest in Scotland. This new interest resulted in another call for Home Rule for Scotland by the Labour Party during 1974. There was a referendum approved by the voters for the creation of a Scottish Assembly during this period, but it was never seated. However, the government's resolution to disavow the decision of the voters had a positive effect on the support for the idea of total Scottish independence, not just devolution. Again, according to the number provided by the Scottish National Party, support for Scottish independence rose from 15%-20% in the 1970s to 35%-40% in the 1990s, with fully a half of the Scottish population thinking that they "... would get a better deal out of Europe as an independent Member State" (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995).

The Scottish National Party had its most successful year at the polls in 1994. It achieved a clear one-third (33%) polling of the votes in the Euro-elections. This percentage was the highest ever polled by the SNP in any election in which it had participated throughout the entire United Kingdom. There were more gains early in 1995 with the SNP winning 181 seats in the Unitary Authority Elections. This election gave the party overall control of three Councils as well as helping them retain the number two position in political party strength in Scotland. Shortly after that, in a by-election, the Scottish National Party candidate Roseanna Cunningham beat the Tory opponent with a majority of 7,311 votes (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995). Her election in May, 1995, also gave Scotland its highest percentage of women MPs with 9.5% (Brown, et al. 1996:166).

The Scottish National Party is adamant about its desire for the total independence of Scotland from the United Kingdom. Their literature indicates that they are dedicated to resisting the English Tory government, which they suggest they did not elect with their votes. Their literature insists that the British governing authority should be contested and that they have a clear plan to achieve Scottish independence. In the words of the Scottish National Party literature, this is their plan for achieving independence:

[We will win] . . . a majority of Scottish seats at a Westminster General Election or the election to any future Scottish Assembly; we keep the Scottish Office open while negotiating Independence; after the negotiations are completed, we register the agreement with the UN, while remaining part of the European Union; a

referendum on a written Constitution takes place; and within a month of the referendum, a new General Election is held to elect an independent Scottish parliament. (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995)

Upon succeeding in gaining independence for Scotland, representatives of the new government would then put into place a constitution, which would include a Bill of Rights.

The Scottish National Party's version of the proposed Scottish constitution would include:

. . . guaranteed rights and liberties for all, at least as extensive as the European Convention on Human Rights; the right of the Scottish people to sovereignty over [their] own territory and natural resources, recognising the rights and obligations [they] have as members of the European Union; the right of Scottish citizenship to everyone born in Scotland, to everyone living in Scotland, and to others as decided by the Parliament; the Head of State to remain the Queen and her successors, until such time as the people decide otherwise. (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995)

In spite of governmental separation from England, however, there is apparently some desire for historical continuity of the British royalty among a certain contingency of the Scottish citizenry.

It is also the Scottish National Party's desire that an independent Scotland would become a full member state of the European Union with all of its political decision-making responsibilities. The party members support the European Union as a loosely-knit partnership of equal democratic nations as opposed to it being simply the head of a federal

European power. The Scottish National Party's political platform includes other planks that they feel can only be achieved through independence: improving the employment situation of their resource rich country; improving the standard of living with an emphasis in getting more people above the poverty line; certain tax reforms that will promote government efficiency in its support of the Scottish people; working toward a non-nuclear Scotland in its defenses; the promotion of better education and health standards; the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, age, belief, or sexual orientation (Scottish National Party Information Pack 1995). The 1999 leader of the Scottish National Party, Alex Salmond, declared that if Scotland were to become free, its defense policy would be neutral like Ireland and Austria and that the British nuclear submarine bases located within Scottish borders would have to go (CNN.com: [britain.scotland.subs:2](#)).

In spite of recent electoral votes toward a Scottish Parliament and partial devolution, full independence for Scotland is still several years and several political steps away. The Scottish National Party would like to see their dream of independence happen immediately without going through those steps. Reality, however, in politics has a way of rearing its ugly head and the SNP will have to be satisfied that the Scottish people and the Tony Blair government of Westminster are now closer to an agreement than they have been in centuries. However, that has not stopped them from ~~thinking~~ about independence for their country. Current Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmond, a former economist for the Royal Bank of Scotland, who has been called the modern-day

“Braveheart” because of his staunch independence stance, suggested that “[Scotland] had 1,000 years as an independent nation before the union” (CNN.com.britain.scotland: 1). According to Cable News Network Interactive, Salmond declared to a party congress in Aberdeen, Scotland, in March, 1999, that, “We are ready to win . . . to succeed in winning equality and independence for our country – to be a nation again” (CNN 14 March 99 scottish.nationalists: 1). If they win in the May, 1999 general elections, Salmond said the Scottish National Party government “will offer, within its first four-year term, a referendum on independence”(CNN.com 14 March 99 scottish.nationalists: 1).

Labour Party

The Labour party in Britain generally is supportive of socialist aims such as the nationalization of basic industries and services. As such, it opposes the power of big business. The Labour Party as a social democratic party also supports various forms of welfare. This support is seen in attempts at getting higher rates of unemployment compensation and increasing old-age pensions.

The Scottish Labour Party developed alongside the trade-union movement in Britain in the late 1800s. In 1888, Keir Hardie and R.B. Cunninghame Graham founded the Scottish Labour Party as an independent political party, which then promoted “. . . the nationalization of land, the abolition of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church and Home Rule for Scotland” (MacLean 1995:206:207). From 1889 until 1991, there have been 34 Scottish Home Rule Bills presented in the House of Commons. Many

of these Scottish Home Rule Bills were proposed by Labour Party members in an attempt to establish a devolved Scottish Assembly or Parliament, obviously to no avail (Scottish National Party 1994:8).

The Scottish Labour Party drew upon the strength of the Liberal Party for its growth, which was initially slow in coming. Electorally, the Scottish Labour Party did not begin to have an impact until after World War I. Scottish Labour was dominated early on by the more leftist wing of the British Labour Party (ILP) (Brown, et al. 1996:14). Even though the Scottish Labour Party eventually joined with the British Labour Party and lost much of its identity, Scottish politicians had considerable influence upon the workings of the entire party, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s.

From the early 1920s Labour came to local power in the urban areas, but on the whole with the kind of consensual programme that was eventually acceptable to many supporters of the Unionist Party, and which helped almost to wipe out the Liberal Party by the 1940s. (MacLean 1995:207)

The Labour Party had originally promoted the idea of a Scottish Parliament, but in the 1950s, the Labour Party had “. . . abandoned its early belief in a Scottish Parliament in favour of managerial control of the implementation policy and largesse from the UK state” (Brown, et al. 1996:15). Labour, like most of the other political parties in Scotland, adopted the policy that if “. . . Scotland was a partner in the Union: it could best realise itself as a nation if it remained within the Union, and could best ensure its status as a partner by always reminding England that Scotland was a nation, not a region” (Brown, et

al. 1996:16). The Labour Party became a major force in Scottish politics in the latter part of the twentieth century. Being basically a social democratic party, it drew support away from the other social democratic parties such as the Scottish Nationalist Party and the Liberal Party (Brown, et al. 1996:21). The 1970s and 1980s saw the social democratic policies of the more left-oriented parties begin to fail and a more conservative side of governing began to increase, which of course included the aforementioned Margaret Thatcher rule of the 1980s. Under Tony Blair's leadership in the 1990s, Labour has worked diligently toward making good the old party promises toward Scotland's self-rule, if only the partial autonomy that devolution would offer.

Recent Elections

The elections in the past fifteen years have shown a trend toward acceptance of Scottish independence, or, at the very least, Scottish devolution as indicated by a greater electoral showing based on these issues. In 1979, with 71 total seats in the Parliament, 44 went to the Labour Party, 22 to the Conservative Party, three to the Liberal Party while two were picked up by the independence seeking Scottish National Party. By 1983, the total number of seats at Westminster was 72. The Labour Party garnered 41 seats in 1983, swelling to 50 seats by 1987, and losing a little bit of ground to 49 by 1992. The Conservatives had 21 seats in 1983 with a big drop in 1987 to ten. That number had risen to eleven by 1992. The Liberal Party was at eight seats in 1983 and had risen to nine for both 1987 and 1992. The Scottish National Party similarly went from two in 1983 to three

in 1987 and 1992 (Brown, et al. 1996:9).

The election results of the eighties and nineties point out a change in Scottish politics that has been going on since the fifties.

Politically, the main change in Scotland during the second half of the [twentieth] century was a marked decline in the fortunes of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, accompanied by a corresponding improvement in those of the Scottish Labour Party and to a lesser extent of the Liberal and National Parties. (MacLean 1995:220)

Transnationalism and Scottish Identity Construction

Scotland, from its inception, has had a history with national identity crises. From the early Celtic history when the Scotti came over from Ireland to the contemporary period of Scottish nationalism in which feelings for independence are exhibited in a fever pitch of blue-faced Braveheart-esque style of patriots during Euro '96 football (soccer) matches against England, the Scots by and large have struggled within and without as to what their true identity is and how much they identify with England, Great Britain, and all of the United Kingdom.

I found in my research interviews that the everyday Scottish people within the borders of the country are often conservative in their opinions as to whether independence from the United Kingdom would actually be viable. This skepticism was especially manifested in an economic conservatism. I found that the more liberal thinking Scots

attempt to persuade enough of the old guard to make a good showing of Scottish identity against the English cultural overlords. The old guard of course attempt to keep some degree of Scottishness, but at the same time enjoy the fruits of being part of the merger of the United Kingdom.

The Scottish diaspora throughout its history has spread the Scottish culture, and by extension, to some degree, the Celtic culture, to the four corners of the earth. These expatriates today often are better able, financially speaking, to embrace a romantic concept of ethnic Scottish identity. One Scot from within the home borders put it succinctly when he said, "It often seems that you have to leave Scotland to become a true Scot" (personal communication #2 1996). He was meaning that the Scottish identity is often much more intense among those who are more romantically linked to the mother country by not being there, usually the hyphenated Scot. It is not uncommon to see Scottish-Americans so impassioned about their Scottish ancestors' homeland and history that tears will come to their eyes when discussing Scottish topics like "The Forty-five." Personally, I have seen well-educated American men come to tears of emotion while talking about the Scottish loss of the Gaelic speaking Highlander troops at the battle of Culloden. Whether the Celts have existed continuously throughout the ages is really irrelevant to many members of the expatriate diaspora with whom I have talked. What is important is that there is a link, whether real or not, with Scotland, that most wonderful of all countries, at least in the Scottish or Scottish-American's romantic mind. Without a doubt and without hesitation, according to my observation and discussions with many Scottish-Americans, the majority

of these members of the Scottish diaspora, those hyphenated Scots of romantic attitudes, would vote for Scottish independence today, if they could vote, as reflected in the aforementioned CNN poll of 83-17% difference.

Transnationalism theorists would suggest that these Scottish-Americans, whether a generation or two or three removed from the glens and braes of Scotland, are caught in the processes of transnationalism in that they are crossing borders from their home nation-state (America) to their mother-state (Scotland). These transnationalist Scottish-Americans identify with their mother-state at times as much, if not more, than their actual place of residence. Transnationalism is based upon four premises, all quite applicable to the Scottish-American cross-border identity question.

Premise one is that, “Transnational migration is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism and must be analyzed within the context of global relations between capital and labor” (Basch, et al., 1994:22). A large part of the migration patterns that brought the Scottish and the Irish to America (and other parts of the world) was economically based. The migration of the Scottish during the Clearances came about through the extricating of crofters to be replaced by sheep, an economic strategy of the ruling class. The same can be said for the migration of the Irish during the 1845-49 potato famine. The Ulster-Scots moved from the north of Ireland a century or more before the famine because of the promise of good land and better economic times.

Premise two of transnationalist theory states that, “Transnationalism is a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political

relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries” (Basch, et al., 1994:22).

Scottish-Americans make it a part of their daily lives to reflect their Scottishness. From license plates of the saltire or rampant lion, to discussion groups on the world wide web, to reading, watching, and listening material, to planning trips abroad, even if it is just in their dreams, to actively supporting Scottish independence through American chapters of the Scottish National Party, and more, Scottish-Americans are creating those social fields which Basch, et al., discuss.

Premise three says, “Bounded social science concepts that conflate physical location, culture, and identity can limit the ability of researchers first to perceive and then to analyze the phenomenon of transnationalism” (Basch, et al., 1994:22). It would be short-sighted for social scientists to suggest that Scottish-Americans are just an American phenomenon with no cross-border consequences. The annual economic impact on the Scottish economic system by Scottish-Americans alone is enough to discount that impression.

Basch’s, et al., fourth premise for transnationalism is, “By living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation-states. Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity, that are deeply embedded in the nation building processes of these nation-states” (Basch, et al., 1994:22). From the Kennedys to Ronald Reagan to Bill Clinton, we can see Americans from the top down influence the “nation building processes” of the British Isles. George Mitchell’s efforts in the Northern

Ireland peace process and the power of the American tourist dollar affects public policy throughout that region. The Scottish-American and the Irish-American have become that “10th Department” of Haiti (Basch, et al. 1994:267) or that Filipino “balikbayan” (Basch, et. al. 1994:8), or that influence from outside the borders into British affairs by its immigrant constituency.

But the social and economic realities of the situation within Scotland today provoke doubts as to whether outright independence is a viable option. People naturally are concerned with the economics of trying to stand alone. The more radical the Scot, however, the more convinced that economics will take care of itself, “that other countries lesser than Scotland have made it economically after their independence,” as I have been told several times during interviews in Scotland. These radical Scots, by and large, identify themselves very strongly with being Scottish and nothing else, disdaining any notion that they are British. Most of these do not consider themselves British at all, as many people to whom I have talked with in Northern Ireland do, or as more conservative Scots do. But I was also told in my interviews by more economically conservative Scots, that it is simply too risky to try economic independence. Yes, these conservatives would identify themselves primarily as Scottish, but they would also maintain some identity as British, or members of the United Kingdom. “I’m Scottish, yes, by birth, but I really feel that I am British as well. My family never spoke Gaelic,” said one of my interviewees (personal communication #5 1995).

CHAPTER IV

LORE, HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE CELTIC HARP

In Ireland it is called a *cruit*, in Scotland a *clàrsach* and in Wales it is known as the *telyn* or *crwth*. In some parts of Africa it is known by the name *kora* (Walton 1992:15) and by the name of *kinubi* in other parts (Bowerman 1991:30). The Russians gave this enchanting musical instrument the name of *gusla* or *gusli* with its player being called a *guslyar* (Walton 1992:104). In the Old Testament of the Bible, the large folk harp is called the *kinnor* and the small folk harp the *nevel* (Walton 1992:15). There are Biblical depictions in stone of Nebuchadnezzar that include harpers. Early forms of the harp can be traced back to at least two of the first known urban civilizations, those of the Sumerians and the ancient Egyptians (Rimmer 1984:4).

The diatonically tuned harp is a musical instrument that spans the globe in many different varieties from Persia to Peru and from Eire to Ecuador. More commonly known as the folk harp, it is the historical predecessor to the huge, fully chromatic (able to achieve a sequence of notes that progresses by semitones), pedal harps heard in orchestras today. Starting from the strumming of a simple, single strand of sinew on the prehistoric hunter's bow, the harp, in its many variations, has spread throughout the world.

Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the area of France known as Brittany have become inseparably intertwined with the group of people known as the Celts. As noted, these people were a cultural and ethnic group whose ethnic boundaries have gotten faded and

shaded throughout their history. Archaeologists have traced the Celtic culture to the Hallstatt area of Austria from about the ninth century B.C. and the La Tène period of Switzerland from about the seventh century B.C. These areas have held treasures of Celtic artifacts that have offered up many details about a real group of people the ancient Romans and Greeks called Keltoi. The Celts are more closely associated with the farthest western reaches of Europe, however, where they came to settle, flourish, and eventually to leave many cultural stamps to mark their existence. Examples of these cultural markers left behind are the myths and legends of Lugh of the Long Arm, Balor of the Baleful Eye, the Red Branch, Cuchulainn, the intricate art of Celtic knot work, the *Book of Kells*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the Tara Brooch, Celtic crosses, the Gaelic language, and the list goes on and on. A cornerstone of contemporary Celtic cultural markers is a unique style of music in which the harp has played a big part. The Celtic harp itself has become an important ethnic symbol among modern-day Celtic revivalists.

Mystique of the Celtic Harp

Roots of Celtic harp lore twist and wind their way deep into the mystical and mythical realms of Celtic oral literature. Traditional Celtic society ordained a certain amount of sacred status, both of the priestly and privileged variety, to those laying claim to the bardic talents by giving them a great deal of support and honor not afforded most citizens of pre-Christian society (Matthews 1993:9). Early musicians engaged in an extremely rigorous training to become a bard. Once successful, they were entrusted with

the tasks of giving praise to rulers for their strengths or heroic deeds, or giving satire that could destroy even the highest and most powerful of rulers (Williamson 1989:xi). There was a great deal of power ascribed to these Bardic musicians. These ancient bards were a part of the powerful and important Druidic order during the Roman occupation of the Celtic lands around the first century A.D. Strabo, a Roman author, wrote that the occupational job description of the Celtic bards included the performance of song accompanied by the harp (Williamson 1989:xi).

Celtic society considered the composing and performing of songs as one of the most sacred acts practiced by the Druids. Ancient Druids were powerful religious leaders within Celtic society who appear quite often in Celtic mythological tradition. Before Christianity came to the Celtic islands, these early pagan priests were spiritual leaders, prophets, or composers and performers of poetic satires and songs of praise (Paxson 1991:36). Harps were often used to accompany these songs and the harping talent of bards had an existence that transcended the harpers themselves. Myths dealing with the abilities of the ancient Celtic harper-bards grew to such enormous proportions that magical and “Otherworldly” qualities were often ascribed to them (Bruner 1990:40).

Early myths say that the Celtic harp itself held mystical qualities within its solid wooden, carved out sound box. A major mythological character in Irish lore is Dagda, the father-figure of Celtic gods. This god accounted for much of the well-being of the Celts, such as allowing good harvests, giving them victories over their enemies or keeping them from being afflicted with the plague or with famine. According to Celtic legend, this

mythological Celtic hero made the earth's seasons pass in their correct order through the playing of his harp.

Another ancient traditional Celtic legend involves King Bran and it provides a reason why harpers were kept around by the ruling classes of their day. The calming music of the harpers supposedly could not only soothe wounds, but could also heal the wounds of the warriors and cure the diseases of the ill. To be a true bardic harper, according to Celtic lore, one had to be able to create three types of emotions within their listeners. These were “*geantraige*—music to bring to mirth and joy; *goltraige*—music of honour, valour and tears; and *suantraige*—music of repose” (Williamson 1989:148). The power of music and of the harp in particular was extremely important in Celtic oral literature and in the lives of the people as well. According to Russell Walton, “. . . music has always been the most occult of all the arts because it begins where words leave off, and has an absolutely immediate effect on the listener” (Walton 1992:11).

It was part of the lore of the Celtic harp that this instrument also could “. . . invoke the power and support of invisible beings, such as the various nature of spirits, angels and Gods” (Walton 1992:10). Under the rule of the British king, Edward I, minstrels, including harpers, were “on-call” in the castles and manor homes to perform at a moment's notice. Sometimes these performers would entertain for a large group of guests, which usually included royalty. Sometimes there would be a performance in the private chambers, where, at night, the harpers would go to a bedroom to play their soothing music for a nobleman or noblewoman with insomnia or with an illness (Ellis 1991:6).

Present-day American harper Laurie Riley relates a true-life story that illustrates this folk belief. Her story begins with a visit to her father in the hospital on what his doctors said would most likely be his last night before succumbing to his disease. She obtained permission to play her harp there in the hospital room while her father was lying in his bed near death and hooked up to the machines of modern medicine. The dulcet strains of her harp obviously cut through the mechanical hum of the machines. It was not long before the lights and meters began to show signs of her father's improving condition. While Riley played her harp and the doctors worked on her father, she kept hearing comments such as, "I think it's the music" (Riley 1990:21).

She played her harp until she could not physically play any longer and then fell asleep in his room, fully expecting for him to pass quietly into death some time during the night. When she awoke, her father was still with her and was so for several days afterwards, in spite of the doctors' earlier predictions. She continued to play her harp as often as she could during those days and the effects of her harp playing were noted often by the people who heard it. Her father, at the time of Riley's writing, was still recovering, again, in spite of the medical predictions. Laurie Riley, a modern-day harper, and her father found new strength in the "magic" of her harp as did many of those who heard her. The Celtic "lore" of the soothing and healing effects of the magical sounds of the harp had become a reality for this modern-day harper and her father.

The mystical images of the harp occur often in Celtic oral literature. In Medieval Europe the harp was usually found in the courts of the royalty. It was not a "folk"

instrument in the sense of the Appalachian dulcimer that is associated with a certain “lower” (socio-economically speaking) group of people. The serfs or the peasants (the “lower” class of that period) seldom heard the sound of the harp. Royal treatment and positions at the right hand of the lord often awaited the harpers of ancient Ireland. They were also rewarded with land, honor and other wealth. Harpers often came from high-ranking families and seldom from the peasantry. Hundreds of years later, the status of harpers changed to the point that mostly the blind and the lame who could not pursue any other profession engaged in the harper's trade. The harp in Medieval Europe, however, was an instrument of the elite few.

This separation from the masses probably contributed to the Celtic harp gaining a reputation as an instrument of the “Otherworld” as the peasant-oriented Celtic folklore often portrayed it. When something is not attainable by someone, there is usually some amount of romanticization placed upon it, especially as time passes to take the edge off the true remembrances. Therefore, the separation of the elite harp from the peasantry class probably encouraged a romanticized feeling for the music that could not be enjoyed by the peasant masses during that period. This compares to the romanticism that sprung up around castles and princes and princesses of the day, themes that became manifested in such legends as King Arthur and Guinevere and Camelot. Thus, the harp passed into folklore and oral tradition as an instrument of mystique and magic.

The Harp as a Celtic Ethnic Marker

Although many aspects of the cultural legacy labeled Celtic are undeniably real, that is, real folklore left by real people and real artifacts left by real artisans, there are many features of Celtic culture that are merely fabrications of overzealous, idealistic, romantic, and sentimental minds. From the now infamous forged Macpherson manuscripts of the Ossian legend to the romanticism of Celtic Twilight writers such as George Macdonald, William Butler Yeats, and Æ, to the many Highland Games in such out of the way “Highland” locations as Atlanta, Georgia and Albuquerque, New Mexico, it is apparent that the Celtic culture has been lovingly nurtured and revived by creative minds and not simply evolved through the passage of time via traditional transmission.

Social construction is an important point of view in the examination of Celtic as well as Scottish ethnicity. There is much evidence that many of the “authentic” cultural items found within this wide and diverse group are constructed ethnic markers. Members of the Celtic group have accepted this sense of ethnic identity because of their need for inclusion. Historical and genetic continuity of the culture is important in belief, not necessarily in fact. Genetic continuity is important but it is not totally necessary for inclusion within the Celtic group. Social constructions from the past have become integral parts of Celtic history. The full Scot from Auchtermuchty or a fourth generation Scot from Asheville can both claim pride in their ethnicity. As George de Vos suggests, these continuities and claims to ethnic group membership are essential in “. . . maintaining one’s sense of personal survival.”

Language acts as a more important symbolic marker in some instances than in others. Gaelic, both Irish and Scottish, often symbolizes Celtic ethnicity. One does not, however, have to be a fluent speaker in either of these languages to claim membership within the Irish or Scots ethnic Celtic communities.

On the other hand, language has become the major element in the cultural identity of the Welsh as an ethnic group. Carol Trosset, in her book, *Welshness Performed: Welsh Concepts of Person and Society* (1993), defines ethnicity as often being delineated in terms of one's language. There is some disagreement whether Welshness, or the state of being ethnically Welsh, can be acquired through an individual's acquisition of the language. In other words, is Welshness an achieved status (through learning the language) or is it ascribed (only to those who are born into it)? According to Ronald Frankenberg, "Welsh [the language] is used as a weapon of exclusion, and it is two-edged. For an incomer, it is regarded as arrogant. If he tries, he is regarded as presumptuous and seeking to obtain by trickery what was denied to him by birth" (Trosset 1993:75). Some, especially Anglo-Welshmen, presume that it takes more than just knowing the language to become Welsh. To these people, continuity in one's ancestry is considerably more important than simply having some degree of fluency in the Welsh language. But others make fluency the litmus test of true Welshness.

The Celtic culture, especially after the romanticists have laid their creative hands upon it, provides an idealized world into which people of just the slightest hint of Celtic genealogical background can retreat. This provides a fantasy world that is not only light-

years away from the realities of the hardships of ancient Celtic life in which there was often violence, famine, disease, and political turmoil, but also light-years away from the realities of corporate meetings, financial deadlines, rush hour traffic, and the six-o'clock news of the modern Celt. Ethnicity implies the conscious awareness of an individual's history and traditions. A member of an ethnic group maintains his or her self-definition by this conscious awareness of the group's history and traditions, regardless of whether they are real or have been invented or constructed.

How ethnic an individual is, or can be, depends on a specification of the conditions favoring dichotomization and the relative importance of the individuals, as representatives of some subset of the total set of recognized diacritics, to some unspecified others desiring to divide the larger population into smaller, exclusive groupings. (Williams 1989: 415)

Perhaps it is the mystique of Celtic lore that has made the harp, although found in many cultures around the world, particularly open for use as a Celtic ethnic symbol among contemporary peoples who still speak the Celtic languages -- Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh and Breton. The cultural importance of this instrument is as significant today as its musical importance. The Celtic harp has become an instrument of Celtic pride and identity among the Celtic countries and in the Celtic diaspora. Harp playing in Scotland goes back for more than a thousand years and has been important not only in Scottish music, but also in Scottish art, poetry and folklore (Sanger 1992:1). Ireland has also heard the strumming of the harp for over a thousand years. "It is hardly uniquely Irish. However, we Irish

developed a kind of harp and a special technique which were unique and which made Irish harpers famous in medieval times” (Yeats 1992:3). The harp has also achieved an importance in Wales. Osian Ellis writes about the longevity of the harp in Welsh Celtic traditions when he says, “In view of the circumstantial evidence of the early poets, we, in Wales, find it difficult to accept that the harp was not known in our land from time immemorial” (Ellis 1991:4).

In light of its acknowledged cultural importance, the Celtic harp might well have some significance in the politics of the Celtic fringe, among those people who are marginally attempting to hold onto some part of their Celtic identity and traditions. Because of the harp’s visibility and importance in Celtic folklore of the past and in the present-day Celtic revival, the instrument potentially is a marker of Celtic cultural identity. Therefore, as a nationalistic symbol, the harp would be a visible sign of Celtic nationalism, or of what Sharon Macdonald would call ethnonationalism, which she defines as “the politicisation of ethnic identities” (Macdonald 1993:16). As such, this ethnonationalism is potentially available for use in political nationalism, i.e. Scottish National Party activism, as well as in a cultural revival. This making use of “available cultural mechanisms” in promoting one’s ethnic identity is what Abner Cohen calls “political ethnicity” (Williams 1989:405).

Symbolic and emblematic use of various aspects of one’s culture also assists in the maintenance of its ethnic identity, according to George de Vos. This use of symbols and iconography invariably strengthens the ever-important social self. Self-definition fosters

feelings in people that they belong to a particular group; membership within that group may in turn be extremely important to that individual's self-identity and self-worth.

Celtic Music

Frank Harrison, in "Celtic Musics: Characteristics and Chronology," operationalizes the very ambiguous and enigmatic term Celtic music as ". . . musical practices in Celtic or partly Celtic regions which have or had some characteristics differentiated to recognizable extents from those contemporary non-Celtic societies" (Harrison 1986:252). Contemporary Celtic music virtually defies definition because of the wide variety of styles and instrumentation employed in its making and because the romantic Celtic revival has stimulated so much commercialization. It is a commercially viable form of music today because of the immense popularity of the Celtic revival worldwide. From traditional harp playing and Gaelic singing to elaborately orchestrated synthesizer compositions, every conceivable sound is being packaged and labeled as 'Celtic', especially if there is a possibility that the moniker will boost album sales.

Although a broad genre of music, record producers will often employ that core sound of Celtic music to appeal to the masses, as evidenced by the huge sales of the *Riverdance* album and several that were spawned from it, almost to the point of becoming Irish kitsch. It seemed to be the *Riverdance* appeal that was tapped into by the musical producers of the blockbuster movie *Titanic* which then led to television commercials with the core "Celtic sound."

Morag Macleod, a native born Gaelic singer and scholar from the island of Harris in the Outer Hebrides, is a very outspoken proponent of the purity of the traditional aspects of the Gaels and Celtic music. “There is in the 1990s a fashionable interest in Celtic music, and while ‘Celtic’ seems to have undefined boundaries, singers who see Gaelic as part of it are taking advantage of its popularity, sometimes with little expertise in the language. (To those of us who spoke the language from infancy the sounds can be excruciating!)” (Munro 1996:134-135). Macleod reiterated these sentiments in a personal conversation with her, adding that many revivalist learners of the language who were not musicians were difficult (as in excruciating) to listen to as well. However, she also stated that she was glad that the language was not totally dying out.

What is considered to be traditional Celtic music is quite difficult to specify. Since the Celts of yore wrote down very little and the high tech recording industries of today had not made the scene, there are few extant examples of historical Celtic music, so that the music and the performance practice for that music really is up for interpretation by today’s artists. Blind harper Turlough O’Carolan, who lived during the late sixteen hundreds and early seventeen hundreds, left many written pieces, some he actually composed and some he “borrowed” from traditional music of his day, but he was an exception. Many of his pieces are included on standard Celtic discography and performance lists.

Much of O’Carolan’s music, however, may actually have been inspired by his contemporaries in the classical music field. The Celtic harp and its music are often

interchanged with the terms Irish harp and Irish music, and often found in the same record bin. The first historical description of Irish instrumental music is said to be about the harp. It was while Giraldus de Barrie (or Cambrensis), a Welsh-born Norman priest, was on a visit to Ireland that he heard the Irish harp being played and he subsequently wrote, "I find among these people [the Irish] commendable diligence only with musical instruments, on which they are incomparably more skilled than any nation I have seen" (Carson 1986:35). His general thoughts of the Irish were not very flattering. He thought them to be barbarians in every cultural way but their music. And in today's contemporary Celtic music, there are now supposed Celtic sounds being applied to newly written music, for the harp as well as other instruments. "[T]here is a current fashion for making traditional dance tunes from such commonplace material as the theme tune to 'Dallas.' The traditional group De Danann have made a hornpipe from the Beatles' song 'Hey Jude'" (Carson 1986:6). The traditional style has embraced the modern tune to synthesize this new Celtic sound.

Just as the non-material culture of contemporary Celts is difficult to define, so is the material culture. What is a Celtic instrument anyway? Once thought of just being the harp, the flute, the fiddle, the tin whistle, or the bagpipes, virtually any instrument playing music from the Celtic countries or playing music with similar harmonic and melodic structure might become a Celtic instrument. The term Celtic instrument generally implies a traditional one, but, according to the renowned Northern Irish poet and music historian Ciarán Carson, "There is no such thing as a traditional instrument. An instrument is only a

means towards an end; in this case, the production of traditional music” (Carson 1986:11).

One example, within traditional music, is the use of the concertina or button accordion in Irish bands. These instruments are just as much of an introduction into Irish music as the banjo was into Appalachian music. They have become just as essential and “traditional.” You can now find Celtic melodies recorded on the Appalachian dulcimer, the hammered dulcimer, guitar, banjo, the bouzouki, the cittern, the piano, or the modern-day synthesizer. If one considers tradition as a free-flowing cultural river, then it is not much of a stretch that these instruments may very well be considered the Celtic instruments of today’s Celtic music.

Perhaps one of the most popular instruments currently playing music in the Celtic style is the guitar, of which Carson says, “Until recently it was completely outside the traditional pale and was associated almost exclusively with so-called ‘ballad’ groups The trouble with the guitar is that the finger-picking style laboriously cultivated by some folk players is not really suitable for the very fast incisive rhythms of Irish traditional music” (Carson 1986:40). Carson also suggests two problems with using the piano in traditional Irish/Celtic music, “One of the problems is that the piano’s predetermined intonation sometimes clashes with that of more ‘traditional’ instruments; the other is that many piano ‘drivers’, as they are sometimes known, are insensitive and domineering” (Carson 1986:40). These instruments, although not usually associated with traditional Celtic music, do find service in setting the strong background accompaniments for those that are considered traditional.

“Celtic music” has become rather nebulous through the ages and therefore must be broadly defined for my purposes of study. Even broadly defined, however, the traditional Celtic music and the new Celtic music serve as an ethnic identity marker and a tool for fostering cultural nationalism. Artists such as Enya may be considered “New Age” for marketing purposes, but there is still a point of pride by those Celtic revivalist listeners that she is Irish and that she uses the Gaelic language in her songs. These revivalists identify with her “Celtic-ness” through these markers. Like comparisons may be made with more modern sounding Scottish performers such as Phil Coulter, certainly not traditional in sound, yet very high on the list of performers enjoyed by American Scot-philers. Of course the harp, which, even in its purest, traditional form, is often marketed as “New Age” music, is closer to the core of “the past” and is certainly an integral part of that traditional past.

Harpers as Celtic Revivalists

Members of the Celtic fringe participate in the revival of Scottish and Irish traditional cultures throughout the world. The number of people in the world who can lay claim to at least some Celtic ancestry is quite enormous because of the centuries of exploration and migration that encompassed the Celtic diaspora. Such revivalistic extravaganzas as Scottish Highland Games in Scotland and abroad help keep these traditions alive. Scottish Highland Games began in the United States in the 1840s in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the number of these annual events had increased to nearly 150

nationwide by 1994. There are Scottish Highland games even in such an unlikely spot as the heart of the Southwestern Native American region with the Rio Grande Valley Celtic and Highland Games in Albuquerque, New Mexico. An essential part of these games is Celtic music, of which the harp plays an important part, often with harp competitions to determine which players can perform best in the Scottish style. There are also Irish festivals, with St. Patrick's Day being perhaps the largest ethnic party held on any one particular day throughout the United States. One can celebrate this day, whether of Irish ancestry or not, with music from groups like the Chieftains (which contains a harper) or solo harpers such as Patrick Ball or with the many bottles of stout and ale that have logos of the harp stamped on them.

There are several major harp societies in Scotland and Ireland. One of these, Comunn na Clàrsach (The Clàrsach Society) consisted of branches in eight different cities in Scotland in 1993. As mentioned earlier, they are proud of using the Scottish Gaelic word for harp. Two hundred harps alone were maintained by the Edinburgh chapter of Comunn na Clàrsach in the summer of 1993. These harps were used as rentals to students of all levels who were learning how to play the harp. Add to that the many harps owned by individuals and the number swells to a considerable figure. According to one of the Society's administrative officials, the harp in its Celtic or folk form is a symbol of Scotland and represents, through the beautiful music that comes from the instrument, "the beauty that all of our citizens feel is the essence of our country" (personal communication #3 1994).

One present-day harper who grew up in Scotland playing the Celtic harp as a child feels that there is no other instrument, including the Scottish and Irish bagpipes, that can be associated with the term Celtic as much as the harp. She says that the pipes are mainly associated with Scotland, although they are played in other Celtic countries as well, but that the harp has a strong tradition in Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Brittany. This particular harper feels that “. . . there is a pride in the music of these countries that their people exhibit through the love of the harp” (personal communication #4 1995).

Scotland is noted as a country of two primary cultural backgrounds: English influenced Lowland Scots culture and Gaelic, Celtic influenced Highland culture. A common thread throughout the research interviews was that the harp tended to cross these cultural boundaries. Many loved the music of the harp even if they were less than enthusiastic about all things Celtic. There were some who resented the implication that Gaelic Celticism is representative of all Scotland, preferring to emphasize their English-ness or British-ness more than their Celtic-ness.

This love of the harp is also manifested in the harp “orchestra” called *Na Clarsairean*, mentioned earlier, that meets near Edinburgh. *Na Clarsairean* regularly seats forty-five harp players ranging from ages eight to approximately sixty-eight. Members of the orchestra hope that they will be able to engage in a musical tour of the United States someday. One member of the orchestra expressed her feelings toward her country and her craft by saying that “. . . the love of the harp and the love of the country of Scotland are inseparable” This particular member would like to share the pride exhibited by the

harp orchestra with American audiences (personal communication #5 1995).

There has been a huge growth of the harp revival in the United States during the past few years as well. One of several American-based societies for folk harps is the *International Society of Folk Harpers and Craftsmen, Inc.* The society claims a membership of more than fourteen hundred members. Although there is some space in their official quarterly journal devoted to folk harps of other cultures, approximately 90% of each issue is about the Celtic harp, thus fostering American harpers' pride in their Celtic (both Irish and Scottish) roots. There is also an organization called the *Scottish Harp Society of America*, with a publication entitled *The Kilt and Harp* as well as a *Welsh Harp Society* based in Illinois.

Although the United States has never had a long standing tradition of harp playing to revive, the Celtic harp strikes a responsive chord with those Americans who enjoy it, both actively and passively. Many Americans can trace their ancestry to Scotland and Ireland and find ethnonationalistic pride or what Basch, et. al.(1994), might call transnational pride in the music of that region. The early immigrants to the Appalachian region of the United States were 40% to 60% Ulster-Scot descendants, some 250,000 between 1725 and 1775. The potato famine of Ireland between 1845 and 1850 sent many Irish families packing to the northeast section of the United States and other places where they brought their music and traditions with them. The Scottish Clearances, as mentioned, also sent Highlanders migrating from their country as well, with some Gaelic speaking Scots settling in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina.

This Celtic, i.e. Irish and Scottish, diaspora was widespread throughout North America and other parts of the world. One professional storyteller of Asian descent who lives in the western part of the United States uses the Celtic harp in her performances because her husband is of Irish descent and she feels that the Irish harp is a “. . . point of national and cultural pride for her husband's Irish roots.” She chooses to express her husband’s ethnic pride instead of her own Asian ethnicity for economic as well as artistic reasons. In this country, storytelling within the Celtic tradition would be a more economically viable trade than within the Asian tradition (personal communication #6 1994).

It is true that a representation of a Celtic harp emblazons cultural items from flags to bottles of stout to license plates in Ireland where national pride is strong and is often manifested in intensely overt ways. Some nationalistic symbols, which may be defined as insignia or emblems that promote some degree of nationalistic or ethnic feelings of pride, are chosen arbitrarily. Other nationalistic symbols have a certain amount of history attached to them and some groups, such as those within the Celtic culture, have their symbols drawn from the traditions of their past. In their struggle for cultural recognition, the Celtic fringe emphasized music and the arts in the past and present. Sixteenth-century English government officials once declared that “harpers, rhymers, Irish chroniclers, bards, etc., were seditious and dangerous persons” (Rimmer 1984:39). Perhaps this seditiousness is part of the overall romanticism of the harp. Present-day harpers have deep roots from which to base any cultural pride they may have in their struggle for cultural recognition or

for any resistance to a continuing English or British oppression.

To be sure, a single musical instrument cannot totally define an entire cultural group or even provide perfectly clear boundaries of ethnic identity for an entire cultural group, but the Celtic harp is one instrument as a symbol that does conjure up specific images of the Celtic people. One edition of Morgan Llywelyn's novel entitled, *Bard: The Odyssey of the Irish*, a story of the early Celtic culture in Ireland, has a cover with a drawing of an elaborate Brian Boru style harp with a picture of the hero, his hand resting on another harp, and his lover inside the fore pillars where the strings would normally be. Just the vision of the harp sets up these images that are generally associated with the cultures of either Ireland or Scotland and not, say with Paraguay, a country that also has an extensive harp culture as well. But this romantic vision is not associated with a South American native in Paraguayan ethnic clothing playing the harp in a striking, heroic pose. The Celtic, Irish, Scottish, Folk (or whatever term you choose to use) harp is clearly treated as an ethnic marker of a past and present cultural identity of the Celtic lands.

Anthony Cohen writes that, "... what [an anthropologist] calls 'symbols' are the constructs of meaning which he sees surfacing repeatedly which are thus commended as significant to the analysis" (Cohen 1986: 15). The Celtic harp is thus, following this line of reasoning, considered a symbol that can aid in the defining of a Celtic culture. As much of a revivalist movement today as an actual cultural group, the present-day "Celts" throughout the world have something of pride that they are able to call their own in the harp and its music. Although the harp is not exclusive to the Celtic countries, they can

claim the refinement of both the physical aspects of the instrument and the music played on it. Just as the Appalachian dulcimer is associated with a particular location and with a particular subculture in the United States, the harp is usually associated by most who see or hear it with the Celtic areas of the British Isles and their people. Perhaps if Appalachia has a separatist movement someday as Ireland, Scotland or Wales, the dulcimer would find its way onto an ethnonationalistic flag. Until then, the Celtic harp provides at least one concrete example of a musical instrument serving as an ethnic symbol.

Thomas Moore (1779-1852), Irish poet and songwriter, who was born in Dublin, spoke not only of pride of his country, but of his instrument as well when he wrote the verse:

Dear harp of my country! In darkness I found thee

The cold chain of silence had hung o'er thee long.

When proudly, my own Island Harp, I unbound thee,

And gave all thy chords to light, freedom, and song!

(Comunn na Clàrsach 1991:12)

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES ABOUT ETHNICITY, CELTIC CULTURE,

and SCOTTISH NATIONALISM:

THE SURVEY and INTERVIEW RESULTS

In the course of five trips to Scotland and numerous instances of exposure to expatriated and visiting native Scots and Scottish-Americans at various functions in the United States, I have come to realize that there are certain threads running through the idea of Scottish and, by extension, Celtic ethnicity. For example, there is the deep-seated pride of Scots and Scottish-Americans *for* all things Scottish and the deep-seated disdain *against* virtually any aspect of English culture. This deep-seated pride of Scottish culture was demonstrated graphically by Scottish citizens in Edinburgh while their football (soccer) team was facing England in the Euro '96 football championships. The partying and revel making was reminiscent of the Super Bowl in American football or perhaps a super collegiate rivalry like the University of Tennessee versus the University of Florida. The game between Scotland and England was actually between two fairly mediocre football teams in ability and they were playing only for third or fourth place in the tournament, certainly not a game of championship importance. But that did not matter to the people of Scotland. They just wanted with all their heart and soul to beat England.

There were newspaper headlines touting it as "Braveheart II," in reference to the

popular Mel Gibson movie about the Scottish hero William Wallace. There was certainly a championship atmosphere throughout the country of Scotland and particularly in Edinburgh where I happened to be at the time. However, the result of the Braveheart II football match was much the same as several previous historical military conflicts with England versus Scotland. The Scots lost to the English, but to my knowledge no one was drawn and quartered as happened to William Wallace in *Braveheart*. However, reminiscent of scenes from the *Braveheart* movie, several Scots reacted by exposing their backside with a raised kilt when confronted with English comments on the streets of downtown Edinburgh. Is this all in the name of good football rivalry? I think not. The football game was merely a vehicle through which to demonstrate Scottishness against Englishness, us against them, my ethnicity against your ethnicity.

This deep-seated pride of Scottish/Celtic ethnicity is also manifested, for example, in incidents like a Scottish-American proclaiming in my office one day that he is a full-blooded Celt and that he is able to trace his Celtic ancestry all the way back through Scottish history to 200 BC in Scotland. Or the example of the Scottish-American with tears in his eyes as he talked about the fate of Bonnie Prince Charlie to a group of fifty other Scottish-Americans in a lecture hall. Or another example of the extremely passionate response by many Scottish-Americans to the use of the word "Scotch-Irish" in referring to their ethnicity instead of the much preferred "Scots-Irish." To these hyphenated Scottish-Americans, "Scotch-Irish" is as derisive and contemptuous as calling an African-American by the term "nigger," which was the example used by one Scottish-American. The pride

exhibited in these extremes and many examples in between are manifestations of this Scottish feeling of ethnicity. It is irrelevant whether ethnicity is historically grounded or imagined, if we accept W.I. Thomas' idea that perceptions produce real consequences (Thomas 1966:289-305), for the feeling of belonging to this special ethnic group affects attitudes of this circle of modern-day "Celts" towards contemporary issues in Scotland.

Survey of Scottish Political and Cultural Attitudes

The survey used in this research (see Appendix A) was designed as a multipurpose instrument, attempting to register several sets of attitudes. First, attitudes that communicated any type of emotional feelings toward ethnic identification in the Scottish population needed investigation. Attitudes pertaining to the use of the Celtic harp and Celtic music as ethnic markers were also investigated in the survey. Finally, the survey explored the manner in which Scottish people manifested sentiments of their ethnic identity. Of particular interest was the exhibition of this ethnic identity in the Scottish political arena, rife at the time of the research with talk of devolution and independence. The survey questionnaire included seven statements that dealt with political issues, eleven statements that dealt with cultural issues, particularly attitudes towards folk revivalism, and seven statements that intertwined political action and cultural revivalism. This last grouping was called cultural politics.

In examining the cultural revival in which the Celtic harp purportedly plays a part, there were certain themes that were addressed, both in the surveys in general and with

more depth through the interviews. Important themes at issue here were attitudes toward politics and the concept of devolution versus out-right independence, attitudes towards Celtic revivalism and folk revivals in general, attitudes toward Scottishness and Scottish identification, and attitudes about harp music, music in general, and their relationship to political activism.

The survey was administered to 72 Scottish nationals, with a breakdown of 21 harpers and 51 non-harpers. The respondents were surveyed primarily in Edinburgh, although there were surveys given in Glasgow, Inverness, St. Andrews, Port William, Mallaig, and other smaller locations. Most of the harpers lived in or near the city of Edinburgh. Many preferred working, i.e., playing the harp, in Edinburgh while choosing to live outside the city in one of the numerous small communities and towns that are but a short drive into the cultural heart of Edinburgh. The non-harpers surveyed were found throughout my travels in Scotland, in all of the aforementioned places. Most of them were found simply by being in this grocery store or that book store or walking down the street and simply stopping a person at random to inquire if they would mind filling out a questionnaire. I talked to only a few in music listening venues. In asking for their assistance, I did attempt to identify any who may have been harp players or other types of musicians. There were perhaps two or three who were “recreational” musicians in the sense that they played instruments other than the harp only for their own enjoyment and not in public.

Both populations, harpers and non-harpers, were administered a survey instrument

that was divided into three categories: Political Attitudes, Cultural Attitudes, and Attitudes about Cultural Politics. There were twenty-five questions in the survey. Each statement had four possible responses. The survey used a scale in which “one” indicated strong agreement with the statement (*strongly agree*); “two” equaled *moderately agree*; “three” equaled *moderately disagree*; and “four” equaled *strongly disagree*. The design of this survey scale did not include a neutral midpoint response in a conscious effort to get clearer and less ambiguous reactions from the participants. Survey results for the entire population of Scottish respondents, i.e. harpers and non-harpers, are shown in Tables 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3.

One of the major themes examined in the survey given to 72 members of the Scottish population was that of political attitudes. At one end of the political spectrum the research looked at the attitudes held by the informants toward liberal Scottish politics, especially pertaining to the people and ideas of the Scottish National Party which promotes the outright independence of Scotland as opposed to any form of devolved government, which is considered by many in Scotland to be preferable. Many others of course feel the logical choice is to remain subjects of the British crown and to reject independence and devolution all together, the other end of the political spectrum. My participant observation experience indicated that the typical person-on-the-street Scot is very well aware of his/her political environment, much more so than their American counterparts. And more often than not it seems that the Scots are very passionate about their political convictions and are not shy about manifesting that passion in whatever

medium is available, from letters to the newspaper editor to the writing of politically charged lyrics to heated discussions in the local pubs.

In the Political Attitudes category (see Table 5-1), survey respondents strongly agree that Scotland has been treated as a fringe or peripheral entity by the English government, and there is least variance in this response. According to the aforementioned Michael Hechter, the classic reason for one culture to peripheralize another is “. . . to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system” (Hechter 1975:9). That theory is reflected in the survey responses as well as in formal interviews and other discussions with Scots, with many expressing the feeling that it is their true right to govern themselves.

There was also a strong agreement by the respondents with the idea that Scottish Nationalists believe that independence is a manifest destiny of Scotland and that it is not being accomplished fast enough. This statement was aimed not just at members of the Scottish Nationalist Party but Scottish Nationalists in general, or those with nationalistic views. One interviewee made a point of distinguishing between Nationalists (with a capital N) and nationalists (with a lower case n), the former being more militant in their feelings, according to that particular harpist (personal interview #5). She had some rather strong feelings toward the term Scottish Nationalist as espoused by the Scottish National Party. The distinction between the little “n” and the big “N” was, to this more conservative harper, “That I am not an activist” (personal communication #5 1995). Manifest destiny, a concept taught in the lower levels of American history in American schools, seemed to be

Table 5-1
Survey Responses: Political Attitudes

Items (Statements)	Mean for all respondents	Variance
1: The Scottish National Party has the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule.	2.0395	1.0251
2: The Scottish National Party should be more militant to force devolution of the Scottish government.	3.0685	1.0091
7: Government ministry for Scotland maintains a clear distinction between the two countries of Scotland and England.	2.9848	1.0305
8: The political union between Scotland and England is just fine the way it is.	3.5844	.6671
11: For Scotland the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.	1.9605	1.2384
12: Scottish Nationalists feel that independence is their manifest destiny and that it is not coming about quick enough.	1.6528	.7932
23: Politically speaking, I consider that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England.	1.4583	.6461

a rather foreign concept to the Scots. The survey instrument, crafted by an American with American language, had to be translated on a couple of points to many of the Scottish participants. Manifest destiny had to be explained to Scots more than any other concept on the survey.

There was a moderate agreement among the respondents in the feeling that the only legitimate type of government for Scotland is national self-government. The respondents also indicated on the survey that they moderately agreed in believing that the Scottish National Party does have the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule. This does not necessarily mean that the respondent believes in Scottish Home Rule, but it does indicate some acceptance of the Scottish National Party and their beliefs. The SNP is a very big factor in Scottish politics and therefore is certainly important in any type of national movement toward devolution or independence.

However, the same level of intensity was demonstrated by the Scottish population in disapproving of devolution of the Scottish government being forced into place through any type of militancy by the Scottish National Party. This is indicated in spite of the fact that most Scots believe that independence is not coming about fast enough. Scottish Home Rule may be a goal of the Scottish population, but only if attained in a peaceful manner. In a real conservative sense, they do not want to repeat the violent mistakes of their neighbor and current partner within Great Britain, Northern Ireland. Respondents strongly disagreed with the idea that the political union between Scotland and England is just fine the way it is, and there was low variance for this response. This appears to be a

liberal stance, and, indeed, the overall pattern of political attitudes by the Scottish population seems to be moderate to strong approval for Scottish people taking care of themselves politically and getting the English out of their matters as much as possible.

Another portion of the survey was designed to obtain cultural attitudes (Table 5-2) of the respondents. The strongest agreement (and lowest variance) in cultural attitudes was in response to the statement that Celtic folklore and the oral tradition was a consequential component of the Scottish legacy. This was indicated in the interviews in that most of the harpers were well versed in the history of the harp and the folklore surrounding it. Many discussions with non-harpers on the street support this belief among Scots as well. The oral tradition was generally recognized as an integral part of the folk music past of Scotland.

There was moderate agreement that folk revivals that are taking place today and that took place in the past perpetuate Scottish culture. To many, the revivals have become traditions in themselves. The mean response to the statement that the respondent felt a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture, was moderate agreement, but there were substantial variances in responses. Even though a majority of the survey administration and the conducting of the interviews was done in the Lowland part of Scotland, traditionally an area of English influenced non-Celtic based culture, there were many, many Lowland Scots who identified with the Celtic culture, making use of ethnic markers such as Celtic dress, Celtic jewelry, Celtic tattoos, and many Celtic merchandising marts.

Table 5-2
Survey Responses: Cultural Attitudes

Items (Statements)	Mean for all respondents	Variance
4: Scottish culture is represented more by the past Celtic culture than by English influenced Lowland culture.	2.7027	1.0337
10: The Celtic harp is a symbol of Scottishness more so than the bagpipes.	3.0667	.8739
13: Traditional lifestyles are much more desirable than the current rush toward modernity in Scotland	2.7162	.8362
14: There are really two Scotlands with two separate cultures - the Highlands and the Lowlands.	2.1867	.9377
15: Celtic folklore and oral tradition is an important part of the Scottish legacy.	1.3205	.4804
16: Folk revivals romanticize the past.	2.1558	.7649
17: The world would be a better place today if there still were a belief in the old Celtic druidic system.	3.2687	.7449
18: The harper-bards of old Celtic Scotland once had magical powers that have become lost through the ages.	3.000	.8657
20: Folk revivals perpetuate a once viable part of a culture.	1.8406	.5772
21: I feel a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture.	2.1111	1.1142
22: Participation in Celtic revivalism is an important aspect of life.	2.3973	1.0761

Even though folk revivals are seen as an aid in perpetuating a once viable part of a culture, respondents moderately agreed with the statement that folk revivals romanticize the past. It is easy to join in a re-enactment of Celtic culture and to enjoy the many ways of the ancient bard and his life when at the end of the day or the weekend you head back to your well-heated flat for a nice, long warm bath and a little wine in front of the peat fire which is only supplementary heat to your gas system, instead of camping by necessity in an animal skin tent after hunting for your food, killing it and preparing it before you settle down for a long, often cold, dark evening.

Also from a cultural point of view, the respondents expressed only mild agreement with the statement that there are really two Scotlands with two separate cultures, a Celtic-based Highland culture and an English-based Lowland culture. There was substantial variance in responses to this item. In sum, the entire sample (harpers and non-harpers) showed little consensus on the cultural attitude items.

Responses to survey statements pertaining to attitudes about cultural politics (Table 5-3) enlisted no strong agreement or disagreement and generally showed considerable variance around the mean; thus one cannot generalize about the attitudes of the respondents to these statements. I had assumed that the Scots would view the Scottish National Party as representing the Scottish people with a Celtic past, but responses did not support that assumption. Because Scotland has had a history of politically active artists, particularly musicians, I assumed that the Scots would believe that cultural artists or cultural revivalists should use their public visibility to advocate for Scottish devolution.

Survey responses for the entire sample (harpers and non-harpers) did not support this claim, however.

Table 5-3
Survey Responses: Attitudes about Cultural Politics

Items (Statements)	Mean for all respondents	Variance
3: The Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past.	2.9211	1.1137
5: Celtic revivalism is irrelevant to Scottish politics.	2.7763	1.1093
6: Cultural artists or revivalists should not use their public visibility to advocate for Scottish devolution.	2.9737	1.1993
9: The state (public) school system does a satisfactory job of covering Celtic history.	1.9605	1.2384
19: Nationalistic symbols such as the Celtic harp are important in political movements.	2.6575	1.0616
24: When I hear the Celtic harp I am filled with a certain amount of nationalistic pride.	2.5068	.8645
25: My personal political ideas are expressed through Celtic music.	3.1528	.6665

Sub-Group Comparisons

Further statistical analysis of the survey results was accomplished using t-tests for independent samples to compare the responses from harp players and non-players and additional sample groupings based on gender (male/female), age (above 40/below 40), and education level attained (high school versus any college). In the interpretation of the results, I took a more conservative stance for all cases by looking at the unequal variances

test. A strict .05 criterion level was used in the decision to reject or accept the null hypothesis. The following discussion is limited to items that produced significant differences in responses when subgroups of the sample were compared.

The break point for age was arbitrarily chosen, but my fieldwork experiences in Scotland and the many contact hours with Scots suggested that under and over forty years of age would capture distinguishable generational differences. My intuitive feeling was that participants over forty would be more conservative politically than those under forty. I therefore set forty as my break point to examine that idea. The break point for education was a little more arbitrary. So as not to be encumbered by too many categories of education, which could have easily been the case, I simply chose to compare those with a high school education or less with those having any type of college training, regardless of the level attained. Finally, I tested for significant differences in the attitudes of the male and female respondents.

Table 5-4 shows the general demographic characteristics of 21 harpers and 51 non-harpers who were surveyed. Some demographic categories are incomplete because some respondents refused to answer certain demographic questions. For example, the age category was often not marked by the female participants. One respondent answered the educational level question by writing that it “was none of my business.” Generally speaking, however, the demographic data are complete enough to show the trends in each category.

Table 5-4: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

	Male	Female	< Forty	> Forty	< HS	> Col
Harpers	3/14%	18/86%	12/57%	9/43%	4/19%	17/81%
Non-Harpers	20/35%	36/64%	26/70%	11/30%	13/39%	20/61%

Player vs. Non-player Political Attitudes

Four of the seven statements aimed at political attitudes proved to be statistically significant using the .05 criterion (see Table 5-5). In each case where there was a significant difference between player and non-player responses to questions about political attitudes, the harpers' mean scores indicate that they hold more conservative attitudes. Non-players expressed stronger disapproval of the current political union between Scotland and England (statement 8), and non-players held less negative attitudes towards Scottish National Party militancy, although neither non-players nor players favored devolution (statement 2). Both groups agreed with the statement that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England (statement 23), but non-players agreed more strongly. Similarly, non-players were more likely to favor national self-government for Scotland (statement 11). This research population's liberal view in respect to the Scottish and English union was mirrored recently in the election to create a separate parliament, in which there was a 73% favorable vote for a devolved Scottish parliament bringing power back to Scotland after nearly 300 years. Many countries around the world, including Great

Britain itself, consider self-government a basic human right; however, that has not been the political reality of Scotland for nearly 300 years.

TABLE 5-5: Significant Differences between Players' and Non-Players' Survey Responses - Political Attitudes

	Mean Players	Mean Non-Players	f score	p score
2: The Scottish National Party should be more militant to force devolution of the Scottish government.	3.3000	2.8936	.454	.05
8: The political union between Scotland and England is just fine the way it is.	3.1905	3.7800	6.675	.007
11: For Scotland the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.	2.5000	1.7200	2.224	.0075
23: Politically speaking, I consider that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England.	1.7895	1.3529	.753	.0305

Player vs. Non-player Cultural Attitudes

There were significant differences shown on four of the statements pertaining to cultural attitudes (see Table 5-6). Whereas the players showed more conservative political attitudes, they expressed greater Celtic identification in cultural attitudes. Although both groups agreed with the statement that the respondent felt a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture (statement 21) the players agreed more strongly. Not surprisingly, harpers were more likely than non-harpers to value the Celtic harp as a

TABLE 5-6: Significant Differences between Players' and Non-Players' Survey Responses - Cultural Attitudes

	Mean Players	Mean Non-Players	f score	p score
10: The Celtic harp is a symbol of Scottishness more so than the bagpipes.	2.5789	3.2200	.987	.0105
15: Celtic folklore and oral tradition is an important part of the Scottish legacy.	1.1429	1.4118	9.788	.027
21: I feel a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture.	1.7143	2.2857	11.148	.007
22: Participation in Celtic revivalism is an important aspect of life.	2.0476	2.5600	3.840	.0235

symbol of Scottishness more so than the bagpipes (statement 10). Both players and non-players agreed strongly that Celtic folklore and oral tradition are an important parts of the Scottish legacy (statement 15), however, the player group was more likely to favor the statement. Players also responded more positively than non-players to Celtic revivalism (statement 22) and Celtic folklore and oral tradition (statement 15).

Player vs. Non-player Attitudes about Cultural Politics

Harpers responded more positively than non-harpers to statements 19 and 24 (see Table 5-7), both of which associate the harp with nationalism. Players, however, expressed stronger disapproval of cultural artists or revivalists using their public visibility to advocate for Scottish devolution (statement 6), but non-players were more likely to agree that Celtic revivalism is irrelevant to Scottish politics (statement 5). Non-players were more

TABLE 5-7: Significant Differences between Players' and Non-Players' Survey Responses - Attitudes about Cultural Politics

	Mean Players	Mean Non-Players	f score	p score
3: The Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past.	3.0000	2.8824	.612	.03445
5: Celtic revivalism is irrelevant to Scottish politics.	2.8500	2.7400	.943	.033
6: Cultural artists or revivalists should not use their public visibility to advocate for Scottish devolution.	2.6000	3.1400	5.490	.05
19: Nationalistic symbols such as the Celtic harp are important in political movements.	2.3500	2.8235	.172	.04
24: When I hear the Celtic harp I am filled with a certain amount of nationalistic pride.	2.1429	2.7000	.527	.009

likely to agree with the statement that the Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past (statement 3). Harpers appear to be cultural nationalists, whereas non-harpers express greater approval of political activism.

Male vs. Female Political Attitudes

In each case where there was a significant difference in responses to questions about political attitudes (see Table 5-8), the females' mean scores indicate that they hold more politically conservative attitudes than do the males. Males expressed greater agreement that the Scottish National Party has the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule

TABLE 5-8: Significant Differences between Males' and Females' Survey Responses

Political Attitudes	Mean Male	Mean Females	f score	p score
1: The Scottish National Party has the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule.	1.7241	2.2195	1.296	.0195
11: For Scotland the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.	1.6333	2.1750	2.439	.0195
23: Politically speaking, I consider that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England.	1.1667	1.7000	19.430	.001
Cultural Attitudes				
17: The world would be a better place today if there still were a belief in the old Celtic druidic system.	3.0370	3.4211	3.657	.0475
21: I feel a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture.	1.7586	2.3659	3.067	.0065
22: Participation in Celtic revivalism is an important aspect of life.	2.1034	2.5952	1.640	.024
Attitudes and Cultural Politics				
19: Nationalistic symbols such as the Celtic harp are important in political movements.	2.3000	2.9756	.413	.003

(statement 1), and that a national self-government is the only legitimate government for Scotland (statement 11). Both groups agreed with the statement that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England (statement 23), but the males agreed very strongly.

Male vs. Female Attitudes about Culture and Cultural Politics

Males expressed a fairly strong identification with Celtic culture (statement 21) and were more likely than females to view Celtic revivalism positively (statement 22) and to associate the Celtic harp with politics (statement 19). Males even expressed weaker rejection of druidic beliefs as appropriate to today's world (statement 17).

Generational Differences in Attitudes

Respondents over forty expressed more positive attitudes (see Table 5-9) toward folk revivals (statement 20) and traditional lifestyles (statement 13) than younger respondents. Older respondents are more likely to identify with Celtic culture (statement 21) and agree that Scotland holds two separate cultures (statement 14).

Younger respondents are more likely to express dissatisfaction with current governmental structure (statement 7), and they clearly reject the proposition that their personal political ideas are expressed through Celtic music (statement 25).

TABLE 5-9: Significant Differences between Age Groups' Survey Responses

Political Attitudes	Mean Under 40	Mean Over 40	f score	p score
7: Government ministry for Scotland maintains a clear distinction between the two countries of Scotland and England.	3.2059	2.5500	.457	.0115
Cultural Attitudes				
13: Traditional lifestyles are much more desirable than the current rush toward modernity in Scotland	2.8889	2.5000	1.800	.046
14: There are really two Scotlands with two separate cultures - the Highlands and the Lowlands.	2.3611	1.9091	8.472	.0275
20: Folk revivals perpetuate a once viable part of a culture.	1.9429	1.6190	.687	.048
21: I feel a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture.	2.3243	1.8636	6.688	.046
Attitudes about Cultural Politics				
25: My personal political ideas are expressed through Celtic music.	3.2895	2.8636	.579	.0325

Educational Level and Attitudes

Statistically significant survey results grouped by educational levels are reported in Table 5-10. Less educated respondents were more likely than those with at least some college to approve national self-government (statement 11) and specifically, the Scottish Home Rule objectives of the Scottish National Party (statement 1). In contrast, better

TABLE 5-10: Significant Differences in Survey Responses between Educational Levels

Political Attitudes	Mean <hs	Mean >col	f score	p score
1: The Scottish National Party has the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule.	1.71343	2.1364	3.494	.05
11: For Scotland the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.	1.3571	2.0682	3.576	.0125
Cultural Attitudes				
15: Celtic folklore and oral tradition is an important part of the Scottish legacy.	1.7143	1.1087	17.042	.0045
Attitudes about Cultural Politics				
3: The Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past.	2.4286	3.0444	.048	.031

educated respondents expressed more positive attitudes about Celtic folklore and oral tradition (statement 15), but they took exception to the notion that the Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past (statement 3).

Discussion of Survey Results

As one might expect, the profile of Scottish harpers fit within a continuum. There is no one prototypical harper. However, as survey demographics indicate (see Table 5-4), the Scottish harpers in this study tend to be female more often than not as well as over forty and well educated. Therefore, the overlap that is apparent between harper attitudes and subgroups of women, over forty, and college educated people is not surprising. The statistics indicate that the harpers, women, and more educated respondents possess more conservative political attitudes than the non-harpers, men, or less educated respondents.

In terms of cultural attitudes, the players tend to be more receptive to those attitudes that suggest an importance of folklore in their heritage and their personal life. The well educated and older respondents show attitudes consistent with those of the harpers. On the other hand, men generally identify with Celtic culture and value participation in revivalism more than women do.

As for attitudes about cultural politics, these questions elicited the most difference in opinion between harpers and non-harpers. Significantly, harpers were more positive about associating their instrument with nationalistic pride than with political action.

Discussion of Interviews in Relation to Survey Findings

The interviews bore out many of the statistical indications from the survey. One finding paramount to the research is that the Scottish harpers were inclined to exhibit more conservative political attitudes than non-harpers. Although both populations felt

marginalized in the classic Hechterian sense, it was the non-playing general public who felt stronger about it. As pointed out above, the survey indicates that the harp players are more likely to be politically conservative than the non-playing Scottish population. This is also borne out in discussions on politics in the personal interviews with several of the harpers. Even though they are musicians and artists and well educated, often precursors for liberalism in the United States, survey responses and the interviews show that the harpers are actually just the opposite. This attitude was one of the prime considerations of the research.

Interviews revealed some individual exceptions to this general pattern, however. One harper (harper #4) believes that the union between Scotland and England began as an equal partnership but that the original objective was not achieved over time. As the animals down on George Orwell's farm might say, England has proved to be "more equal" than Scotland in this equal alliance. Besides the more formal structured interviews, conversations with Scots often revealed this attitude.

Another harper (harper #8) in an interview with the researcher, stated a belief that devolution would work in Scotland if the Labour Party obtained power. The more liberal Labour Party has in fact taken control of British politics since the interview took place, with the election of Labour candidate Tony Blair and the ousting of Conservative John Major. As harper #8 suggested, Scotland is closer to devolution now than ever before under the Conservative powers of the past. Before that election, harper #8 stated that, "If Labour were in power it might have a chance of working. With the Conservatives in

power I don't think it would ever work because there is not this feeling of letting the regions have their own say" (personal communication #8).

In referring to the relationship between Scotland and England, one harp playing Scot (harper #7) stated that, "I always find it very hard to talk to English people because it is very difficult to get reactions from them in any kind of body language. I don't know, you do feel a difference between the different countries. It just seems like different countries even though it's Great Britain" (personal communication #7). Yet another harper (#5) had this to say about the English and Scottish relationship, "I do think the Scots are quite different from the English" (personal communication #5).

One harper (#7) suggested in the interview that Scotland has always been treated like a little brother by the bigger bully brother England, saying that, like many big brother-little brother relationships, England uses Scotland "for all their mean things." The example she gives "is the nuclear waste dump that is put in Scotland because it isn't wanted in England." This assessment of the English-Scottish relationship leads this particular harper to declare that "the Scottish National Party is one entity that is attempting to fight England" (personal communication #7). This same harper, a young female, reported that she has trouble supporting the Labour Party of Scotland although their party line is that it is liberal in much the same way as the Scottish National Party, which she whole-heartedly endorses. She says that the two parties have had disagreements in the past over the concept of militancy in their political approaches (personal communication #7).

In a discussion with three non-harper males in Inverness who are staunch Scottish

National Party supporters, I got a strong impression from two of them that the political situation should never go the way of Ireland, i.e. violent, while the other felt that violence was the only way to turn the heads of the English (personal communication #9). All three of these interviewees had different occupations and all had solid middle-class work ethics, with one working on the oil platforms in the North Sea six weeks at a stretch. They all were very knowledgeable about the national political situation and all were very passionate about their views against England's role in Scottish politics.

In discussions with two females in Edinburgh, one was quite radical but would stop short of suggesting any type of violence to gain devolution while the other felt that militancy was not the best manner in which to achieve either devolution or independence (personal communication #10). One of the oldest of the interviewees was also one of the more conservative ones, making the statement that, "The average Scotsman on the street doesn't think about independence" (personal communication #5).

One interviewee (harper #4), who showed a little more liberalism than the survey results would indicate, stated that, "I think it is much more satisfactory for people to manage their own affairs" (personal communication #4). Yet another conservative harper (#5) was somewhat more guarded about self-government in her conservative statement that, "I would like to see a parliament sitting in Edinburgh, but at the same time I think there is a tremendous strength in the United Kingdom" (personal communication #5). Another more liberal harper (harper #7) sees such ambivalence as part of the problem. "They want to be safe," she says of the more conservative faction of Scottish society.

In a discussion of the differences between Scottish politics and English politics, harper #4, who is over forty, suggests that the two political entities are fundamentally different in that Scotland is much more Labour based. In the interview, the harper stated that, "It [Scottish politics] is much more focused on the ordinary people than England. I think we all dislike the great differences between rich and poor and the class system and a lot of things that we think of as being typically English" (personal communication #4).

The survey results indicating little support for militarism among Scots generally mirrored the impressions gathered during the participant observation portion of this research. As pointed out above, even the most passionate of supporters for independence, and it was indeed a passion for many, usually did not want any kind of violence of the kind that nearby Ireland experienced to achieve their independence, nor what is going on currently in the struggle for reunification in British-ruled Northern Ireland. The very destructive Irish Republican Army bombing that blew apart a large shopping area in Manchester, England, in June, 1996, occurred while I was in Scotland on one of the research trips for this study. Even though the bomb had been assembled by the IRA in Glasgow and deployed to Manchester from that major Scottish city, the general Scottish public was embarrassed and ashamed that this violence emanated from Scotland. The majority of those who want independence in Scotland want to take the democratic route in achieving their goals.

Part of the research was designed to obtain information pertaining to respondents' attitudes toward Scottish and Celtic culture. The distinctive lowland Scots language and

culture, associated with the likes of Robert Burns, was not forgotten, but was omitted so that the survey could distinguish clearly between the Gaelic or Celtic culture of the Highlands and the Western Islands and England itself as the core of the United Kingdom.

In spite of the dislike displayed for the English government, many members of the Scottish population suggest that the state supported school system does a satisfactory job in presenting Celtic culture in the schools, perhaps reflecting some local input on the subject. The street sense of this, however, is that more British, i.e. English, history is taught than Scottish history and particularly the Celtic/Gaelic aspect of Scottish history. One harper (harper #7) says that, “The young people don’t know enough about their culture. In the school I grew up in they had never heard of storytelling or a traveller [traditional Scottish person similar in lifestyle to the Romany gypsies, although not of that bloodline] or even a clàrsach [Gaelic name for the harp]” (personal communication #7).

In discussions about cultural attitudes, several of the interviewees suggested that the bagpipes, more so than the harp, have become the popular marker of Scottishness. Virtually all tourist promotions and advertisements of Scotland use a picture of a kilted bagpiper somewhere. This concept was discussed in an interview with Scottish piper par excellence Gary West. The kilted bagpiper has been ingrained to such an extent into the Scottish culture that it has become that stereotypical Scottish “kitsch” ethnic symbol, much like the bearded, bib over-all wearing Appalachian with a banjo on his knee (personal communication #2). The harp is more of a national symbol in neighboring Ireland where you can find it emblazoned on coins, flags, bumper stickers, and bottles of

stout. One interviewee, (harper #7) stated that, “The harp is just not associated with Scotland as it is with Ireland” (personal communication #7). Another interviewee (harper #4) doesn’t view the harp or the bagpipes as national symbols at all. “Well, I suppose the Saltire, the St. Andrew’s Cross, basically is the national symbol,” she said when asked what Scotland’s national symbol was (personal communication #7).

The bagpipe has become associated with Scottish ethnicity although there are many cultures throughout the world with bagpipe traditions. The non-harpers, as predicted, embraced the idea of the bagpipes being the symbol of Scottishness over the Celtic harp, more popularly associated with Ireland. The harpers were as expected a bit more ambivalent toward this attitude, juggling perhaps the reality of the popularity of the bagpipes in Scotland with the love of their chosen instrument.

One interviewee (harper #4), in spite of an academic degree in Celtic Studies, looked at Scottish legacy and history in pragmatic, non-romantic terms: “I don’t see that [Scottish history] as being a Celtic thing. My interest is from a Scottish point of view” (personal communication #4). This harper was quite emphatic in her belief that those who identify with the Celtic culture today are not really in touch with the actual history of the Celts and she suggests that historical accuracy is not one of their hallmarks. She claims that many contemporary harpers are romanticizing the harp almost to a fault. “It’s not the romanticism, it’s a sentimentality I object to,” she says.

Another harper (#7) suggested that there are indeed in modern times two separate Scotlands, a distinct regionalism within the one country of Scotland. “In Scotland, the

Highlanders are a bit different from the Lowlanders. You can tell the difference when you go up north [from the Lowlands to the Highlands] with the people” (harper #7). And another interviewee, probably at least twice the age of the aforementioned interviewee, one definitely over forty, said that there is very little separateness in Scotland. This harper stated that “because of the intermingling it has become blurred. You can’t draw the line anywhere” (harper #5). She goes on to say that there is certainly regionalism in Scotland, but it is not between the Highlands and the Lowlands, but more between small pockets of different cultures scattered throughout Scotland. “Aberdeenshire is not the same as Ayrshire. Shetland is definitely not the same as anywhere else either” (harper #5). Regionalism in Scotland, according to this one interviewee, is just that, regional differences, and not just an historical Highland and Lowland separation.

In America, as well as other parts of the world, artists, particularly performance artists, often use their stage presence as a forum for their political views. The survey asked about this and other aspects of cultural politics. Many of the interviewees discussed the concept of cultural politics in Scotland as well. One of the interviewees (harper #7), when asked if she saw any connection between Celtic revivalism and Scottish politics, replied, “Well, I think that there is, yes. You just take an example of somebody like Hamish [Henderson] who is a very political figure in his own way. I mean he wouldn’t accept an OBE from the Queen. He refused that.” She went on to give another example.

And I think if you go to concerts with a lot of musicians that are involved in keeping the traditions alive, even from their commentaries when they’re

introducing tunes and things they often make reference to political things. And then there are a lot of songwriters, Dougie MacLean, there is a pile of them, who do bring in politics to their songs because they're talking about what is happening to their people. (harper #7)

As stated earlier in this work, the principal hypothesis predicted that Celtic harp players in Scotland would express stronger support for political nationalism than members of the Scottish population not involved with any form of folk music revival. Harking to days when musicians were the main purveyors of protest poetry and impassioned political rhetoric, it was thought that Celtic harp players in Scotland would follow suit with such endeavors. By using the various methodologies at my disposal, I have generally shown that actually the reverse is true. This research has shown harpers to be, on the whole, more conservative, more economically well off, older than the usual pub musician, and lastly, and the real point of it all, much less political nationalists. The harpers by and large were ready to hang onto the status quo politically because it would favor their musical and economic station in life. There were exceptions to this among harpers, but the exceptions were almost always those harpers who were struggling musicians and were out there everyday grinding out a meager living as a full-time harper. These were usually somewhat younger than other harpers as well. Generally speaking, the research indicates that the more economically comfortable the harper, the more politically conservative he or she was likely to be.

It was indeed the sample of the general Scottish population, not including the

harpers, who proved to be more passionate about the political climate of Scotland and more inclined to support the more radical roads to independence through some form of political activism. The research, although not supporting the original hypothesis, perhaps proved even more enlightening in showing that there are indeed subcultures within the subculture of musicians. We are not able to generalize that Scottish performers of Celtic music are mostly politically left of center and politically active as was originally hypothesized. Instead, this research reveals a separate subculture of harpers with their own political agenda, whether stated or unstated, and that is the conservative act following the status quo.

CHAPTER VI

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF ALISON KINNAIRD: THE MUSIC AND POLITICS OF A SCOTTISH HARPER

The harp as an instrument is, as pointed out earlier, as varied throughout the world as any instrument of one design can be. Its music is likewise as varied. "The music of the modern Scottish harpers is probably an acquired taste," according to one writer in the genre (Hazen: 1997). Hazen also suggests that once this taste is acquired, however, it becomes a passion with all who participate in it. This passion is manifested all over the world.

Nurtured in a culture reconstructed from bits and pieces that somehow escaped the destruction after the Jacobite uprisings, the Scottish harp was brought into a new world of Celtic pride underwritten by the Scottish chiefs in America. Their summer games of piping and tossing heavy objects, held in almost every state of the Union, are never complete without a week-long harp school. Rewards of admiration and fine prizes are bestowed upon the best of those who bring their harps and submit themselves to the judgment and tutelage of Scottish harp experts imported from the old country especially for the occasion. (Hazen 1997:1)

The one person universally given credit for starting the Scottish harp revival and indeed the Celtic harp renaissance over all is Alison Kinnaird. Scottish born Alison Kinnaird has academic training and a degree in Celtic Studies and Archaeology. She began

playing the harp at the age of 14 under the tutelage of the late Jean Campbell. Ms.

Kinnaird is currently one of the leading players of the clàrsach and is considered by many to be the original generating force behind the current Celtic harp revival. Her recording albums are considered the first to employ the clàrsach as a solo instrument within the Scottish tradition of playing. There is a distinction in the style of playing between the Scottish and Irish harps and Ms. Kinnaird has been a major proponent of the Scottish style. She uses her academic background to bring historical research into her Scottish harp playing and performances, thus intertwining this background with her deep knowledge and intense feeling for traditional music. Hazen says that Kinnaird's lessons are:

steeped in the history of the harp in Scotland and in the traditional music of its ancient people. The national character of that fabled Scotland (which may still exist only in the hearts of those who have never lived there) lives again in this harper's no-nonsense expression of melodic airs and tunes for dancing. (Hazen 1997:1)

Ms. Kinnaird is noted among her listeners for her expressive touch with the gut-strung clàrsach, generally associated with the Scottish style of playing. However, she has recently expanded her playing to include the wire-strung clàrsach, which is commonly thought to be of Irish origin. The wire-strung harp has a radically different musical technique and style than the gut-strung clàrsach. There is currently a controversy as to which type of harp should actually be called a clàrsach, defined as a harp in Gaelic dictionaries (Dwelly 1977:206). Alison Kinnaird has the view that this name should be reserved solely for the wire-strung variety of harp.

Alison Kinnaird is married to an Irishman, Robin Moore, who was one of the founding members of the band *Boys of the Lough*, a pioneering group in the revival of Irish folk music in the sixties and seventies. They live with their one child in the picturesque Scottish countryside just twelve miles south of Edinburgh, Scotland and next door to a Medieval church ruin. Their house, a new one built in the 1800s, now houses a state-of-the-art recording studio for both Ms. Kinnaird's and Mr. Moore's business uses. They both graciously allowed me to enter their home one evening to discuss my research with Ms. Kinnaird, although Mr. Moore is also quite vocal on both the Scottish and Irish political situations. Ms. Kinnaird has written, along with ethnomusicologist Keith Sanger, a definitive music history book on the Scottish harp entitled, *The Tree of Strings*, published in 1992.

Part of our discussion centered around her background with the harp. When asked which term, *clàrsach* or harp, she preferred, Ms. Kinnaird replied, "Well, I consider the two instruments separate. Anyway, the Clàrsach Society [Scottish Clàrsach Society based in Edinburgh] is a little bit reluctant to absorb this knowledge. The research that Keith [Sanger] and I did actually proved to my satisfaction that they were two harps played parallel and [they had their own parallel development]" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Ms. Kinnaird goes on to contradict some other commonly held knowledge pertaining to the harp and the *clàrsach*. "Yes, the *clàrsach* is actually the wire-strung harp if you are being really correct and it was predominantly found on the West Coast and the Highlands [of Scotland]. And the gut-strung harp was also played probably

earlier in fact, probably during the Pictish era, earlier than the wire-strung” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). It has been commonly thought in harping circles that the wire-strung predated the gut-strung and that it was this wire-strung that was the magical harp of lore.

The harp in general is thought to have been developed in Ireland and then brought to Scotland later on. Ms. Kinnaird thinks otherwise. She said in our interview that, “. . . in fact, the harp is found on the East Coast of Scotland first, before it appears in Ireland. Two or three hundred years before it appears in Ireland, which is contrary to what we are usually led to believe. And the East Coast ones were probably strung with horse hair initially and then with Anglian influence swapped over to gut. So the small gut-strung harps were played in the East Coast and the Lowland area. So I like to think of it as Scottish harp and clàrsach, two separate instruments” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Culturally speaking, this suggests perhaps the influence of two separate cultures upon these musical instruments. The West Coast and the Highlands of Scotland are generally associated with a Gaelic-speaking, historically Celtic Scottish population while the East Coast and the Lowlands of Scotland are generally associated with an English or Scots-speaking population.

When asked how she started playing, Ms. Kinnaird suggests that she had an early personal history with the instrument. She began her musical education with instruction on cello, playing classical music from the age of seven. Her classically trained instructor, Ruth Waddle, had an intense interest in Scottish music and had actually traveled around

collecting examples of it. Ms. Waddle had been a friend of Marjorie Kennedy Fraser, another Scottish collector of quite some fame. Her instructor had taken some of the traditional Scottish music she had collected and arranged it in a classical setting for cello and piano. One of the orchestras in which Ms. Kinnaird played early in her career would, at the end of each Saturday morning session, put their music away and play tunes by ear, an unusual exercise for classically-oriented orchestra musicians. She found that she enjoyed that style of playing.

Alison Kinnaird was encouraged at this time to take up the piano, but she resisted because she was not particularly fond of concentrating on the piano. To complicate matters further, Ms. Kinnaird heard the small harp around that time and thought that would be the instrument to play instead of the piano.

I met Jean Campbell who taught both myself and Wendy [Stewart]. She was a lovely lady who had really devoted her life to promoting the harp and I think she was a pianist originally but had taken up the harp just after the war. And she did a tremendous amount of teaching in the Edinburgh area. She was really instrumental in bringing the numbers [of players] up. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

As most harp players in Scotland do, Alison Kinnaird began her instruction on the gut-strung harp. She only began to play the wire-strung harp years later, partly due to her academic research for co-authoring the book with Keith Sanger.

Actually, writing the book with Keith brought it home to me . . . I knew that

many of the tunes that we played were actually intended, had been composed, for wire, but I found that I really couldn't talk about the research that we had done in the book and demonstrate and feel I was doing it justice. I began to feel a little bit dishonest about it. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

So in order to curb her dishonest feelings, Ms. Kinnaird took up the wire-strung harp.

It was about this time that Ms. Kinnaird met Robert Evans, the man who made the wire-strung harp she currently plays. She actually met him in America while at the annual folk harp conference in Minneapolis where they were both staying with Ann Heymann. Although an American, Ms. Heymann is the acknowledged master of the Celtic wire-strung harp. Mr. Evans was working on the Welsh "Ap Hew" manuscript at the time and had asked both Ms. Kinnaird and Ms. Heymann to go through the fingering to make suggestions as to whether his transcriptions were correct from a player's point of view.

And we did that and I was using nails for the first time then [one of the differences of technique between the wire and the gut-strung harps]. Although my nails are very short, I found I could play just effectively and thought, well, it wouldn't take much if I grew them a little bit I could have a go at doing both. Because we'd always been told that you can't play both gut *and* wire successfully because of the nail problem. But I found that it was quite easy to get around because your fingers turn down for gut. So you're playing with the sides of them and then for wire you turn your fingers in. And there's no problem at all. On the same platform you can play both gut and wire. So I do now. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

Contrary to popular wisdom, Ms. Kinnaird found the transition from gut-strung harp to wire-strung harp to be fairly easy. Even though the physical transition was not difficult, however, Ms. Kinnaird does suggest that players have to relearn a different repertoire in the transition because the same tunes will not work for both instruments. The wire-strung harp requires the player actually to stop the sound of the strings because they ring right into the following notes, thus creating a rather musically messy sound. To do the wire-strung harp justice, she suggests, you do have to learn some different technique.

Ann [Heymann] had always said to me my arrangements actually transferred rather well to wire-strung harp anyway so I didn't have to adjust my style very much. It's just a matter of leaving out notes rather than putting anything different in. And then learning fingerings so that you're playing the instrument in a way that will bring out its character instead of trying to play it as a small gut harp which is a big mistake. I've heard people do that and it really is . . . it's not the best thing. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

As Ms. Kinnaird was a harp player of some considerable influence in the harp world, her opinions on Scotland as a political entity may be germane to the results of examination of the Celtic revivalism and political situation in Scotland. When asked about the belief that Scotland and Wales historically should have been equal partners with England in the United Kingdom, she replied that Scotland actually did enter into the Union as an equal partner. She said that, theoretically, the Union was supposed to work that way, equal partners for all who had signed on, but in actuality, that was not the way it

worked out, particularly for the Scottish. This was not quite applicable to the Welsh because they didn't enter into a partnership under the same conditions. When asked if she felt that it would ever equal out, she gave a small laugh and simply replied "no." When asked if she favored Scottish independence, she replied "yes." Her thoughts on Scottish independence were that, "I just think it is much more satisfactory for people to manage their own affairs and especially after the past fifteen years. The situation has really been brought home to everybody" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

The past fifteen years are significant in Scottish political history because the conservative Tory government of the United Kingdom, although it has not been supported by will or by votes of the Scottish people, has directed Scottish political and social agenda. That conservative government changed shortly after the interview with the election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Ms. Kinnaird feels that she may see Scottish independence in her lifetime, especially in light of the many changes that had happened in the previous five years [the first five years of the nineties].

Ms. Kinnaird suggested that there was no question as to whether the Scottish economy was strong enough to survive a move to independence. Robin Moore, although not a harper, but yet a fine musician in his own right, suggested that the rhetoric from Westminster is merely to foster a popular image that the Scottish economy is not strong enough to survive on its own. Ms. Kinnaird agreed, saying, "That's an excuse. It's like saying the Norwegian economy isn't strong enough to support Norway" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

The fact that Scotland is so small in both geography and population would be a plus for Scottish independence, according to Alison Kinnaird, because the smallness of the country allows people to know one another. Ms. Kinnaird's statements suggest that the Scottish people apparently feel quite alienated from the British government at Westminster. Ms. Kinnaird feels that independence in Scotland would allow a government capable of being approached about Scottish problems. She believes that this is very important to the Scottish population as a whole because it would enable them "... to be able to actually go and see people [in government] and tell them exactly what you think. And that would be very satisfying" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

This perception of control is essential to Mr. Moore's thoughts about independence as well. Considerably more cynical than his wife, he suggests that a Scottish government might not be much better than the British government, but Scots would at least have more control over it. They would get a few idealists into power who might actually make positive changes.

Alison Kinnaird, when asked about the Scottish Nationalist Party, replied that she did not follow politics on a day to day basis, but that she did hear and see the party's accomplishments. Because of this, she really did not know much of their stand on the practical side of Scottish independence or on devolution. However, personally, she very much supported the Scottish Nationalists because of her beliefs that it is much better for any group of people to decide their own fate and to decide the direction their own country takes. Although she would not be political enough to be a participant in such

governmental affairs, Ms. Kinnaird would certainly vote for someone who could. Her main interest in politics is in how it affects her personally as a Scottish citizen.

Ms. Kinnaird would like to see the evolution of self-government in Scotland make the politics a kinder one. That is what she sees as a major difference between Scotland and England. Scotland, according to Ms. Kinnaird, has a kinder society than England. What makes it a kinder political climate is that Scotland is a much more labor-based country. Scotland is “. . . much more focused on the ordinary people than England. I think we all dislike the great differences between rich and poor and the . . . class system and a lot of things that we think of as being typically English” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Ms. Kinnaird suggests that there is a different class system in Scotland than in England. She suggests that in Scotland there has always been a tradition of an educational opportunity for anyone bright enough and with enough desire to achieve an education. “I mean you could go as far as you wanted to go and you wouldn’t be ruled out of anywhere if you had the ability, no matter where you came from. Whereas I think we see the English class system as not allowing for that sort of thing” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

Ms. Kinnaird sees Scotland as already being quite separate from the rest of the British Isles, with the exception of Northern Ireland. She is not sure about the Scots being a separate ethnic group, but does feel that there are differences between the culture of Scotland and the rest of Great Britain. She suggests that being a native Scot and marrying an Irishman she is doing her own mixing of the groups.

Yes, I think we [the Scots] think of ourselves as being separate, but on the other hand when I go over to Northern Ireland I feel quite at home. I think particularly Northern Ireland relates so closely to Scotland culturally that you can certainly feel the links there. Wales not so much. I think links there disappeared a long time ago. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

Although Ms. Kinnaird views herself very strongly as a native Scot, she does not see herself as a Celt. From a scholarly point of view within Celtic Studies, Ms. Kinnaird emphatically says that she does not even like the word “Celtic.” She considers the term “Celtic” to be too vague to be relevant in today’s society. Her feelings apparently come from her playing of what many people have named the Celtic harp. “I don’t like that expression, like Celtic fiddle. I prefer that people play Scottish fiddle music or Irish fiddle music and that we play Scottish harp music or Irish harp music and Welsh harp music and thought of it that way rather than Celtic, which . . . actually lacks character” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). For this reason, Ms. Kinnaird never calls her instrument a Celtic harp, but simply the harp or the small harp.

While thinking of things Celtic, she suggests also that it is unrealistic to think it important to promote the Scottish Gaelic language as a national language in Scotland. One reason would be that it would annoy the people of Lowland Scotland very much because the Gaelic language is not part of their heritage. The Scottish Gaelic language has been historically a part of the Highland Celtic culture. She suggests that it is an important part of the Scottish culture, but that it is just concerned with one side of it. However, Ms

Kinnaird laments that as she has “. . . found [what] happens sometimes when you go abroad is that you are [viewed as] less of a Scot because you don't speak Gaelic . . .” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). She feels, in spite of the worldwide popular image of Scottish ethnic markers, that “. . . [in] . . . Scotland we have a problem because there isn't one thing that you can point to as being the Scottish anything. But what we are lucky, in fact we should regard ourselves as being very fortunate that we have a rich mixture and give it all equal value” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Others would suggest that there is perhaps too much that is Scottish, thus giving way to the kitsch that certainly annoys many Scots.

Ms. Kinnaird does see a cultural division between the Highlands and the Lowlands. However, she feels that it was stronger in the past than now. The intermingling of people between the two cultural regions has made the line between the two very blurred. She does feel, however, that there are more than two cultures in Scotland, with several regional variations, not just between the grand regions of the Highlands and the Lowlands but between smaller regions as well. One only has to look, she suggests, at the differences between Aberdeenshire and Ayrshire and the Shetland Islands. There is definitely a regional difference, but with some mixture as well, she suggests.

Even though she is not thrilled with the term “Celtic” as it is presently used, Ms. Kinnaird does not deny an existence of a Celtic revivalism worldwide, and she particularly does not deny the economic power of “Celtic music.” With her degree in Celtic Studies, Ms. Kinnaird obviously does have an interest in the historical aspects of Celtic culture. She

finds the culture and historical links between the various countries fascinating; however, her main interest in Celtic culture is from a Scottish point of view, with any links between the various countries being merely coincidental.

Ms. Kinnaird suggests that there is no such thing as living Celts or even any notion of Celticity, or the feeling of being within a Celtic ethnic group, today. She agrees that they existed in the past but that it has been long lost in past history. The current idea of Celts and Celticity, “. . . is a re-invention or an invention of the present, in fact,” said Ms. Kinnaird.

I don't think anybody thought of themselves as being a Celt. Well, not a reinvention because I don't think anybody thought of themselves as that way. I can't remember references to anybody calling themselves Celts. Perhaps the Romans did. They thought of other people as being Celts, but I don't think [those people] thought of themselves as Celts. And I think that in the past, regions were quite separate and people tended to think of themselves as coming from their particular region. They wouldn't have an overall global view of Celticism in the same way that people seem to now. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

Ms. Kinnaird could not think of any particular reason why we are currently in a time period of romanticizing the Celtic culture. She pointed out the fact that romantic and revivalist phenomena of Celticism seem to come in waves with the beginning of this century having one of those waves of Celtic romanticism in Irish literature. Today's Celtic revivalism, according to Ms. Kinnaird, is being fueled by those who are interested in the

New Age type of world view, or outlook. These people do not have much interest in historical accuracy and are rather romantic in their views of all things Celtic. As such, these people tend to extract the Celtic myth rather than the Celtic reality of the world and apply it to the reality of their own lives. It seems, according to Ms. Kinnaird, that they would prefer to do that than to look deeper into their own culture to find out what cultural intricacies lie there. She suggests, “. . . that people who look deeper into their own culture tend to find that reality is more interesting” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

I think the Celtic side of things is encouraged by those people with a rather new age type of outlook They are the kind of people who don't have a very accurate interest in history. They do tend to be romantic and they tend to extract the myth rather than the reality Perhaps they just haven't bothered to look any farther and it doesn't appeal to them to look any deeper (personal communication #4)

Her objection to present-day Celticism is not so much with the romanticism of it, but with the sentimentality of the people toward it. She relates the idea of Celtic sentimentality to her chosen instrument of the harp.

It's sort of the [popular] view . . . that the harp was widely played by everybody [in ancient Celtic times] and that it [therefore] represents Celtic culture. Well, that's actually not true. It was very much a professional instrument played by professionals and it was very much a minority interest. It was a very rare, special instrument at any time. And it had a great meaning within the culture. But it wasn't

something that people just played in every croft house, you know. Sitting by the sea. It's not practical with that kind of instrument. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

In other words, it was not a “folk” instrument in the same sense that the Appalachian dulcimer was (is) a “folk” instrument.

This expressed sentimentality of Celtic culture by modern people in Scotland and abroad in general is equally objectionable to Ms. Kinnaird. There is visual imagery evoked by the Celtic romanticists “. . . of flowing robes and wind and waves and playing to the seals and this sort of thing” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Ms. Kinnaird points out that the reality of the instrument would make such scenes quite unlikely because the harp is a very high maintenance instrument. Ms. Kinnaird feels that people have always embraced romance, legend, and myth as a means of enjoyment in life, but it should not be confused with historical reality.

Alison Kinnaird's special interest in her degree program in Celtic Studies was the examination of the harp. Her tutor at the time was Willie Matheson whose interest was in the history of the harp, particularly the Scottish harp. That piqued Ms. Kinnaird's interest in the history as well as the early tunes that had been written for the Scottish harp. Willie Matheson wrote a book entitled *The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall): The Songs of Roderick Morison and His Music*, which Ms. Kinnaird found quite influential in her studies. She includes the music to “Rory Dall” from Willie Matheson's book and a songbook collection of music for the Scottish harp. It is entitled, *The Harp Key*, from a

song by Matheson's subject, Rory Morison. "I cannot get one like it in the country round, I reckon it a cause of grief that I am without my harp-key" (Matheson 1970: 13). Ms. Kinnaird pays a great deal of tribute to the influence of Matheson on her career.

There is no real connection, Ms. Kinnaird believes, that can be found between the Celtic revivalism and present-day Scottish politics, at least not to her personal way of thinking. She does acknowledge, however, the people who dress up as Jacobites and engage in reenactment type of programs and occasionally attend political rallies wearing the big kilt and eighteenth century outfits. Those people may have some political leanings, but the number is a minority, certainly not representative of the Scottish public in general, according to Ms. Kinnaird.

The music Ms. Kinnaird plays does not relate, at least in her own mind, with the current Celtic revivalism. To her, she is simply playing old tunes. As a professional harper, however, she does perform at so-called Celtic festivals, or festivals that celebrate that type of heritage. These festivals are usually found in Portugal, Spain and France. Significantly, she doesn't think the festivals at which she performs in Scotland are considered to be Celtic festivals. For some reason, it is only the ones abroad that are labeled as Celtic festivals. The reason for that, according to Ms. Kinnaird, is that many of the local governments in regions such as Galicia, Brittany, and Portugal, are quite interested in promoting their cultural and historical ties with other countries. Celtic festivals therefore have become a useful strategy in this promotion of regional economics. Ms. Kinnaird sees this type of promotion as expressions of both their region's ethnicity and their nationalism.

“It’s bound to be a demonstration against whatever the government in power is” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). The tourism profits are certainly a plus for the local population in Scotland, as well. Brackette F. Williams, in a discussion of Abner Cohen’s ideas, says that “interest groups use their culture ‘to organize and coordinate their efforts in order to maintain *their share of the profits*’” [Williams’ emphasis] (Williams 1989:409).

Ms. Kinnaird suggests that today’s harp playing in Scotland is characterized by a strikingly different style of player. The harp is a technically demanding instrument and players of the past generally have concentrated on just that particular instrument. However, today many people play the harp as well as other instruments. One such Scottish professional is Robin Williamson, who is using an entire arsenal of several instruments in his act. Although I have heard others, not Ms. Kinnaird, suggest that Robin Williamson has diluted his playing by using several instruments, therefore not being very adept at any one of them, Mr. Williamson is one of the more popular Scottish entertainers in Scotland and in the United States, with many albums to his credit and large audiences for performances.

To those players, professional and non-professional, who tend to concentrate on just the harp, Ms. Kinnaird feels that the appeal of the harp is largely because it is such a romantic instrument. People are drawn to the harp by the mystique that surrounds it in myth and legend from all around the British Isles. These people want to become a part of the myth and legend that surrounds this instrument and they often believe that first-hand

contact with the “Celtic” harp will actually give that to them, to some degree. These types of people, according to Ms. Kinnaird, are interested in playing the harp, regardless of the quality of sounds that they are producing. These romanticists are not very critical or discriminating about the music they are playing as long as they are participating in the myth and legend of the harp. It is the process that becomes important to them and not necessarily the quality of that product. The harp as an instrument fosters this, according to Ms. Kinnaird, because it is difficult to play sounds that are not pretty and romantic on the instrument.

The instrument is liked often because whatever you play on it is going to sound pretty. You cannot make an ugly sound on the harp, so if you want to play good music on the harp, you have to be very critical about what you are doing. It's not sufficient to just to tinkle on the harp and play, fill in the gaps, and play pretty music because everybody will enjoy it. It's pleasant but it doesn't actually have any sort of guts. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

As a classically trained musician, Ms. Kinnaird finds that type of attitude toward harp playing rather frustrating, much like the sounds of badly spoken Gaelic frustrate the aforementioned native Gaelic speaker Morag Macleod. Ms. Kinnaird would like to see all harp players be more critical of the music that they are playing, but she says that she has come to the conclusion that the more romantically minded harp player will generally not do that. This sloppy style of music has been characterized by one Breton harp player as “ice cream music.” This ice cream music, according to Ms. Kinnaird, comes from the

influence of New Agers upon the music. This influence has made the music soft and sweet and with very little substance, much like ice cream.

The music of Alison Kinnaird certainly would not be characterized as ice cream music. It has all the feel and intricacies of the most elaborate of instruments. Her playing, even when performing traditional tunes, has the intensiveness of a classical virtuoso coaxing the maximum auditory effect from a finely crafted piece of wood and a few taut strings. As for herself, she considers herself first as a musician and then as a Scottish musician. Thirdly, she would characterize herself as a Scottish musician who just happens to play the harp as opposed to any other instrument. Her point to this line of thinking is that, as a musician, she would be playing Scottish music on some other instrument if she were not playing it on the harp. Her instrument, the harp, is actually secondary to her music.

Alison Kinnaird does not tend to express herself outwardly in the local or national political scene, whether through her music or through any other forum. However, she does readily admit to “. . . expressing cultural nationalism rather than political nationalism” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995) in her musical endeavors. She defines cultural nationalism as

. . . just keeping your regional variety and the things that are special, that you find special that relate to how you see your background and your surroundings and your history and the way that is expressed in a modern way, because I don't like to think of that as being treated historical. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication,

1995)

If politics and the government were being run to her satisfaction, then there would be no need for anything but cultural nationalism. As reality has it, however, political nationalism does indeed have a bearing of most things in Scotland and therefore, to some degree, on her music.

As far as traditional music and the evolution of it is concerned, Ms. Kinnaird suggests that traditional music should not be seen as being old. She has been confronted by people about the definition of tradition as having to do with something that is old, even to the point of them bringing out the dictionary to show her that the term “traditional” had old as the “official” definition. She believes that the term “traditional” does not necessarily have to be concerned with something old because there are great traditional tunes being written today. “And even if you are playing an old tune, you are actually expressing it in a different way. You're expressing your own voice in it. And tradition is a moving point rather than something stuck in the past” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Ms. Kinnaird resents any insinuation that she is an antiquarian just because she performs old harp tunes on an old-style instrument. It is simply her interest and her field of study. “It doesn't mean that I want to play them [the old songs] the way they were played in the sixteenth century because that to me is not very relevant”(A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). If she did that all the time, she says that her playing would become rather dry and boring.

Tradition, to Ms. Kinnaird, is evolutionary, but there are elements of traditional

music that she finds very important. She believes that traditional music reflects broad expressions of very deep and basic ideas that are common to everybody. Traditional music therefore deals with those ideas to which really everyone can relate-love and death. She suggests that you can put almost any traditional music into those two categories in one way or another,

. . . whether it is love of country or love of place or love of the sea or love of a woman. And even death comes to us all and everything in one way or another. And I find that because the tunes were composed and songs were written by real people about real events that touched them very deeply that they express emotion in a different sort of way from art music. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995)

Alison Kinnaird is quite passionate about finding the deeply expressed emotions of traditional music much more satisfying than art music. The main difference is that in art music, according to Ms. Kinnaird, people consciously sit down to create an atmosphere or to express a specific idea. This atmosphere or the expression of an idea is not really happening to them at the time, or perhaps has never happened to them at all, and therefore lacks that emotional attachment.

Whereas somebody who's writing the 'Lament for William Chisholm' actually has lost her husband. And she's expressing political ideas in a way which relates to her personal situation at the time. She was actually living through it and it means an awful lot more to me because of that. (A. Kinnaird, personal communication,

1995)

There is just so much more emotion to it than if it were simply art music. This type of music touches people in a different way, according to Ms. Kinnaird, and it is for this reason that it is important that everyone in Scotland, children and adults alike, should be educated in traditional music.

Until the past few years there was not much education in traditional music in the school systems of Scotland. Traditional music was not taught in the schools that Alison Kinnaird attended, but it began to come into the state-run schools about ten or fifteen years ago. There were exceptions in the past, such as with teachers who had a particular interest in traditional music, but by and large there was very little exposure to it in the schools. Fortunately, a few people began requesting that traditional music be taught in the schools. Now they have succeeded in having a basic introduction to it taught in most schools. The music colleges around Scotland are beginning to introduce traditional music on that level as well.

Ms. Kinnaird feels that teaching traditional music in schools will not necessarily foster more feelings of Scottishness among its population, however. She believes that traditional music has survived through the years perhaps because it has not been fostered by the establishment. Traditional music was just something people always did anyway, in spite of government mandates. She suggests that perhaps it has been good that traditional music has not been channeled into a set syllabus or that people in authority made rules about what is right and wrong about the music. Perhaps now is the time, she hopes, that

there will be more teachers whose general approach to education is less prescriptive and that this will allow more creativity in the teaching curriculum of traditional music.

As important as the harp is to her personal life, Alison Kinnaird does not see the harp as a nationalistic symbol of Scotland. If there is anything that would fit into that category, she feels that it would be the Scottish Saltire, the blue and white St. Andrew's Cross, that would be the Scottish national symbol. As far as music and symbolism are concerned, she suggests that the bagpipes represent a national sound more so than the harp or any other instrument.

Alison Kinnaird has influenced an entire generation and, indeed, has created an entire renaissance of Scottish harp playing. Her own early personal musical influences were those people who got her excited about her music and that sparked her interest in playing the harp in the style that she does. Breton harper Alan Stivell was one of the early musical influences that excited her. It was partly through this early musical influence that she developed her dislike for Celticism. Although he was very influential musically, after a while, she felt that he did not really know Scottish music. She discovered that Celticism

. . . irons out the differences between the countries. Well, for instance, if I'm playing an Irish tune, I would play it differently from the way an Irish person would play it. I would decorate it with little musical twists and turns differently and the timing would be different. These are quite subtle differences and actually are rather difficult to write down, but you recognize them when you hear them. It's just like an accent [in the speaking of a language]. (A. Kinnaird, personal

communication, 1995)

Ms. Kinnaird does equate this concept to a musical dialect, which makes music much more lively and exciting. Through this musical dialect, you know from where the musicians are coming and what their backgrounds are and what their enthusiasms are. That is lost, according to Ms. Kinnaird, in the flattening and generalization of using the term “Celticism.” “Maybe it’s inevitable when there is so much dissemination of material and everybody’s hearing the same music I think it would be an awful shame if the regional differences were lost” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Some players Ms. Kinnaird particularly admires, but whose styles are very indicative of the region from which they come are Grainne Yeats and Màire nì Chathsaigh, both Irish players. But, as mentioned earlier, she also greatly admires the American wire-strung harp player, Ann Heymann.

Ms. Kinnaird believes that there are some excellent harp players in America. She feels that Americans can do a great job learning the instrument, but that is not the case when it comes to the singing in her native Scottish tradition. To Ms. Kinnaird, it is very difficult for anyone to sing convincingly in a language and musical culture different from the one in which they were raised. “I think it has all to do with voice production and the way you talk as well as all the sort of cultural baggage you carry around in your head” (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Language is thought to shape the cultural context of an individual, so therefore the lack of language acquisition within a specific culture, if you learned the language from an outside cultural point of view, would make it

extremely difficult to have the necessary linguistic nuances that a native performer would have.

But, to the contrary, Ms. Kinnaird suggests that you can make that cultural transition very well on instruments, citing as examples the many excellent non-Scottish, ethnically speaking, harp and bagpipe players around the world. One problem Ms. Kinnaird finds with American harp players is that they usually have only a general interest in harp music, desiring to play many different kinds of music and not strictly in the Scottish style or the Irish style or any other specific style. She finds that this usually has the effect of spreading things a bit too thin. That is very distracting to her because she prefers to do things in depth. There are several American players whom she admires, but none that particularly excite her, with perhaps the exception of Ms. Heymann.

Ms. Kinnaird feels that there have been many changes in traditional music just in her lifetime as a harp player. People told her when she began that she could not play traditional music on the harp because the traditions had been broken through the years. She feels that idea confirms many people's misunderstanding of what tradition actually means. "Considering that we know that we are not playing exactly the same instrument as in the past anyway, it is not really relevant," she suggests. "What we are doing is playing Scottish music on the harp. And if you play good Scottish music, if you know what good Scottish music is, you can do it on the harp or you can do it on another instrument" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). That is what she would like to see carried on in traditional music. She believes that is indeed the direction in which it is going, that people

are becoming a little bit more critical about the kind of music they play. The musical influences that flood in from around the world and from other styles like jazz are actually very good for traditional music, according to Ms. Kinnaird. "I think it has always happened in the past [that] everybody tries things out and the good things are remembered and the bad things get discarded and it just moves on" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995).

Alison Kinnaird believes that there are several good young harp players today who are becoming very technically proficient. This however does not assure that they will grow into mature players of traditional music, according to Ms. Kinnaird. "I think that it takes a while for someone to acquire a traditional style or be comfortable with it unless they're brought up in a family where that's been happening . . ." (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). Unfortunately, with the history of the harp as it is, this has not really been possible for harp players perhaps until this generation. She thinks it will be interesting to see if traditional transmission of harp music through families develops during the next couple of generations as has been the case with other instruments all along. She believes that this will indeed occur, just as she thinks the wire-strung harp is due for a revival like the gut-strung harp has had recently.

"The wire-strung harp has got very special character and you can do things on it that you can't do on gut and I think that some will be drawn to that" (A. Kinnaird, personal communication, 1995). The wire-strung and the gut-strung harps are as different as Highland pipes and Lowland pipes. There are certainly similarities, but there are enough

differences in sound and technique to make them different instruments. A player must learn them differently and separately. As for the wire-strung harp, it was an American, the aforementioned Ann Heymann, not a Scot, Irish, or a Celt, who is given credit by Kinnaird for basically re-inventing the instrument and the techniques used in playing it.

Ann Heymann is from Minnesota but does claim an Irish-American family background. Through studies of the surviving music and manuscripts of the old style wire-strung harps, Ms. Heymann virtually re-invented the techniques necessary to play the wire-strung instrument. And, of course, it was Alison Kinnaird who made this possible through her re-invention of the harp performance that led to the Celtic harp revival of today.

Although Ms. Kinnaird does not consider the harp a nationalistic symbol, she does however see a difference in the styles of instrument and music from the different Celtic countries of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany. She is therefore a cultural nationalist who appreciates musical distinctions between Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and all other forms of music. Most people, like Ms. Kinnaird, recognize these distinguishing features found in music between the countries and often embrace them with some degree of nationalistic distinctiveness even if the nationalism isn't overtly used. As Ms. Kinnaird pointed out, there is really an "ironing out [of] differences between the countries," and thus, nationalism really could not be applied, according to Kinnaird, to anything dealing with Celtic, or pan-Celtic, culture.

There is a distinction made between harpers and other musicians in the folk genre, either by themselves or placed there by outsiders. There is clearly a difference between an

elite, professional music tradition such as harp players and other popular traditions such as pub singers, bands, and travellers (tradition bearers of Scotland noted for a nomadic lifestyle). Harpers are trained differently, often classically on the harp or as an off-shoot from another classical instrument such as the piano, and they often think of themselves quite differently than the more traditional folk musician.

Alison Kinnaird illustrates this distinction quite well. She is classically trained and is well versed academically in the musical world. She is a professional harper making her livelihood through her music. She has the trappings of that elite professional musical tradition that comes with success in her chosen field. Her harp career is therefore more an expression of life choice than an expression of lifestyle that is often associated with traditional folk musicians or those protest singers out singing for a cause.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS

The primary hypothesis of this research was that harpers would exhibit stronger ethnic/nationalistic/community feelings than other Scots. This hypothesis was for the most part rejected. As Anthony P. Cohen states in *Belonging: Identity and Social Organization in British Rural Cultures*, “The simplified identity which a collectivity presents to the outside world is informed by its internal intricacies” (1982:12), in this case the internal intricacies of the harping community within the wider community of other musical genres and to the broader Scottish population. The statistical results of the survey as well as the interviews and other personal contact with harpers during several Scottish field studies, indicate that harpers are indeed a subculture within the subculture of musicians, and are, on the whole, conservative in their political views, contradictory to the other parts of that musical subculture. They are also shown to be conservative in relation to the population as a whole.

As noted above in the survey, harpers rejected the idea that Scotland should go the route of neighboring Ireland in using violence to force independence and reunification of their country from England. Harpers also were more conservative in rejecting the notion that their art form should be a forum for political views. However, even while exhibiting conservative notions, they still believed in a Scottish national identity. One harper, who had lived out of the country for quite some time and works out of the country on musical

tours often, affirms this by stating that, "I can see the Scottishness when I come back. In Scotland, there is such a sense of national identity" (personal communication #8 1995). This national identity is manifested in a desire by many Scottish citizens for devolution or outright independence from Great Britain. But these citizens often exhibit considerable caution, particularly in regard to outright independence.

The participant observation conducted among the harpers leads the researcher to reject the hypothesis as well. What was found from an observational point of view was that harpers today, like harpers of old, tend to hold elite status among the rest of the musical community. The harp as an instrument is a more technically demanding instrument than many of the "folk" instruments such as the tinwhistle of the British Isles, the dulcimer of the Appalachian area of America, or even the guitar. The Celtic harp, by and large, is rather expensive to purchase. It is also a difficult instrument to maintain, keep in tune, and to carry around.

From this observational point of view as well as from demographic information collected during the survey period, the profile of harpers in Scotland shows us that they are usually female, older than other "folk" musicians, and are performing the harp usually as either a hobby or as a second income for their family. Perhaps more importantly to this research, Scottish harpers tend to enjoy a higher socioeconomic status than other types of musicians, particularly those who might use their music to espouse their political views. There were exceptions, of course, but, by and large, most Scottish Celtic harpers seemed to fit this profile.

The more liberal harp players who are more vocal about their political views in Scotland tend to be younger, female, and more into modern music of other types, even if that modern music is played on the harp or other traditional instruments. In other words, they tend to be liberal in their musical concepts as well as being politically liberal. The politically active harper also tends to be the sole supporter of a family, often as a single mother, and as such, has probably experienced more economic hardships than many of the others. One harper who fit this profile said of her interest in politics, "I think these days you have to be aware. There have been so many changes in the last decade that you have to be aware. I mean it's all around you constantly" (personal communication #7 1995). When asked what got another harper who fit this profile interested in politics, her simple but yet complicated answer was, "Living" (personal communication #8 1995). These harpers also usually associate both musically and socially more with the other types of musicians, such as ballad singers, protest singers, fiddlers, bagpipers, and guitarists, many of whom are quite renowned in their specific musical genre in the British Isles and beyond, who do make their political views more public.

As evidence of this Scottish Celtic harper profile, it was quite striking to walk up to a centuries old church for a rehearsal of mass harps and see a preponderance of cars of the Saab, Mercedes, and BMW variety. In other words, the church parking lot was filled with somewhat expensive cars driven by somewhat affluent harpers. That offered a clue right away as to what I might find when I went in. The harps inside were beautifully crafted instruments, and, like the cars, were more often than not an expensive item for an

economy like Scotland that does not usually have quite the affluence of America. The harps likely averaged \$3000 a piece, which was probably more than the combined total value of all the instruments in a pub such as the Royal Oak throughout an entire evening, or perhaps two.

The residences of the more conservative harpers that I visited were always middle-class or better built houses in the suburbs or on a multi-acre plot of land in the beautiful Scottish countryside, while those of the more liberal ones were flats, or apartments, in the inner-city section of Edinburgh. As a group, however, the harpers were observed to be generally better off economically, more educated, and more conservative than the general population of Scotland.

Historically, there has always been a distinction between the elite music and the folk music of Scotland. David Johnson suggests that there has always been folk music but that “classical music has flourished only sporadically” (1972:6) in Scotland. Modern Celtic harpers seem to bridge the gap between these two musical genres. This research shows harpers to be part of the elite musical realm, particular in their background and training, but it also shows their interest in the tradition of the harp as well. This tradition of the harp and the culture to which it belongs has been romanticized in the past few years for a variety of reasons, from the desire to belong to a glamorized group to the desire to capitalize on the economic viability of a popular culture. There is a transnational distinction between the harpers of the “old country” and those of the Scottish diaspora. Scottish harpers tend to be more involved with pragmatic, day-to-day living. As such,

these harpers concentrate much less upon the romantic nature of Celtic culture so deeply embraced by many players of the Celtic harp in America, as well as by New Agers who use the Celtic harp as part of their lifestyle. Scottish harpers express through their conservative nature the sense that romanticism may be well and good for those who either have the economic means to enjoy a romantic lifestyle or for those who choose a more Spartan, simple New Age existence.

Alison Kinnaird provides a good case in point here. As an academic Celtic scholar participating in, and indeed given credit for starting, the Celtic harp revival, she disdains anything having to do with the romanticization of her chosen instrument and her chosen field of study. She feels that this romanticization has led the music of the Celtic harp as played by many players as becoming “ice cream” in nature, i.e., music without the substance that it so richly deserves, primarily due to those members of the diaspora who use the Celtic harp simply to play a few pretty tunes that sound soothing. She also disassociates herself and her instrument from a pan-Celtic cultural identity when she draws careful distinction between the Irish and Scottish harps. Through their own sense of misappropriated transnational feelings, modern day Celts claim identity to a culture that really doesn’t exist except in their own minds or in the imaginations of certain genre writers. To many in the diaspora there is a real genealogical link to their country of heritage, Scotland, but for others there is either no link or they take that link as a license to skew the historical and cultural trappings of that land.

As for the secondary hypothesis, which suggested political agendas in the content

of material performed and in stage banter, the harpers were observed to use virtually none of this, with the exception of an occasional flippant disparaging remark about the British government or the English personality, and these remarks were usually spoken by those who fit the younger profile. I conducted field work both before and after the “Braveheart” movie phenomenon and more of these types of comments were heard after the release of this very pro-Scottish nationalism movie than before its release. On the other hand, other “folk” musicians were usually observed to be much more liberal than harpers in their stage banter and their choice of performed material to express political sentiments. They often were extremely vocal in their opposition to the British government and the English people as a whole. As one harper suggested, “We’ve got to have somebody to hate, it might as well be the English” (personal communication #5 1995). Often members of the diaspora (hyphenated Scots) have this type of attitude to extreme amounts in their exhibiting more nationalism than many conservative Scots would.

Perhaps the English are good for Scots to hate because this antagonism provides cultural nationalists a way in which to resist cultural hegemony and gives them a “. . . site of struggle between the forces of resistance of subordinate groups in society, and the forces of incorporation of dominant groups in society” (Storey 1993:13). These conflicting cultural groups can be seen, as Storey suggests, in the “. . . ideological struggle between dominant and subordinate cultures” (Storey 1993:13). The protest singers, in expressing their ethnicity in this manner, are exhibiting ethnicity as a “sense of survival” (de Vos 1975:17). There is little romanticism in a “sense of survival.” The more liberal

harpers, by and large, were very much in favor of outright independence, not just devolution, from their culturally dominant foe. Many, even the more conservative ones, felt it was indeed at hand, perhaps in their life time. The year 2007, the three hundred year anniversary of the Act of Union that saw their sovereignty wrapped neatly away in Edinburgh Castle, would be an appropriate year for that to happen.

Many other Scottish citizens who were observed and others with whom I talked and surveyed, were somewhere in between, sort of a moderate cross between conservatism and liberalism. Of these people, their conservative side was exhibited primarily in their economic concerns. They might want very much to be independent or have a devolved government, but they expressed very little confidence in the Scottish economy sustaining itself if there was a total break with the United Kingdom. That conservative side also was often wary of any major ties with the European Economic Union, seeing a political tie with the rest of Europe as no better than political ties with the United Kingdom. They would not want to go to the trouble of extricating themselves of the hegemony from 300 years of domination by Great Britain only to sign on to a hegemony of a greater whole with all of Europe, perhaps for another 300 years. Whether the European Economic Union or the United Kingdom, Scottish participants in this study seemed to be wary of that hegemony that Antonio Gramsci suggests is “a condition in process in which a dominant class(es) doesn’t merely rule but *leads* [Storey’s italics] a society through the exertion of moral and intellectual leadership” (Storey 1993: 119). What these harpers are expressing are real fears of “the ultimate foundation of social order

[being] the institutionalization of a hegemonic principle and its values, norms, and ultimate ends” (Pellicani 1981:60), as Gramsci once stated.

Theories of internal colonialism indeed seemed apt when talking to the Scottish people who wanted independence very much, but who were also very dependent upon the British government for their support in times of trouble or even in times of prosperity. There was a real sense that there was an economic tether that would be dangerous to cut. The theorist Michael Hechter, among several others cited above, suggests that in the internal colonial model of oppression/suppression, it was very important for the dominant culture, in this case the British government, “. . . to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system” (Hechter 1975:9). The economic and social policies of the British government apparently have institutionalized the feeling among many Scottish citizens that they could not survive without “the existing stratification system.” Time and time again, my discussions with Scots about total independence revealed their desire for more self-government, but there was often an undertone of an anxiety toward cutting the ties of the hand that feeds them, i.e., Great Britain economic support. This attitude was rather pervasive with the conservative harpers but was also on the minds of some of the more liberal Scots as well.

The main hypothesis going into this project, that harpers would exhibit stronger ethnicity and nationalism, was certainly rejected. But there still was much to be learned in the research process. The results suggest that the majority of harpers are more politically

and economically conservative than other musicians and other non-musical Scots. Their conservatism reflects the fact that most harpers tend to be middle class or above, enjoying higher socioeconomic status than either their counterparts in revivalism or the general Scottish public. That is not to say they didn't feel nationalistic pride, particularly cultural nationalism. The harpers were proud to be Scottish.

Harpers, as members of the mainstream Scottish culture, also may be seen as participants in Scotland's peripheral culture as well. They do share, as Barth would say of ethnic groups, "fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms" (Barth 1969:10-11). As both a periphery to other Scottish musicians and this Scottish periphery within the United Kingdom, they fall within what Wallerstein perceived as one of the divisions of the world "... as a 'periphery,' ... whose production is expropriated and whose people are subordinated within the system" (Basch, et al. 1994:11).

Within that periphery harpers feel a strong sense of nationalistic and community solidarity, but they also feel that, as middle class citizens of that periphery, they perhaps have more to lose than others, thus making them more dependent and loyal to the British crown. As such, they develop their own community, and therefore become their own periphery, within the general periphery of the Scottish musical scene, seeking solidarity among themselves as support for their own brand of nationalistic feelings. In a sense, this may be a cooperation of Scottish elites with the British elites as a maintenance strategy to preserve their own way of life, their own status quo. Thus, this research has shown that the distinction between cultural nationalism and political nationalism is valuable. Scottish

Celtic harpers are shown to be more often than not cultural nationalists and seldom political nationalists. Alison Kinnaird fits into this category as reflected in her comments on the nature of Scottish instrumentation and style of the harp, and indeed of other aspects of Scottish culture.

The research also highlights transnationalism theory in showing how Celtic and Scottish cultures in a sense have no boundaries. Historically, it was shown how the Celtic culture of the peripheral barbarian realm of the Greeks and Romans were without political boundaries. Today, through a diaspora spanning a couple hundred years, Scotland's expatriates and their legacies view their country of origin with nationalistic pride. The Highland Games all over America, the selling of Celtic art in tents and shops and boutiques, the speaking of Scottish Gaelic in an American college classroom, the learning of the very Celtic wire-strung harp technique by the Scottish born Alison Kinnaird from the American born Ann Heymann, and other incidences of cross border exchanges, show what Basch, et. al., might call "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries" (Basch, et al., 1994:22), i.e. transnationalism.

As the Celtic world of old has been historically viewed as a marginalized group by Greeks, Romans, and later the English, today there are Celtic groups who are marginalized to the rest of the Celtic world. The Galician and Breton Celtic groups want to identify with the "core" of the Celtic world, i.e., Ireland and Scotland, primarily as an economic strategy for promotion of tourism. They attempt to manifest this in the staging

of their pan-Celtic festivals within the Celtic revivalism. To harper Alison Kinnaird, however, cultural nationalism refers to Scottishness and does not embrace a pan-Celtic identification.

At least, as defined in earlier discussions of community by Anthony Cohen, Celtic harpers of Scotland, an important component of Celtic revivalism, seem to have developed a community, as evidenced by the many harper groups in Scotland, that is separate from mainstream society as a whole, “not disappearing, only changing and evolving” (Kuter 1981:2). For harpers in Scotland, their harping community has become “. . . that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediate than the abstraction we call ‘society’” (Cohen 1986:15).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE CELTIC HARP REVIVAL: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Please respond to these statements by circling numbers on the right for: 1=strongly agree; 2=moderately agree; 3=moderately disagree; 4=strongly disagree.

- 1 2 3 4 - 1. The Scottish National Party has the correct idea about Scottish Home Rule.
- 1 2 3 4 - 2. The Scottish National Party should be more militant to force devolution of the Scottish government.
- 1 2 3 4 - 3. The Scottish National Party represents those who have a Celtic past.
- 1 2 3 4 - 4. Scottish culture is represented more by the past Celtic culture than by English influenced Lowland culture.
- 1 2 3 4 - 5. Celtic revivalism is irrelevant to Scottish politics.
- 1 2 3 4 - 6. Cultural artists or revivalists should not use their public visibility to advocate for Scottish devolution.
- 1 2 3 4 - 7. Government ministry for Scotland maintains with a clear distinction between the two countries of Scotland and England.
- 1 2 3 4 - 8. The political union between Scotland and England is just fine the way it is.
- 1 2 3 4 - 9. The state school system does a satisfactory job of covering Celtic history.
- 1 2 3 4 - 10. The Celtic harp is a symbol of Scottish-ness more so than the bagpipes.
- 1 2 3 4 - 11. For Scotland the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.
- 1 2 3 4 - 12. Scottish Nationalists feel that independence is their manifest destiny and that it is not coming about quick enough.

- 1 2 3 4 - 13. Traditional lifestyles are much more desirable than the current rush toward modernity in Scotland.
- 1 2 3 4 - 14. There are really two Scotlands with two separate cultures - the Highlands and the Lowlands.
- 1 2 3 4 - 15. Celtic folklore and oral tradition is an important part of the Scottish legacy.
- 1 2 3 4 - 16. Folk revivals romanticize the past.
- 1 2 3 4 - 17. The world would be a better place today if there still was a belief in the old Celtic druidic system.
- 1 2 3 4 - 18. The harper-bards of old Celtic Scotland once had magical powers that have become lost through the ages.
- 1 2 3 4 - 19. Nationalistic symbols such as the Celtic harp are important in political movements.
- 1 2 3 4 - 20. Folk revivals perpetuate a once viable part of a culture.
- 1 2 3 4 - 21. I feel a strong personal identification with the Celtic culture.
- 1 2 3 4 - 22. Participation in Celtic revivalism is an important aspect of my life.
- 1 2 3 4 - 23. Politically speaking, I consider that Scotland has been treated as the fringe or periphery of England.
- 1 2 3 4 - 24. When I hear the Celtic harp I am filled with a certain amount of nationalistic pride.
- 1 2 3 4 - 25. My personal political ideas are expressed through Celtic music.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FOR THE SURVEY RESPONDENT

Number of times voted for SNP or Labour in last three years: _____

Number of SNP or Labour rallies attended in last three years: _____

Number of times worked for SNP or Labour parties or candidates in last three years: _____

Number times financial contributions made to SNP or Labour parties or candidates in last three years: _____

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Place of Birth: _____

Occupation: _____

Educational level: _____

Political affiliation: _____

Musical expertise: _____

Passive Audience: _____

General Comments: _____

APPENDIX B

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS USED IN THE INTERVIEWS

1. Some feel that Scotland historically should have been an equal partner to England in Britain. What are your feelings on that idea?
 2. Do you favor Scottish independence? Why or why not?
 3. Do you think you will see Scottish independence in your lifetime? Why or why not?
 4. Is the Scottish economy strong enough for Scottish independence? Why or why not?
 5. What do you know about the Scottish Nationalist Party?
 6. What do you know about Scottish devolution?
 7. Do you have an interest in Scottish politics and, if so, why did you become interested?
 8. Describe how you would like to see Scotland evolve in terms of self-government.
 9. Do you consider the Scots to be an ethnic group separate from the rest of the British Isles? Explain.
-
- I. Do you have an interest in Celtic culture and, if so, why did you become interested?
 - II. How would you define Celtic revivalism? What is the source of your knowledge about Celtic revivalism?
 - III. What connection, if any, do you see between Celtic revivalism and Scottish politics?
 - IV. Since 1992, have you participated in activities you associate with Celtic revivalism? Describe those activities.
 - V. How does the Celtic harp and Celtic revivalism factor into your expression of politics?

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

1. This form is to inform the signee that this questionnaire and/or interview is for a research project by Stevan R. Jackson, a doctoral candidate at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in the Department of Anthropology. The objective of the project is to fulfill his doctoral degree requirements. The purpose of this particular research is to determine whether there is a greater amount of political activity among the population of Celtic harp players as compared to those not involved in the Celtic harp revival. The title of this research project is "The Celtic Harp Revival: An ethnomusicological examination of ethnicity and marginality in Scottish culture." You, the subject, will only be involved for the amount of time that it takes to complete the ensuing questionnaire and/or personal interview. The procedure for participating in the questionnaire is to simply read and respond to the various questions. The procedure for the interview is to engage in a taped discussion with the interviewer on the subject of Celtic harp playing and Scottish politics.
2. There will be no risks or discomforts since this is simply a questionnaire/interview pertaining to social and political elements of the Scottish culture.
3. There will be no apparent benefits/payments from participating in this research.
4. The persons engaging in the questionnaires will be insured total confidentiality of responses. Interviewees will be given the option of using their real name or an alias. The results of this research will be stored at the University of Tennessee for three years in a secure cabinet or closet in the office of the researcher, or in a locked closet in the office of the faculty advisor.
5. If there are any questions about the research and the research subjects' rights, they may be directed to the researcher himself or to the Research Administration at the University of Tennessee.
6. Participation in this research project by all involved is totally voluntary on the part of the participant.

Signature of Participant _____

APPENDIX D

SELECTED DISCOGRAPHY OF CELTIC HARP RECORDINGS

- 1999 Bell, Derek. *Mystic Harp 2: Sailing the Blue Sea*. Clarity Light & Sound.
- 1999 Pappajohn, Lori. Celtic Harp for Christmas.
- 1999 Pappajohn, Lori. Celtic Harp of Dreams.
- 1999 Strachan, Mary. *The Celtic Harp*. Legacy International.
- 1999 Various Artists. *Maidens of the Celtic Harp*. Sugo Records.
- 1999 Various Artists. *My Gentle Harp: Celtic Music For Harp*. Celtophile.
- 1998 *Celtic Harpestry*. Pgd/Imaginary Road.
- 1998 Chenut, Regis. *The Art of the Celtic Harp: de la Harpe Celtique*. Arion
- 1998 Doyle, Dennis. *Be in My Heart*. Ave Maria Press.
- 1998 Hamilton, Claire. *Love Is All Around - Celtic Harp*.
- 1998 Mayer, Justin. *Harp & Hammer Dulcimer*.
- 1998 Millar, Will (with Derek Bell). *Celtic Seasons of Enchantment*. Chacra.
- 1998 Mother Ireland. Memoir Classics (UK).
- 1998 Various Artists. *Celtic Romance on the Celtic Harp*. Kilronan.
- 1998 Various Artists. *Scottish Harps. Greentrax* (Sco).
- 1997 Bell, Derek. *A Celtic Evening*. Clarity Sound & Light.
- 1997 Doyle, Dennis. *Irish Meditations*. Incarnation Music.
- 1997 Hamilton, Claire. Celtic Harp Moods.
- 1997 Honey, Therese. *Mosaic: Celtic Harp*. Waterbug.
- 1997 King, Andrew Lawrence and the Harp Consort. *Carolan's Harp*.

- 1997 Loeffke, Thomas. *Norland Wind: Harp Music From The Celtic Northwest*. Celtic Heartbeat.
- 1997 O'Farrell & Various Artists. *Maidens Of The Celtic Harp*. Sugo Records.
- 1997 Talbert, Pat. *Peacocks and Angels*. Celtic Traders Records.
- 1997 Tropical Rain Forest - Enhanced with Celtic Harp.
- 1997 Various Artists (including Dennis Doyle). *Faces Of The Harp: Celtic & Contemporary*. Narada.
- 1997 Various Artists. *Nature's Relaxing Sounds. Sailboat Journey*. Unison – Navarre.
- 1997 Williamson, Robin. *Celtic Harp Airs & Dance Tunes*. Greentrax (Sco).
- 1996 Bell, Derek. *Ancient Music For The Irish Harp*. Claddagh Records.
- 1996 Bell, Derek. *The Mystic Harp*. Clarity Sound & Light.
- 1996 Honey, Therese. *Mosaic*. Waterbug.
- 1996 Morgan, Melissa. *Erin's Harp*. Kicking Mule.
- 1995 Ball, Patrick. *Storyteller: Gwilan's Harp & Other*.
- 1995 Bowen, Robin Huw. *Harp Music Of Wales – Cerddoriaeth*. Saydisc Records.
- 1995 Butler, Margie. *Magic of Celtic Harp*. Golden Bough Music.
- 1995 Delavier, Katrien. *Irish Harps*. Playasound.
- 1995 Doyle, Dennis. *The Minstrel Boy*. Incarnation Music.
- 1995 Heymann, Ann. *Queen Of Harps*. Temple Records.
- 1995 Johnson, Lynette. *Twilight Airs - Songs for Celtic Harp*.
- 1995 Kinnaird, Alison. *The Harp Key*. Temple Records.
- 1995 *Na Clarsairean: The Harpers*. Na Clarsairean Recordings.
- 1995 Robertson, Kim. *Treasures Of The Celtic Harp*. Dargason.

- 1995 Wycherley, Ellen. *Sorchar nan Reul: the lightener of the stars*. Auldgate Records.
- 1994 Bowen, Robin Huw. *Hunting the Hedgehog: The Gypsy Harp of Wales*. Teires Records.
- 1994 Delavier, Katrien. *Irish Harp*. Playasound.
- 1994 Kinnaird, Alison. *The Scottish Harp*. Temple Records.
- 1994 Kremer, Gerard. *Irelande/Ireland: Irish Harp*. "Pub Music". Arion.
- 1993 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp-Fiona*. Celestial Harmonies.
- 1993 The Chieftains. *The Celtic Harp*. RCA Victor.
- 1993 MacKenzie, Sasha. *Songs For Celtic Harp*. Preiser Records.
- 1993 Williamson, Robin. *Legacy Of The Scottish Harpers*. Flying Fish.
- 1992 Bell, Derek. *Carolán's Receipt*. Shanachie Records.
- 1992 Heymann, Ann & Kinnaird, Alison. *The Harper's Land: Music For Irish & Scottish Harp*. Temple Records.
- 1992 O'Hara, Mary. *Mary O'Hara's Scotland*. C-5 Records.
- 1992 Stewart, Wendy. *About Time*. Greentrax Recordings.
- 1991 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp Vol. 4: O'Carolán's Dream*. Fortuna Records.
- 1991 Richards, Sue. *Grey Eyed Morn*. Maggie's Music, Inc.
- 1990 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp: The Christmas Rose*. Fortuna Records.
- 1990 Kinnaird, Alison & Primrose, Christine. *The Quiet Tradition: Music of the Scottish Harp, Songs of the Scottish Gael*. Temple Records.
- 1990 Kinnaird, Alison. *The Small Harp: A Step by Step Tutor*. Kinmore Music.
- 1990 Robertson, Kim. *Angels in Disguise*. Invincible Records.
- 1989 Bell, Derek. *Carolán's Favorite*. Shanachie Records.

- 1989 Bell, Derek. *Musical Ireland*. Shanachie Records.
- 1989 Mayer, Justin. Harp & Hammer Dulcimer.
- 1989 Mitchell, Emily. *Irish Harp Songs*.
- 1989 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp Vol. 4: O'Carolan's Dream*. Fortuna
- 1988 Sileas (Patsy Seddon and Mary MacMaster) *Beating Harps*. Green Linnet Records.
- 1988 Williamson, Robin. *Legacy Of The Scottish Harpers, Vol 2*. Flying Fish.
- 1987 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp Vol. 3: Secret Isles*. Fortuna Records.
- 1987 Sileas (Patsy Seddon and Mary MacMaster) *Delighted with Harps*. Green Linnet Records.
- 1987 Woods, Sylvia. *The Harp Of Brandiswhiere*.
- 1985 Boulding, Pam and Philip *Magical Strings: Above the Tower*. Flying Fish Records.
- 1983 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp: Vol. II, From a Distant Time*. Fortuna Records.
- 1983 Ball, Patrick. *Celtic Harp: Music of Turlough O'Carolan*. Fortuna Records.
- 1971 Stivell, Alan. *Renaissance de l'harpe celtique*. Fontana Records.

VITA

Stevan Reagan Jackson was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on April 4, 1948. He attended schools in the public system of Knoxville, Tennessee, where he graduate from Rule Junior-Senior High School in June, 1966. He entered East Tennessee State University that same month with a music scholarship. His college education was interrupted when he was drafted into the army where he ultimately served a tour of duty in South Vietnam. He finished his bachelor of science with a double major in psychology and history in May, 1975. He taught for nine years in the Johnson City Public School System and concurrently worked on his master's degree in sociology and anthropology at East Tennessee State University, finishing in May, 1984. From 1987 until 1992, he worked as a freelance musician and writer. In 1992 he began his pursuit of the doctoral degree in anthropology at the University of Tennessee. As part of his research, he did field work in Scotland and Ireland.

He has been employed at East Tennessee State University since 1992, first as adjunct faculty and then later as an instructor and the director of the Appalachian-Scottish & Irish Studies program. He helped develop, write the curriculum, and create core courses for the interdisciplinary studies master's degree at ETSU, the Master of Arts in Liberal Studies.