

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES

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Over the last two decades, or more, there has been a considerable interest in the sociological analysis of sport. While a number of Canadian, American and English sociologists and cultural critics have attempted to locate the development of various indigenous sporting forms within an analysis of their own culture, very few sociological accounts of Scottish sporting forms exist. This study deals with the development of the Scottish Highland Games. This study contends that, while an explanation of the complex ways in which this sporting form has developed provides a worthwhile area of sociological investigation, it is also capable of raising questions about Highland and Scottish dependency, development and cultural identity. An initial synthesis of some of the strengths and weaknesses within the sociological writings on sport provides the basis for developing an analysis of the Scottish Highland Games. This draws upon the concepts of dependency, culture and figurational development as providing axial principles for explaining the complex ways in which this Highland tradition has developed.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, or more, there has been a considerable interest in the sociological analysis of sport. The early ground clearing work of the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies has itself developed into a multi-paradigmatic debate between a number of establishments, epistemologies and individuals each with their own flavour to add to the proceedings. A number of authors have utilised the classical works of Marx, Weber and C Wright Mills, while others have been guided by more contemporary contributions such as those made by Raymond Williams, Norbert Elias and Antonio Gramsci. While this specific study makes reference to a number of writers who have made significant contributions to the sociological analysis of sport it highlights in particular the late nineteen seventies work of Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard (1979) and the early nineteen eighties work of Rick Gruneau (1983).

While a number of 'readers' continue to flood the academic sporting marketplace, these texts by Dunning, Sheard and Gruneau remain exceptional because of their complex blend of developmental, theoretical and empirical groundings. Purely theoretical accounts of sporting practice are as unsatisfactory as those accounts of sporting practice which exude empirical findings without any theoretical grounding. The two are inter-dependent features of sociological analysis (1). While formalistic accounts about scientific method should not stand in the way of discovery, empirical work without

(1) The general position being adopted here owes much to the work of Norbert Elias. See in particular Elias (1956; 1987).

theory facilitates only a limited access to many sociological problems. Despite the different epistemological concerns of Gruneau and Dunning and Sheard, the confluence of theory, data and historical sensitivity makes these texts important points of departure not just for those interested in the analysis of sport but for sociologists in general (2). Such concerns are central to the analysis presented in this study.

Yet with specific reference to sociology, and I suspect the same holds true for a number of other disciplines, serious analyses of Scottish sporting forms have been relatively few and far between (3). Like many other dependent social formations, Scotland in general, but the Highlands in particular, has lost a vast number of cultural critics and writers to many metropolitan centres of the world. Removed from their place of origin, for a number of reasons, few writers have contributed to the analysis of those cultural forms associated with Scotland as a dependent social formation. Alternatively, the problem might lie in convincing publishers to publish sociological accounts of Scottish sporting phenomena. Whatever the answer, the problem still remains that within the morass of recent sociological writings on

- (2) This should not be taken in a derogatory sense by many other contributors to this field of enquiry such as Hargreaves (1986), Clarke and Critcher (1985) and Horne, Jary and Tomlinson (1987). I have merely used the work of Dunning and Sheard (1979) and Gruneau (1983) as being illustrative of the points that I wish to make. Despite more recent contributions the confluence of theoretical, historical and empirical data in these texts continues to make them 'tours de force' within the sociology of sport.
- (3) The work of B. Moorhouse (1984), W. Murray (1984) and D. Whitson (1983) provide useful points of departure for serious work on Scottish sporting forms.

sport, work within a Scottish context has been limited. There are a number of valid reasons for the present study but perhaps the strongest is that, in developing a theoretically informed analysis of one particular cultural form, it makes a small contribution to the void of literature which emanates from an interest in Scottish sport situated within the wider context of Scottish history and social development.

More specifically, this study concerns itself with the development of the Scottish Highland Gatherings. As I shall argue throughout, as a focus of analysis the Scottish Highland Gatherings are capable of providing a great deal of information about various figurations, tensions and conflicts which have characterised much of Highland history and the development of the Scottish social formation. Since the focal point of this analysis is the Highland Gatherings it is worth noting more concretely the four broad inter-connected stages in the development of this Highland tradition. They are:

1. A stage which lasted from at least the eleventh century until about 1750. During this stage of development many of the cultural artefacts upon which today's Highland Gatherings are dependent existed in various antecedent forms. They contributed to a somewhat violent, materially impoverished way of life which, in part, revolved around a fusion of patriarchal-feudal forces which gave rise to the Highland clan figuration.

2. A stage which lasted from about 1740 until about 1850. At least three important processes affected the development of the Highland Gatherings during this stage; (a) a process of cultural marginalization which resulted in the relative

destruction of the original Highland way of life and the cultural artefacts which contributed to it; (b) a process of emigration which resulted in many Highland customs being transported with the emigre to North America in particular and (c) an initial stage of cultural transformation during which many Highland and Friendly Societies actually encouraged the further development of a number of Highland Gatherings.

3. A stage which lasted from about 1840 until about 1920 which resulted in the Highland Gatherings becoming inextricably linked with images of 'Balmorality', loyalty and royalty. This contributed to, not just the popularization of the Highland Gatherings, but also the popularisation of the Highlands in general as a leisure playground for the "sporting landlords".

4. A stage which lasted from about 1910 until the present day during which the Highland Gatherings and Games experienced problems of modernity. A number of multi-faceted developments such as incipient bureaucratization, rationalization, increasing professionalization and changing class relations all contributed to a dominant interpretation of the Highland Gatherings. And yet the residual images of tartanry, clans and landlords continued to be produced and reproduced within the changing nexus of Highland and Scottish development.

Implicit within this analysis of the Highland Gatherings is the belief that such a sociological study can provide insights into a number of secondary problem areas. I do not intend at this point to provide an in-depth discussion on these concerns but merely to mention the fact that, while the analysis of the Scottish Highland Gatherings

in itself provides a worthwhile area of sociological investigation, it is also capable of raising questions about Highland and Scottish dependency, development, and a cultural identity which has become relatively culturally dependent upon images of tartanry, Kailyardism and the romantic view of the emigre: three of the principal contributions to what Tom Nairn (1981: p155) has referred to as the 'kitsch symbols of cultural sub-nationalism'. Tartanry has been talked of as an invented tradition by Hugh Trevor-Roper (1983). Was this an invented tradition or alternatively a process of cultural transformation by which different meanings became associated with tartanry as a cultural artefact? The same question may be asked of the Highland Gatherings. At this point, I merely want to pose the question in order to illustrate the potential richness of a sociological enquiry which is concerned with the development of the Highland Gatherings.

In order to address these themes, I have organised my work into six chapters. Chapters one and two are essentially theoretical. Chapter one considers some strengths within the sociological writings on sport and the weaknesses of the conventional wisdom on the Scottish Highland Gatherings. This initial synthesis of material paves the way for a theoretical framework in chapter two which draws upon the concepts of dependency, culture and figural development as axial principles for analysing the development of the Scottish Highland Gatherings. In particular, it is argued that, while the dependency paradigm has a great deal of potential relevance, it has not fulfilled its potential because; (i) it has failed to create and expand upon an adequate theory of development; (ii) it has relied too heavily upon economic and class reductionist explanations; and (iii) there has been

a neglect within the dependency paradigm of a consideration of forms of cultural dependency.

Together, chapters one and two provide the background for conducting an analysis of the Scottish Highland Gatherings that emphasises the significance of figurational development and cultural dependency. Such an analysis is developed in chapters three, four, five and six. Chapter three considers the folk origins of the modern Highland Gatherings, while chapter four considers the process of cultural marginalization and subsequent transformation which emerged between 1740 and about 1850. Chapter five looks at the influence of the Sporting Landlords as a particularly powerful class fraction which affected the development of this Highland tradition, while chapter six considers the development of the modern Highland Gatherings. The latter developed within a society which, at a number of levels, was experiencing broader problems of modernity - more specifically, problems of dependency and cultural domination which resulted in part from increasing centralizing forces. In the conclusions, the major strands of this analysis are drawn together.

CHAPTER ONE

SPORT, HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE HIGHLAND GATHERINGS

When Adam Ferguson, the author of the Scottish sociological masterpiece, the Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), looked to the Britain of his lifetime what he saw was a geography of historical progress. History was a line of development along which societies made the transition through stages from a rude, backward and barbarous state to a polished and advanced civilization. Some nations made the transition to modernity more quickly than others. England in particular shone in the early eighteenth century as a beacon of political liberty and intellectual freedom across absolutist Europe. Scotland's progress was all the more striking because there was one large part of it, the Highlands, which did not improve at all. Scotland beyond the Highland line remained under-developed. The irony is that, while this world view of historical progress was put most effectively in the theoretical works of Adam Ferguson, himself a highlander, the Highlands themselves were experiencing at that time a developmental gap with all its accompanying dilemmas and ambiguities.

Adam Ferguson wrote nothing at all on the Highland Gatherings. Indeed, few sociologists have addressed Highland problems at all, let alone considered what many apparently believe to be a peripheral area of sociological enquiry, namely sport. From the beginning, the position assumed in this study is that it is not necessary to view the Highlands or Highland sporting forms as peripheral or meaningless objects of sociological enquiry. Although Marx (1962) made no reference to sport, he did make several references to the patterns of

social organization in the Highlands while developing his materialist conception of history. The work of Ferdinand Tonnies (1963) provides useful insights into the Gemeinschaft of the clan (1). Yet in order to understand the social significance of Highland sport as a focus of sociological analysis, it is necessary to situate sport within the broader context of history and social development. This does not mean that sporting forms are not of interest to the sociologist. It does mean that when placed within this wider context, forms of sport are also capable of providing a great deal of information about the patterns, arrangements, tensions, conflicts and various webs of inter-dependence inherent in any particular figuration.

This chapter is concerned with developing several points of departure for a sociological analysis of the Highland Gatherings. In the first instance, this will involve considering the work of several writers who have contributed significantly in developing a more historical sociology of sport. In the second instance, it will involve a synthesis and critique of those authors who have written about the Highland Gatherings. It would be misleading, and indeed incorrect, to suggest that the emphasis here on historical sociology provides a complete definition of the focus of sociological enquiry into sport. Yet in the context of this study, it broadly defines the framework of analysis in terms of developmental concerns.

(1) For a comment on the differences between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft as an ideal conceptualisation see Alan Inghan (1975).

Historical Sociology and Sport

The recent revival of interest in developing historical sociology, in part marked by the arrival of Philip Abrams's text Historical Sociology (1982), has clearly been influenced by theoretical controversies concerning the inadequacy of those sociological accounts that have been insensitive to historical concerns. Truly historical sociological studies have some or all of the following characteristics (Skocpol, 1984: p1). Firstly, they ask questions about social structure or processes understood to be concretely situated in time or space. Secondly, they address processes over time and take temporal sequences seriously in accounting for outcomes. Thirdly, many historical analyses attend to the interplay of meaningful actions and structured contexts, in order to make sense of unintended as well as intended outcomes in individual lives and social transformations. Finally, historical sociological studies highlight the particular and varying features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change.

Attempts to construct historical sociological models have taken a number of different forms. On the one side there has been a distinct revival of evolutionist models. One of the principal characteristics of the evolutionist school of thought is the attempt to comprehend the whole historical development of societies from their earliest to their latest or later forms but contained within this general framework are quite diverse views. If social development is thought of mainly in terms of increasing differentiation, the process is invariably regarded as being continuous, gradual and cumulative without any sharp breaks. An alternative view is to see social development as discontinuous and

consequently more concerned with distinguishing particular stages of evolution and the types of social structure which correspond with each stage. For instance, among Marxist thinkers this has led to a consideration of pre-capitalist modes of production and the corresponding social relations of production. As Bottomore (1984: p17) points out, this discontinuous conception of social development poses a number of important questions concerning the nature and causes of transition from one kind of society to another and, in particular, brings out the contrast between evolutionary and revolutionary types of social change.

Evolutionary paradigms have not been the only forms of historical sociology which have witnessed a revival. Episodic views of development have been based upon the notion that social transformations and social history in general revolve around various acts or occurrences which produce transformation. Examples would be the French revolution and the industrial revolution. Consequently, history is divided into two parts - before and after the event, or before and after the transformation. Episodic views of history have appeared most clearly in recent discussions relating to development, industrialization and modernization, most of which make use of two contrasting forms of society such as traditional/modern or underdeveloped/developed.

It is worth noting at this point that the notions of dependency and underdevelopment provide a useful point of departure for theoretically grounding an analysis of the Highland region. One of the constant themes on the area is that of community instability and, in particular, the effect which the tenurial system of land control has

had on past or present social structure. It is important to view dependency and underdevelopment not as conditions but as processes. In contrast to the static, ahistorical notion of condition, the concept of process promotes an analysis of the historically relevant developments and figurations which have given rise to a region or state becoming dependent and, in the case of the Scottish Highlands, underdeveloped. It is important to stress that dependency need not inevitably lead to underdevelopment.

Despite a number of competing approaches to historical sociology, there is one basic issue involved in earlier debates which has largely been settled by agreement, namely, the question of inevitability. Historical sociology, writes Abrams (1982: p145), seems both to have and to want the power to make statements about inevitable development. For instance, Marx and Engels clearly made the case for the inevitable growth of capitalism out of feudalism but this did not enable them to make a case for the inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism. The difficulty is easily resolved as soon as it is accepted that different types of inevitability statement exist but that only one of them can claim to be properly historical. The precise question of inevitability has perhaps been most satisfactorily resolved by Elias who makes the crucial distinction between that which is inevitable in the sense that all conditions necessary for its existence have been met and that which is inevitable in the sense that all other possibilities have been ruled out. As Elias (1982a: p160) explains:

A development may be represented schematically as a series of vectors A-B-C-D. Here the letters represent various figurations of people, each figuration flowing from the previous

one as the development takes its course from A to D. Retrospective study will often clearly show not only that the figuration at C is a necessary precondition for D, and likewise B for C and A for B, but also why this is so. Yet, looking into the future, from whatever point in the figurational flow, we are usually able to establish only that the figuration at B is one possible transformation of A, and similarly, C of B and D of C. In other words, in studying the flow of figurations there are two possible perspectives on the connection between one figuration chosen from the continuing flow and another, later, figuration. From the viewpoint of the figuration the later is - in most if not all cases - only one of several possibilities for change. From the viewpoint of the later figuration, the earlier one is usually a necessary condition for the formation of the later.

The point that is being made here is simply that it is quite within the confines of historical sociology to illustrate how, for instance, capitalist forms of development emerged out of feudalistic forms but that does not follow that feudalism inevitably has to give rise to capitalism or that industrial society need inevitably lead to post or advanced industrial society. Historical sociology can show how everything is inevitable once it has happened, but until then, it should not infer that particular subsequent transformations are inevitable. Social developments result from the interweaving of action-choices made by countless more or less powerful individuals and groups which gives them, what might appear to be paradoxically, an open yet determined character. Put in a different way, whilst this character of openness makes the future in many respects indeterminate

and unforeseeable it is, nevertheless, not indeterminable. The character of the determination of social processes makes it possible to see and to explain why past outcomes developed in a particular way later than some others.

This introductory discussion on some of the core approaches and concerns in historical sociology is not irrelevant to the analysis of sporting development. A number of different approaches to the historical sociology of sport have emerged. For instance, Allen Guttman's From Ritual to Record (1978) develops a Weberian examination of sport's transformation from its traditional to its modern forms. It is interesting to note that Guttman argues that one of the great advantages to be gained from Weberian interpretation is that it does not reduce explanation to the economic determinism which, it is argued, has characterised many Marxist interpretations of society and sport. Guttman's work has been widely reviewed by a number of critics and I do not intend to expand upon a commentary that is already somewhat lengthy (2). Suffice it is to say that, in agreement with Dunning (1981: p20), it can be argued that in some respects Guttman has developed his analysis out of a misrepresentation of Weber's work. More specifically, Guttman has failed on a number of instances to view the Weberian framework in problematic terms and as such has tended to develop several idealist tendencies in his analysis of American sport.

(2) See Susan Birrell's (1978) review of Guttman in the International Committee for Sociology of Sport Bulletin 15 (November 1978).

A number of writers who have commented upon sport and social development have also been greatly influenced by the work of C. Wright Mills. Drawing upon sociology's classical tradition, as outlined by C. Wright Mills, Gruneau argues that there has been a certain ambivalence on the part of those sociologists researching into sport to ask certain classical research questions (3). Examples of such questions might be, what is the relationship between sport and the prevailing social structure and how has sport been affected by the historical epoch in which it moves? In other words, when asking questions about the relationships which exist between sport and social structure and when asking the question how has sport developed, it is necessary to be historically specific. The general withdrawal from the classical tradition, Gruneau claims, has given rise to two central problems (Gruneau and Albison, 1976: p11). Firstly, there has been the growth of a limiting dependency upon abstract frames of analysis such as those general theories concerning the emergence of industrial or post-industrial society. Related to this is a second problem, namely that, as the sociology of sport has attempted to establish its subject matter and methods of enquiry, it has, along with sociology in general, lost the synthetic character of the work carried out in the classical period.

In developing a response to these problems, Gruneau returns to the work of C. Wright Mills. For the latter, the most important issues of political and social action were those of historical agency and the

(3) For an extended discussion on this point see Rick Gruneau and John Albison (eds) (1976) pp.9-12.

institutional means of structural change. The problem of social change, Mills suggested, was not a speculative problem but an intensely practical one which raised questions about the relationship between the individual and history, about the unity of thought and action, and about theory and practice (4). The discourse raises questions about the difference or lack of difference an individual's life makes, and questions human choice as being practical or mediative, active or passive, whole or fragmented. Mills did not provide many answers to these questions but he did leave a classical framework of analysis which emphasises the importance of history, structure and agency, personal troubles and public issues, and the individual's understanding or his/her own experience and his/her location within an historical period.

While a reaffirmation of this classical tradition is a central tenet of Gruneau's work, so, too, is the structure and agency dichotomy. At risk of considerable simplification, Gruneau (1983: p19) explains that two related problems seem to have defined much of the core of sociological theory. The first problem is that of human agency. Its expression can be found in the attempt to reconcile the tensions between voluntarism and determinism, freedom and constraint, and subject and object in social life in history. Stated more simply, the problem of agency involves an attempt to understand the degree to which human agents, whether individually or collectively, are constrained to think and act in the ways they do (5). The second problem which Gruneau addresses is the problem of class inequality and

(4) For a useful critique of C. Wright Mills refer to F. Perlman (1970).

(5) This structure and agency debate is elaborated upon by Perry Anderson (1980) pp. 23-58.

structural change. At the heart of this matter lies an attempt to identify and explain the rise and fall of different socioeconomic structures and corresponding cultural formations.

Having laid out his ground rules and strategy, Gruneau (1983: p94) proceeds to offer a case study of Canadian sport located within the development of Canada as a social formation. The analysis is explained through a careful presentation of four critical phases in Canadian sporting development. These include: (i) an initial phase of structuring during which imported and indigenous game-contests and popular recreations became increasingly subject to the limits and pressures imposed by public and private organisations; (ii) a phase in which bourgeois definitions of sport were consolidated and struggled over; (iii) a phase in which sport and popular recreational forms became formally integrated into the market place and subsequently subject to processes of commodification and cartelization; and (iv) a phase during which the Canadian state extended its influence into the field of sporting practice. An appealing feature of this analysis of Canadian sporting development is that the narrative avoids the temptation to describe a later historical phase as inevitably following on from a previous historical moment or phase.

While the structuring of the problematic in the present study lays a greater emphasis on the notion of figurational development, there is much that the task at hand can learn from Gruneau's sophisticated analysis. Firstly, the work is in many ways exceptional within the sociology of sport in the sense that it provides an explanatory, empirically, theoretically grounded analysis as opposed to a

descriptive, empiricist, atheoretical account of sport; secondly, the study locates the analysis of sport within the historical development of Canada as a dependent social formation; and thirdly, there is an attempt, through invoking sociology's classical tradition, to cut across various abstract bodies of knowledge and to contribute to the reorganisation and perception of thought on the part of all those interested in the sociological analysis of sport. In the sense that Elias's work also attempts to cut across abstract bodies of knowledge, there is a common theme in the work of Gruneau and Elias.

While there is much to recommend both the work of Guttmann and Gruneau at a concrete level, the evidence provided primarily relates to American and Canadian sporting patterns and traditions, and, therefore, cannot be easily generalised to the British context. Before the publication of Eric Dunning's textbook, The Sociology of Sport (1970), and Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard's book, Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players (1979), there could not be said to be a British sociology of sport. In fact, although various other studies have been forthcoming, a strong data base evolving out of British sociological studies of sport has still to be developed. This is perhaps one of the most concrete reasons for carrying out the present study. Sociological studies on Scottish sport are few and far between.

One school of thought which has recently influenced a number of British writers commenting on sport, has been that of Marxist cultural analysis. In seeking to develop answers to unanswered questions and alternative codes for understanding the past and present, the concepts of ideology and hegemony have gained a lot of credence in Marxist

cultural analysis. For instance, the concepts have been used to explain why the revolution predicted by Marx in the advanced industrial capitals of the world has not materialised. It is argued that capitalism has persisted and resolved its internal contradictions owing to the subtle control over civil society by the bourgeois class who have established an ideological hegemony over society. Marxist cultural analyses have been undertaken for the following three reasons: (1) to determine if cultural production is related to the maintenance of a class based society; (2) to identify the dynamic of this relation; and (3) to generate strategies aimed at the amelioration of existing class relations.

In sport, several writers have made valuable contributions to the sport and hegemony debate (6). I shall limit myself here to a brief critique of the contribution made by one of these writers, namely John Hargreaves. In "Sport, Culture and Ideology" (1982a: pp30-61) Hargreaves provides summary and synthesis of the various paradigms which have characterised the sociological tradition of sporting analysis in Britain. What the author attempts to do is to provide a critique of the various paradigms, such as functionalism, interactionism, and structural Marxism before providing an alternative paradigm namely, hegemony theory and sport. I do not at this point wish to debate what constitute the major differences between 'Marxism proper' and what many have referred to as 'vulgar Marxism' but to point out that, in his endeavour to provide an alternative paradigm,

(6) See for example Rick Gruneau (1979) Vol. 2.

Hargreaves attempts to restore a version of Marx as the most defensible level of analysis. More specifically, it is the praxis-centred language of the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, the Theses on Feuerbach and the much quoted work of Raymond Williams which provide the *modus operandum* for Hargreaves' alternative paradigm (7).

It is argued elsewhere, by Hargreaves (1982b), that the sport-hegemony relationship cannot be understood simply as a means of maintaining or reproducing the dominant pattern of social relations. Nor can it be seen simply to reflect and be determined by the mode of production. Sport, Hargreaves (1982b: p104) contends, cannot be dissociated from the context of class relations and specific hegemonic patterns. In order to understand how sport forms part of the totality, the relevant processes must be analysed in dialectical terms and seen as characterised by conflict and consent, coercion and struggle, the outcome of which must always be seen as problematic. Finally, Hargreaves contends that, if the role that sport plays in hegemony is to be properly understood, then the relevant processes have to be elucidated in their concrete detail.

Almost all of Hargreaves' arguments are powerful, penetrating and greatly overstated. He writes from the stance of the careful and thorough Marxist scholar rather than from the polemical tradition of revolutionary neo-marxism. Accordingly, his prime purpose is to demystify, strip bare and amplify the processes of domination in

(7) This specifically refers to the discussion on hegemony in Williams (1977: pp.108-114).

society and in particular, to use Hargreaves' (1982b: p104) own words, "the impingement of class relationships and of economic processes on cultural life". Indeed Hargreaves has gone to some length to show how a Marxist analysis of sport might proceed. Nonetheless, there are several points that are analytically troublesome.

Firstly, the assertion that the work of Dunning might be referred to as 'functionalist' stems, I believe, from a misrepresentation if not a misunderstanding on the part of Hargreaves concerning not only the work of Dunning but also of his teacher and colleague Elias. The charge of functionalism is an attack which figurational sociologists have gone to some lengths to denounce (8). Rejecting functionalism, they say, is not the same as rejecting the concept of function. Thus figurational sociologists would attempt to examine sport in terms of the specific functions that sport performs for specific individuals in specific figurations (Rojek, p185: p162). Functionalism, on the other hand, would attempt to explain sporting functions in terms of the needs or functions that sport fulfils in the maintenance and reproduction of the social system and the individual. The crucial point being that figurational sociologists reject conventional dichotomies such as the individual and society, structure and agency, and freedom and constraint in favour of the synthesizing concept of figuration.

Secondly, the use of the term hegemony, I would argue, needs to be addressed in a more thorough fashion. Writers such as Hargreaves might

(8) For lengthy discussion rejecting this functionalist charge see Norbert Elias (1978b) pp.266-269 and pp.246-247.

be said to suffer from 'Hegemania' in that the concept is used to explain everything. Following on from Williams, (1977: p110), Hargreaves accepts the working definition of hegemony as a whole body of practices and expectations over the whole of living. That is to say, hegemony is a lived out system of meanings and values both constitutive and constituting. This is not to suggest that this definition is unsatisfactory but rather that there is a danger of not adequately addressing, not just the notion of "egemonia" but also the notion of counter-hegemonic strategy as it was originally used by Antonio Gramsci (1971: pp1-20). Egemonia, to Gramsci, referred to the process by which a class or class fractions made concessions and alliances with other groups thus enabling them to adopt a leadership role and assert themselves as the embodiment of national interest. What was equally important to Gramsci, was the development of a counter hegemonic strategy which would challenge and transform society. This counter-hegemonic strategy, for Gramsci, was rooted not only in the political and economic spheres of social life but also in the cultural spheres. Gramsci's theory placed a particular emphasis on the role of 'organic intellectuals' whose precise task as he saw it was to develop counter-hegemonic struggles by virtue of their critical understanding. Yet, to return to Hargreaves, it is precisely this aspect of counter-hegemonic struggle, so crucial in Gramsci's work which is missing in the analysis presented by Hargreaves. Indeed the way in which sport might contribute to the "war of position" is a question that is not adequately addressed in many Marxist cultural scenarios on sport.

Thirdly, while I agree with Hargreaves that, in order to understand the role that sport plays in hegemony, the relevant

processes have to be grounded in concrete detail. It is precisely this concrete detail which is missing from his earlier work. I certainly do not wish to support empiricism. Nor, indeed, do I wish to argue for a withdrawal from epistemology. However, a retreat into epistemology must not be used as a means of sidestepping the necessity for empirically grounded and theoretically guided observations. Eventually, we need to ask a number of empirical questions. It should be stressed that this point does not apply to Hargreaves's later work (9).

Finally, a more general comment is in order about one of the key premises upon which much of the dialogue within Western Marxism rests. The spatial metaphor of base/superstructure has been a seminal departure point for this type of work on sport. It has even been argued that the entire dialogue of Western Marxism has been predicated on the adoption of this model (Anderson, 1979). The rationale for this was supplied by Marx (1976: p3) in his famous dialogue on base and superstructure. As such it is worth quoting at length:

In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development in their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and

(9) This specifically refers to Hargreaves (1986).

political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual, life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness.

This statement is widely held to have had a major influence on the development of Western Marxism. While I agree with Williams (1977) that a Marxism without a notion of determination is not a Marxism, there are some serious problems with the notion that the economic base of a society determines the cultural forms which that society generates. If carried to the extreme, this approach leads to the conclusion that cultural production and, indeed, the entire process of giving meaning to one's existence, can be reduced to the reflection of an objectively determined economic category. For instance, Rojek (1985: p127) in his recent discussion on leisure lucidly points out that there is a false conceptual dichotomy here and that it is far too simplistic and in many cases incorrect to reduce all superstructural relations to the economic base alone. Rojek goes on to argue that it is difficult to see how the annual village cricket match or the urban community carnival can be seriously defined as resulting from the economic requirements of capitalism.

An alternative school of thought is expressed through the work of Dunning and Sheard (1979). Here, the interpretation lies not so much within a framework of political economy as within a framework of what is called 'figurational development'. This does not imply that the

questions which political economists or Marxist cultural analysis might ask are not central to the concerns of figurational developmental analysis. However, the term figuration is a more inclusive term which subsumes what Marxists call political economy but it also eschews their reductive tendency to see economic determination as the sole, or universally the most important, source of structure and change. For instance, the development of modern football, it is argued, has been greatly influenced by various figurations such as the public school, the British class structure and the conflict and tension inherent in the amateur and professional responses to the democratization of the game. The process of development is continually emphasised through the frequent use of such process-terms as industrialization, monetization and democratization.

The use of so many terms ending in the suffix "ization" is worth briefly commenting upon. The frequent use of such terms, argue Dunning and Sheard (1979: pIX), implies that some sort of process is involved, or that something is changing over time. Thus when the term civilization is used it refers to the process whereby a society or group have grown more civilized over time. Similarly, when the term democratization is used the authors are referring to a process in which a society has become more democratic over time, a process in which the balance of power within and/or among groups has become less unequal.

Central to the approach adopted by Dunning and Sheard is the notion of figurational development. It is worth noting that it is the same notion of figurational development which is used in the present study of the Highland Games. This approach takes its lead from the

work of Norbert Elias. A figuration, Elias (1978b: p261) explains, is a "structure of mutually orientated and dependent people". At the heart of this approach is a radical attempt to re-orientate sociological theory and practice. For instance, figuration sociology strikes at the heart of many of those false dichotomies and dualisms which pervade sociological theory. Some examples of these might include quantitative and qualitative methods, sociology and psychology, sociology and history, structure and agency, induction and deduction, material and ideal, and individual and society to name but a few (Dunning, 1981). The traditional tendency towards the polarization and reification of categories is rejected by Elias in favour of a process orientated concept of figuration.

The term figuration refers to the structures or patterns formed by interdependent human beings. Implicit in this approach is the idea that all human societies are structured and that they change over time. It is not necessary at this point to provide a lengthy outline of this particular approach since reference will be made to such terms throughout the study. With particular reference to the work of Dunning and Sheard (1979: p8), however, it is argued that this sociogenetic or figuration sociology eschews:

the search for prime movers and factors and seeks instead, to attribute social processes to structural determination. Special attention is paid in this connection to the genesis within the developing social system of pressures and constraints which lead groups reciprocally to modify their behaviour. The structurally generated balance of power between groups is held to be of critical importance in this regard.

Having briefly explained some of the key points of orientation behind the Eliasian approach adopted by Dunning and Sheard, let me return to the analysis of modern football presented in Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players (1979). The developmental process is explained through a careful analysis of five overlapping stages. These stages include: (i) a stage which lasted from at least the fourteenth century into the twentieth century during which time football was the name given to a whole class of folk games; (ii) a stage which lasted from about 1750 to about 1840 when the folk antecedents of modern football were taken up by the boys in the public schools. During this phase rugby began to emerge as a distinctive game; (iii) a stage of rapid transition which lasted from about 1830 to about 1860 when not only did rugby in the public schools take on a more stringent regulated form but also soccer began to emerge as a distinctive game; (iv) a stage which lasted from about 1850 to about 1900 when not only did rugby split into the amateur game of 'Rugby Union' and the professional game of 'Rugby League' but also the Rugby Union and the Football Association emerged in order to organise the two new forms of football on a national level; and (v) a stage which lasted from 1900 till the present day when both Rugby League and Rugby Union became formalized with the concepts of career and professional being increasingly adopted in the case of Rugby League while various forms of pressure forced Rugby Union to adopt several professional characteristics while still remaining ostensibly amateur in others.

Although the texts differ in certain problematic respects, there are a number of similarities between the work of Gruneau in Class, Sports and Social Development (1983) and the work of Dunning and Sheard

in Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players (1979). Both texts provide serious historical-sociological accounts of sport as opposed to descriptive, atheoretical types of analysis. Both texts are sensitive to questions about social patterns and social arrangements. For Gruneau, this is expressed through the idea of different social and cultural formations while for Dunning and Sheard it is expressed through the concepts of figural development and various webs of interdependence. The problems in both texts are approached from historical or developmental positions. In both cases, the historical is complemented by a penetrating sociological analysis. As will hopefully be seen, the notions of dependency and figural development, in particular, provide a useful theoretical framework for explaining the development of the Highland Gatherings.

It is to a consideration of the latter that I now wish to turn. In many ways it is the strengths of the works alluded to above which are the weaknesses of the literature to date that has described the history of the Scottish Highland Gatherings. It is not that existing work is irrelevant but it has to be engaged in the act of synthesis of thought. Furthermore, earlier studies provide a great deal of empirical data which need not be dismissed because of various implicit or explicit epistemological concerns which have guided the arrangement of data. While the first part of this chapter has largely been concerned with various abstract concerns, the second part is of a more descriptive nature. The major works considered here are reviewed in chronological order by date of the original publication.

Iain Colquhoun and Hugh Machell: Highland Gatherings

Published in 1927, Highland Gatherings provides a vast amount of invaluable empirical data on three of the earliest and most prominent Highland Gatherings, namely the Braemar Royal Highland Gatherings, the Luss Gathering and the Northern Meeting. The main empirical base for the research draws upon the minutes and records of selected Highland Society meetings up until 1922. The research also makes use of various local newspapers such as the Aberdeen Herald and the Inverness Courier, the actual published programmes of the respective Gatherings and the private papers and memoirs of the two authors. The available evidence is used to establish the origins of the respective Highland Gatherings and traces their development up until 1926. In some instances, however, the authors, I believe, have attempted to hypothesise beyond the scope of the evidence provided.

The purpose of the Highland Gatherings, we are told, is for the laird and clansman, crofter and shepherd to meet on equal terms and keep alive the best sporting traditions of their "races" (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p9). The past, whether it be real or invented, refers to a number of specific practices such as dancing traditional reels, tossing the caber, throwing the hammer and the traditional grand march by Highland pipers. Despite the hierarchy of occupations ranging from woodsman and farm labourer to skilled artisan and local landlord, the Highland Gatherings are regarded by these authors as a graphic symbol of a meritocracy in which it is taken for granted that all compete under equal conditions with the available rewards accruing to most highly skilled.

There are three chapters in the book devoted to the origin and history of the three particular Highland Gatherings up until 1926. Firstly, the Braemar Royal Highland Society Gathering which claims to be descended from a Gathering organised by Malcolm Canmore (1058-93) dating back to the eleventh century. Secondly, the Luss Gathering which, we are told, was first held in 1875 and owes its inception to the voluntary action of the landed gentry and many local farmers, all of whom belonged to the Luss Company of Dumbartonshire volunteers. Finally, there is a well documented account of the Northern meeting which was inaugurated on the 11th of June 1788. Before developing several points of departure, let me begin by briefly describing the narrative presented with regard to these Highland Gatherings.

In Italy and Greece, from ancient times up until the present day, historians have managed to uncover and preserve many authentic records and stories of Roman and Greek culture. Yet in the case of Scottish sporting culture, the authentic information available at present is only fragmentary. Most of the authentic information in the form of records of meetings, newspaper accounts and various local histories only spans about two hundred years. Certainly with regard to the Northern Meeting, the minutes of the meeting clearly indicate that its point of origin dates precisely from the 11th June 1788 (N/M, Minutes: 11.6.1788). The richness of this source of information is unquestionable. Consider some of the following resolutions that were passed at this inaugural convention:

1. That an Annual Meeting of
Gentlemen, Ladies, and their
Families, shall hold in this
place for the Space of One

Week, to commence on the last Monday of October First, and thereafter on the last Monday of October Yearly, and that for the Purpose of Promoting a social intercourse.

2. That the meeting shall be named the NORTHERN MEETING.
3. That every Gentlemen or Lady, being the Head of a Family, who is or shall become a Constituent Member of this Meeting, shall pay to the Secretary, the sum of ONE GUINEA Yearly, for the public Purposes of the Meeting; and that all such Members as shall absent themselves shall pay double the sum (excepting officers below the Rank of Field-Officers, who may be necessarily absent on duty).
4. That this meeting do name the Stewards and Secretary for the Year, and do accordingly nominate and appoint. A Penrose Cumming of Altyre; James Fraser of Culduthel; Edward Fraser of Relickm and Donald Macleod of Greanies, Esqs, to be Stewards for the first Meeting; and Doctor John Alves Physician here to be secretary.
5. That the whole Business of the Meeting shall be conducted by the Stewards and Secretary, conformable to the General Regulations now laid down. That they shall alternately act as Toast-master and Croupier at the Entertainments, and as master of ceremonies at the Ball Room; and that the whole Gentlemen and Ladies of the Meeting, shall support the Authority of the Stewards.
6. That the whole Company, Ladies and Gentlemen, do Dine together, and that it is to be understood as a Regulation,

that they do all come to the table dressed for the Ball in the Evening.

7. That the Dinner be on the Table each Day precisely at Four o'clock. That the Ladies having retired, the Bill shall be called for by the Two Stewards, who do not act as Toast-master and Croupier for the day, at Half past six o'clock, and be proportioned by then, and collected by the Secretary, as soon as it can be proportioned.
8. That immediately after the Bill is settled and paid, the Gentlemen do adjourn to the Ball Room.
9. That the dancing do commence each Night precisely by Eight o'clock and stop precisely by Twelve.
10. That the next meeting shall commence on Monday, the Twenty-Seventh of October, and continue to have an Entertainment and a Ball on that day, the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday following; and that on the forenoon of Saturday, the Gentlemen of the Meeting, shall assemble at Beverly's receive the Secretaries Accounts, chuse new Stewards and Secretary, appoint the following Years Meeting, determine any Petition for Admission of New Members, and do any other Business that may respect the meeting.

It was precisely this type of careful documentation that was commented upon by Elias (1983: p5) when considering the work of the historian L.Von Ranke. In agreement with Ranke, Elias insisted upon the

careful documentation of original evidence. The documents, the original sources of information are in many cases the very substance of history. Without this meticulous documentation of reliable historical sources, there is a very real danger of subjective interpretation and misrepresentation of subject matter. The historian runs the danger of selecting from the event of the past in the light of what he or she approves or disapproves in the present. Not that meticulous documentation on its own is sufficient. It needs to be guided, informed and orientated towards a body of reliable theory.

The same kind of careful documentation characterises much of Colquhoun and Machell's discussion on the history of the Braemar Royal Highland Society Gathering from the early nineteenth century until the early twentieth century. It is interesting that the Braemar Royal Highland Society takes as its point of origin a meeting of the Braemar Wrights Society in January 1816 (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927). The early membership of this society consisted primarily of skilled manual workers, mostly carpenters, who developed it as a form of collective social insurance in the absence of any welfare state. This early form of trade union or friendly society carried kinship and friendship a practical step further by organising social relief in times of hardship for the sick, the elderly, widows and orphans amongst its membership.

By 1826 the Society had been transformed into the Braemar Highland Society. By that time, too, the social composition of this particular figuration had also changed. The quarterly meetings were now presided over by the local laird. By 1826, although the distribution of 'kind' remained one of the primary functions of the Society, its other tasks had come to include the preservation of the kilt, together with the

language and cultural interests of the Highlands (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p85). A paradoxical situation had in other words emerged where many of those who were initially responsible for the destruction of the distinct Highland way of life after the 1745 rebellion, were the very people who became primarily responsible for the preservation of many of the cultural artefacts and customs of a previous social order.

By 1831, the Vice Presidents of the Society included Lord Elcho, Sir David Kinlock, Sir Thomas Lauder and Sir William Cumming, all titled landowners belonging to a particular social class and bonded together by a number of marks of similarity including social rank and ownership of property, amongst others. By 1832, the first athletic contests took place on the last Thursday of August with £5 prize money going to each winner of the five major contests which included putting the stone, throwing the hammer, tossing the caber, running, and length of military service (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p86). That same year, another landowner, the Marquis of Caermarthen, presented each of his gamekeepers with a complete Highland costume of his own Dunblane tartan (Viscount Dundee being one of his subsidiary titles) (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p85). Other Society members followed suit, with the Earl of Fife and Farquharson of Invercauld presenting each of their estate members with a costume of their respective clan tartans, namely Duff and Farquharson (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p85). The trend was repeated in later years by Queen Victoria who presented Royal Stuart tartans to many of her retainers at Balmoral.

Between 1847 and 1900, the popularization of the Highland Gatherings was in no small way due to the patronage bestowed on the

Braemar Highland Society by Queen Victoria. By 1866, the Society had become known as the Braemar Royal Highland Society. As the reigning monarch Queen Victoria invited the Society to hold a number of gatherings on her estate at Balmoral. During her reign, Highland Gatherings were held at Balmoral among other years in 1859, 1887, 1890, 1898, and 1899 (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p64). Indeed, Colquhoun and Machell (1927: p65) note that, in 1899, the Queen provided luncheon and dinner for all the Fife, Invercauld, Lonach and the Queen's own Balmoral Highlanders. The authors also note that due to the fact that the running race to the top of Craig Choinnich was seen to "seriously affect the constitution of the competitors", the Queen herself intervened in 1842 to stop the run, lest there be loss of life (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p70).

Despite this careful documentation of evidence from the early nineteenth century onwards, in an attempt to enhance the origin of this Highland tradition the authors argue that the origin of the Highland Gatherings, in general and of the Braemar Gathering in particular, can be traced back to at least the eleventh century. Legend, they say, has it that King Malcolm Ceann-Mor (1058-93) called the clans to the Braes of Mar to select by competition the fastest athletes amongst the clansfolk in order that they might act as postal runners to carry messages for the King throughout the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. With this in mind, it is argued that the King organised a hill race to the summit of Craig Choinnich overlooking Braemar. A somewhat lengthy account of this race is provided by Colquhoun and Machell (1927: p60):

The race became more and more exciting. Some of the hindermost had even given up; but all those who were not despairingly far behind put forth thew and sinew, and pressed close after each other ready to take advantage of every accident. The two M'Gregors had indeed left the others considerably behind ... young M'Gregor sprang forward with unabated energy, passing the other one after another ... Now they came in sight of their goal - now the judges encouraged them by their cheers - now they seem renewed again in vigour. The youngest put his whole soul forth; the oldest summoned up all the strength of his tougher frame. Terribly pressed he was yet determined to gain and stretched out his arm to impede the motion of his rival, but felt nothing. They had only four yards to go. He looked to the side expecting to see him on the ground. At that moment the tartans grazed the skin on his knee. His brother had leaped forward below his outstretched arm. Furious he bounded on and fell, his hand clutching with iron grasp the kilt of his rival. He was two yards from the flag and his strength exhausted. He could not drag the other's prostrate body one step, and now he saw the hindermost fast approaching. Quick as thought, loosening the belt of his kilt he resigned it to the other. He reached the signal with three feeble springs, seized the staff and threw it in the air. The youngest had reached the top in three minutes. Thus the origin of the Braemar Games attached itself to the days of Malcolm of the big head.

One of the major problems that any researcher faces when trying to pinpoint the exact origin of events such as the Highland Gatherings is the fragmentary nature of the evidence. Highland tradition itself helps to explain this occurrence since so many of the legends, customs, and traditions of the Highland communities tended to be passed on from

generation to generation by word of mouth rather than being written down. The historian, Isobel Grant (1939: p479), develops this point when she comments upon one of the key problems which have pervaded many of the early accounts of Highland history. On a number of occasions, remarks Grant, the narratives of the Scots chroniclers from the eleventh century onwards have been misguided by the desire to enhance the origins of the country's Highland institutions and customs in comparison with those of England by tracing them back to an earlier period. The comment made by Grant raises questions about involvement and detachment in the research process.

The concept of detachment occupies a central place in Elias's discussions concerning the nature of scientific enquiry (Elias, 1956; 1987). He describes it on a number of occasions as standing back from reflected objects of thought, self distancing and stepping back from something in order to look again. Existing modes of scientific enquiry, especially in the social sciences, have often been perverted by the various overtly ideological or political stances that various scientific establishments or schools of thought have adopted. The sociologist as a 'destroyer of myths' is well equipped, argues Elias, to replace such involved practices by less overtly ideological, more scientific knowledge about human relationships (Elias, 1978a: pp50-70). The task of the sociologist as a relatively detached researcher or practitioner of a relatively autonomous science is to add to human knowledge by providing alternative forms of understanding which not only contribute to a reorganization of perception and thought but cut through increasingly abstract bodies of knowledge. Keeping in mind what was said earlier concerning the use of the original documents as

the real subject matter of history the point that, I feel, needs to be made is that there is no original eleventh century document to verify the incident on Braemar.

This is not to say that the event on Craig Choinnich either did or did not take place but merely that there is not enough empirical evidence to argue categorically that this was the point of origin of the first gathering. It certainly could not have been a Highland Gathering of the clans since the word Highlander did not emerge until the fourteenth century (Brown, 1843: pp11-12). Nor can it be said that this particular event served the same function as the eighteenth century Highland Society Gatherings in terms of the distribution of kind or the provision of a social event on the calendar of the landed gentry and local aristocracy. It would be far more accurate to argue that there is a possibility that the modern Highland Gatherings might be descended from a number of particular antecedent cultural and sporting events some of which may date back to at least the eleventh century.

Finally, anyone who reads Colquhoun and Machell's account of the various Highland Gatherings is left in no doubt about the influence of a particular social class in shaping the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century gatherings. A certain relationship between the local landed gentry and various Highland Society Gatherings has already been mentioned. A further flavour of the proceedings can be acquired from the following extracts from Colquhoun and Machell (1927: pp26-29):

1. It must be remembered that athletes and sportsmen are two different characters. They are frequently combined in one

person; indeed it is difficult to find a true athlete who is not a sportsman in the accepted terms of those who have acquired the cachet of a public school or the imprimatur of a leading university.

2. Let us return from all of this to the quiet seclusion of some Scottish glen, where a few days before the great meetings a handful of hard-working farm hands are practising the caber or shot. Do you think the bookmakers are dreamt of in their philosophy? Could anything be more incongruous with its surroundings than a deafening din of 3 to 1 Starkey or evens Maitland while these honest Highlanders were tossing the caber before royalty in the arena at Braemar?.
3. Twenty thousand crowd at Braemar now annually raises its unanimous voice to welcome our good King George V ... Let us hope that never, even in another two hundred years, will it be necessary for the loyal subjects of our sovereign to raise the standard.

This initial discussion of the Highland Gatherings has raised certain questions about the importance of the empirical base upon which theoretical assumptions rest. The strength of Colquhoun and Machell's work lies in their empirical grounding of the subject matter from the eighteenth century onwards. I have argued, though, that, owing to the lack of concrete evidence regarding the past Highland oral traditions and a lack of detachment from the subject matter it is impossible to establish the validity of the claim that the Highland Gatherings existed as early as or before the eleventh century. I shall develop this position further through considering the work of David Webster.

David Webster: Scottish Highland Games

David Webster's interest in the Scottish Highland Games seems to have grown out of a degree of personal involvement with the Highland Games circuit. This intimate knowledge of the Highland Games led to the publication of Scottish Highland Games in 1959 but subsequently revised, extended and published as a second edition in 1973. In the introduction, the reader is led to believe that the promise of the book lies in the research compiled from authentic records which have enabled the author to describe the development of the Highland Gatherings and their effect on the social and cultural patterns of Scotland.

Yet despite a certain sensitivity to historical concerns within the text, like Colquhoun and Machell the author tends to push the historical narrative beyond a point at which there is original documentary evidence to substantiate his various claims. For instance, on the point of origin, Webster makes reference to an event at Bailemuirn which allegedly took place during the eighth century, Pictish period of control in ancient Caledonia. More particularly Webster (1973: p9) he argues that:

A very definite resemblance to present-day ceremonies can be seen, but instead of having a chieftain and guest of honour as we sometimes have today, they had druids to bless the games and be honoured guests while the King or chieftain actually took charge of the proceedings, signalling the start of the races and so on ... A march past of the procession has always been an integral part of the gatherings and even on these early occasions they were greatly appreciated. The druids arrived in processions and on

reaching the gates of Rth, or enclosure, the officer or guard would beat on the boss of his shield and a salute would be blown. After the King had received his guests and the crowd has assembled, huge jars of drink would be set out for the spectators.

While it would enhance the heritage of the Highland Gatherings to be able to trace them back to this historical epoch, a number of points prevent us from being absolutely certain about this point of origin. The first point is that no other research on the Highland Gatherings has been able to verify that the Bailemuirn event ever took place. A second reason for rejecting Bailemuirn rests with the druidical cultural practice of versification. The Picts strictly adhered to the druidical religious order, which strictly forbade the use of writing as a means of passing on folklore and customs from generation to generation. Instead, the druids practised the cultivation of memory as a means of retaining knowledge and maintaining a secrecy about their way of life (Skene, 1837). The traditions and customs were passed on by oral means which, in part, might help to explain many of the silences alluded to earlier.

Like Colquhoun and Machell, it is possible that Webster's attempt to extend the origins of the Highland Gatherings beyond the point at which there is satisfactory documentation might be due to a lack of detachment and a considerable degree of involvement on the part of the researcher. An emotional or sentimental attachment to the subject matter has led to a distortion of data and consequently the project, in a pragmatic sense, has not got to the heart of the matter. To be detached from the subject matter is, of course, no easy task. The

distinction between such a detachment and ideological involvement, argues Elias (1978a: p154), is beyond the grasp of many people either in thought or action. Indeed, the problems of involvement and detachment are formidable ones. Figurational sociologists themselves have not solved the problem, but in arguing for a greater relative autonomy of the subject matter and by using comparative and developmental methods of analysis they can justifiably, in some instances, claim to have achieved a high degree of detachment in their work.

In the first chapter, entitled "The Development of the Scottish Highland Games", Webster traces the development of the Games from what he takes to be their point of origin through to the first half of the twentieth century (Webster, 1973: pp9-13). This entire historical epoch spanning over eleven hundred years is covered in five pages of narrative. Despite this superficial explanation, the author does, in places, attempt to make tentative links with various dominant moments in Scottish history. For instance, commenting upon the defeat of the Jacobite Army at the battle of Culloden in 1746, Webster (1973: p10) notes:

Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Highland hosts watched their men compete in athletics while passing time between skirmishes, but the battle of Culloden in 1746, brought a drastic end to the aspirations of the prince and the '45 rebellion. Repression followed, and in the Act of Proscription, a ban was placed on the carrying of arms, the wearing of the kilt, the playing of the bagpipes and the gathering together of persons. Offenders were either deported or embarked for the colonies voluntarily. By one Act of Parliament, many of the cultural

traditions of the country were severed.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Webster (1973: p11) goes on, it became clear that a determined attempt was needed if traditional aspects of Highland culture were to be retained. To this end various Highland Societies began to play their part. The first Society Gathering took place, not in the Highlands but at Falkirk in 1781. In 1819, the St Fillans Society promoted a full scale games with piping, dancing and athletics. The first Crieff Games took place on the 18th of August 1870, the same year as the first Comrie Games were established. Records of these early Society Games, notes Webster (1973: p11), make it clear that the prime function was to arrange social gatherings for the local nobility or gentry. In this sense, these Highland Society Gatherings were no different from the 1788 Northern Meeting mentioned earlier.

It is one of the strengths of Scottish Highland Games (1973) that in this first chapter, Webster does not lose sight of dominant moments in history which have, in part, helped to shape or transform this Highland tradition. It is important, though, not to lose sight of the fact that such dominant moments in history were in fact comprised of groups or figurations of people. A failure both to personify and to conceptualise the very complex way in which both the Scottish social formation and the Highland Gatherings have developed has led Webster to a very simplistic, empirical, atheoretical, descriptive type of analysis.

This is not to say that there is no place in sociological research for empirical studies. In all cases, these are indispensable but the point of issue, according to Elias (1956), rests with the theoretical hypothesis upon which such empirical studies are undertaken. Empirical research without theory often facilitates only limited access to the problems of 'deep' structures, changing figurations of people and many other sociological problems. The theoretical framework of figural sociology goes beyond simple description in an attempt fully to comprehend the social significance of the phenomena being studied.

For instance, a greater sensitivity in Webster's work to such notions as power and social development would have provided a fuller explanation of the significance of Culloden in the development of the Highland social formation. It could be argued that the significance of Culloden was not that it was a catastrophic defeat for the Jacobite army. What distinguishes Culloden from previous Jacobite defeats was that it preceded a massive assault on the social and political institutions of clanship. The abolition of the chiefs' judicial powers over their clans was a major factor in the destruction of an old way of life (Hunter, 1976). These developments were accompanied by a determined attempt to modernise the Highland economy and integrate the region and its people into a civilization from which they had hitherto kept aloof. The demise of an old figuration gave rise to a new figuration in which landlords were losing the characteristics of chieftains or lairds on easy going terms with tenants and who were driven, in part, by economic circumstances which placed a much greater emphasis on economic bonds than on the traditional bonding of kinship.

Whether we are concerned with the social history of the ancient Picts, kinship networks such as clans, or individual chiefs and landlords, the fact remains that we are dealing with figurations of people who are connected together in a very complex web of interdependence. For a long period in the social formation of Highland society, people were connected over and over again by the figuration chief - chieftain - tacksman - clansman. At yet another level the Grants, Mackenzies, Mackays and Macdonalds and many other clans formed particular webs of interdependence both among themselves and with each other which not only contributed to the social and political institutions of clanship but also to a particular local form of more general bonding to the royal house of Stuart. Such figurations are just as real as the individual people forming them. Yet, as Elias (1983: p14) indicates, what many people find difficult to grasp is the fact that these figurations formed by people can have a slower rate of transformation than the individual people who comprise them.

The old social order of the clan was not a phenomenon that existed outside of the individuals forming it. Individuals, whether it be chief or chieftain, tacksman or tenant, crofter or cotter did not exist independently or outside of the social structure which they formed together. The term figuration, as it is used in this study, helps to express this position. The term is holistic in the sense that, at any particular time, it may refer to individual people forming figurations or at the same time to figurations of interdependent people who make up a whole society or who transcend various historical epochs or various national boundaries. It refers to all forms and levels of interdependency between human beings. As already mentioned one of the

many advantages of the term 'figuration' is that it helps one to cut across many of the dualisms and dichotomies which have plagued the sociological tradition.

To take an example from Webster (1973: p15), the author comments upon, the emotional bonding between the present royal monarch and the Braemar Highland Gathering. Yet it is important not to separate the individual royal position of Queen Elizabeth from the longer process by which the royal position or monarch came to be associated with the Highland Gatherings. In the same way, Webster (1973: p25) notes the level of excellence attained by one emigre, George Goldie, in whose honour the Princeton Caledonia Games of 1873 were inaugurated. Again, it is important not to distinguish between the achievements of one emigre, George Goldie, and the longer process by which emigres came to be associated with various Caledonian Games abroad. Finally, one should not distinguish between the association of one landlord such as Lord Elcho with the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering and the longer process by which landlords in general came to be associated specifically with Highland Gatherings and generally with the Highland social formation. Each of these illustrations helps to explain the same point, namely that, while it might be possible to distinguish between individuals and their social position such as royalty, landlord, emigrant or chief, in reality the two positions are not separate. Individual landlords may have a relative autonomy but only in so far as the limits associated with their social position allow them. In particular, the degree of socially generated autonomy of his/her social position sets limits upon the individual power of even the strongest clan chief or landlord. That, of course, is because a

social position is a position of one individual or group of individuals in relation to other individuals or groups. In other words, although sociological tradition makes it seem that social positions exist entirely independently of individual human beings that is not, in reality, the case even where the relative autonomy of social positions is maximised through crystallization as formalised written roles. This is because such prescriptions only achieve human reality through being enacted by independent human beings.

The subject matter of this initial discussion on the Highland Gatherings strikes directly at what might be called the conventional wisdom on the subject (10). To date, research in this area has been dominated by the work of David Webster and the writings of Iain Colquhoun and Hugh Machell. The term, 'conventional wisdom', is not meant here in any derogatory sense. On the contrary, the works of these writers provides an invaluable source of empirical information. Yet the empiricist, atheoretical framework of analysis used in both instances is unsatisfactory if we are to go beyond merely descriptive expositions of this Highland tradition.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to identify a series of fundamental points of departure upon which to base an analysis of the Highland Gatherings. I have argued that it is not necessary to view sporting practices as a peripheral or meaningless focus of sociological

(10) This notion of conventional wisdom has been taken from Chas Critcher and John Clarke (1981).

enquiry. We live in a world where exposure to sporting practices in various forms is almost inescapable, yet as a focus of sociological enquiry sport is rarely viewed as posing problems which require more than superficial explanation. Sporting traditions may be romanticized, enjoyed, marginalised or even disliked but as a focus of sociological analysis they are not something that is usually systematically analysed, criticised, or situated within the broader context of history and social development.

Consider the following problems. What is/was the relationship between the Highland Gatherings and broader social structures prevailing at any given time? How have the Highland Gatherings been affected by the historical epoch in which they move? In what ways do the modern Highland Gatherings differ from the traditional Highland Gatherings? Why did the Gatherings suddenly become popular after about 1840? In what ways do the Gatherings reflect Scottish Cultural identity? What social forces have shaped this Highland tradition? Who have been the most powerful figures within this changing social figuration and why have they acted in particular ways?

I have raised these questions as an indication of the potential richness that may be found in a sociological enquiry which has as its central focus the development of this Highland tradition. The Highland Gatherings certainly do not exist within some sort of social vacuum. The degree to which social changes in the Highland Gatherings have paralleled broader transformations within Highland society is an issue which encompasses some of the most basic questions that might be asked about the relationship between the Highland Gatherings and various

figurations such as the clan, the landlord class, its tenants, the emigre and between Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom.

A major thrust in this chapter has been to argue that certain problems exist with the works that have contributed to our present knowledge of the Highland Gatherings. In my critique of the conventional wisdom on this subject, I have indicated that the works of Colquhoun, Machell and Webster provide an invaluable source of empirical data but that a high degree of involvement and a lack of detachment from the subject matter on the part of these authors has led them to hypothesise beyond the scope of the evidence available. A more detached approach would argue that, due to lack of evidence and the problematic character of Highland oral traditions, it is impossible to establish that the Highland Gatherings existed before the eighteenth century. Lack of evidence, however, has not stopped people speculating about this sporting tradition. Furthermore, I have commented that the descriptive, atheoretical framework of analysis within which the conventional wisdom operates is unsatisfactory if we are to go beyond merely descriptive expositions of this Highland tradition.

As a focus of analysis, the Highland Gatherings are capable of providing a great deal of information about various figurations, tensions, conflicts and webs of interdependence which characterise the Scottish social formation. However, it is important to differentiate between superficial descriptive accounts of sporting practice which attempt to explain what sport is like, and more theoretical, serious sociological approaches to sport. In agreement with both Dunning and Gruneau, I have argued that one of the possible ways forward is to

situate the analysis of sport within the broader context of history and social development. In this specific instance this involves an attempt to situate an analysis of the Highland Gatherings within an analysis of Scottish history and development.

The work of Dunning and Sheard and Gruneau in many respects is exceptional within the area of historical sociology. The major strengths of their works lie not only in their insistence that sport provides a useful vehicle of sociological enquiry, but also in the interpretive, empirical and developmental analysis presented throughout their research. I have commented upon the fact that, in Gruneau's work, the notions of dependency and underdevelopment, and in that of Dunning and Sheard the notions of figurational development and power, may provide a useful theoretical framework of analysis for considering Highland problems. The next chapter considers such a framework explicitly and at greater length.

CHAPTER TWO

DEPENDENCY, CULTURE AND FIGURATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The dependency paradigm has certainly much to offer in terms of providing a theoretical framework for situating an analysis of Highland culture. Many of the social commentaries on the Highland region have emphasised the fact that one of the constant themes on the area has been that of community instability and in particular the effect which the system of land tenure has had on past and present social structures (Bumpstead, 1983). The Highlands of Scotland are perhaps unique in the sense that the bulk of the region is at present owned and controlled by a handful of beneficiaries. Irrespective of their involvement with land as a productive resource or sporting estate, these landlords have an influence on local communities which many regard as being disproportionate to the standards which pertain in other European countries (Ferguson, 1984). In short, the argument is simply that the underdevelopment of the Highland region is partly due to the fact that many of the local communities are relatively dependent upon the Highland landlord and consequently cannot develop the land as a community resource.

Such an analysis of Highland dependency and underdevelopment is not the central feature of this chapter. I merely want to illustrate the possible practical relevance of utilizing the dependency paradigm as a starting point for asking questions about Highland development. Since many of the practical and political consequences of any analysis stem from the conceptions used, it is, in the first instance, important to map out the theoretical terrain adopted.

The notion of dependency refers to a paradigm or set of paradigms in the sense that there is no one theory of dependency but rather a number of competing theories and explanations. In this chapter, I want to review some of the key criticisms that have emerged out of this multi-paradigmatic debate. For instance, one of the key criticisms that emerged in the early 1970s was that the dependency paradigm had failed to provide an adequate theory of development. Central to the synthesis of dependency theory presented in this chapter is the belief that many of the inadequacies of dependency theory stem from a failure to move beyond one or two dimensional modes of analysis. The reason for this is the theoretical frameworks that have been used in each instance. In this chapter, I shall argue that a dependency perspective which turns to an examination of figurational development and cultural dependency provides a broader framework for understanding Highland development than many of the reductionist contributions which have plagued the development of dependency theory. Together, the concepts of dependency, figurational development and culture provide a set of theoretical guidelines upon which the rest of this study rests.

More specifically this chapter addresses the following themes: (i) the development of dependency theory; (ii) a cultural critique of dependency theory; and (iii) a figurational critique of dependency theory.

The Development of Dependency Theory

The dependency debate first gained impetus as a result of the extensive Latin American debate on the problems of under-development.

This debate began towards the end of the 1940s when a group of Latin American economists working for the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) criticized the way in which the Western world has tended to explain the developmental gap between the rich and poor countries. The debate emerged as a direct reaction to the conventional ways in which economists, sociologists and political scientists had tended to treat the problems of developing societies. While it is not necessary to develop an extensive summary of the ways in which classical theorists such as Marx, Lenin and Durkheim dealt with the problems of development, it is necessary to make an initial brief comment in order to contextualise the dependency debate and the dependency reaction to developmental theory.

Marx based his studies of societies upon the materialist interpretation of history. For Marx, every type of society, whether it be ancient, feudal or bourgeois, revolved around a mode of production. Each production system involved a different set of social relations which, in their totality, denoted a specific stage in the development of society. Thus (Marx and Engels, 1980: p81):

Thus the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces. The relations of production in their totality constitute what are called the social relations society, and specifically a society at a definite stage of historical development.

Capitalism represents a specific stage in social development. Some of the characteristics which are inherent in the capitalist set of social relations of production include the accumulation of profit, surplus value and the process of commodity exchange. All the products which make up this specific set of social relations are in fact commodities. Capital, then, is not only the sum of material products but the sum of commodities with exchange value. Indeed, the fundamental law of capitalist development, for Marx, was the imperative need to accumulate capital, a need which would give rise to a number of inherent contradictions within capitalism and which would create the conditions for the destruction of this socio-economic form. According to Marx, the origins of all historical changes may be found in the conflict between the forces and relations of production. When the latter do not correspond to the former, development in a society is slowed down and the obsolete social relations are disposed of and replaced by a more advanced set of social relations (1). Thus feudalism was the predecessor of capitalism but also a stage on the march to socialism and subsequently communism. Capitalism and socialism are similarly stages in this developmental sequence.

One of the major contributions made by Marx was to provide a coherent critique of capitalism. He stressed the importance of class struggle in capitalist society and provided a theory of revolutionary change which subsequently has been revised and re-written many times.

(1) One of the most important features that accounts for the continuing significance of Marxism is Marx's critique of capitalism. The core of Marxism both theoretically and practically lies in the materialist conception of history.

Despite the fact that Marx provided a coherent critique of capitalism, a theory of struggle and a guide to revolutionary change, there are many criticisms that have been made of Marx's work. For instance, Elias (1978a: p181) has argued that Marx was unable to free himself from the idea that the rising and descending social classes were seen as being good and bad respectively. In other words, problems of involvement and lack of detachment prevented Marx from providing a more comprehensive theory of development based upon the tension and struggle per se. According to Elias, Marx was also unable to see the significance of tension and struggle between different forms of dominant and subordinate fragments, subcultural formations and whole societies or survival units such as cities, states or nation states as opposed to the simple two dimensional source of tension between ruling and subject classes such as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

One of the earliest revisions of Marx's thought was carried out by Lenin in Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1966). Here, Lenin attempted to revise essential elements of classical Marxism without explicitly abandoning Marx's core developmental theory. Lenin tried to explain why the revolution predicted by Marx had not taken place in any of the advanced capitalist countries of the West. Capitalism, Lenin argued, had managed to escape the inherent contradictions outlined by Marx by expanding its search for cheap labour and raw materials, as well as developing new markets for its products and excess capital. Probably without realizing the theoretical implications fully at the time of writing, Lenin developed an analysis of capital on a global level which differed in important details from the work of Marx. This ultimately led to the conclusion

that the predicted revolution was more likely to happen in the underdeveloped countries as opposed to the advanced capitalist countries.

It is worth mentioning a few words concerning the dependency formulation expressed in Lenin's writings on imperialism. For example, Levin (1967, Vol I: p742) wrote that:

Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the epoch of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its foreign policy give rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. Not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning colonies and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent but in fact enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency.

While Lenin accepted the Marxist analysis of capitalist society and the theory that the dynamics of capitalism must lead to crises and revolutionary situations, he expanded his analysis to include the non-capitalist, underdeveloped world. Imperialism, in short, was capitalism on a world scale. A major obstacle to the development of capitalism in the colonies was, for Lenin, the dependent colonial ties with the mother country. Lenin thus believed in the 'progressive character' of capitalism in the less well developed countries only after they have become politically independent and broken off their dependent ties.

While it is possible to argue that one of the earliest formulations of dependency theory might be found in Lenin's writings on imperialism, it is important to emphasise that the imperialism/dependency theory developed by Lenin was essentially different from the approach adopted by advocates of the dependency paradigm that emerged out of the writings on Latin America. Many theorists such as Cardoso, Dos Santos and Faletto argued at various points that dependency should be considered within a Marxist analysis of imperialism. Yet their approach to imperialism was fundamentally different from that of Lenin. Furthermore, it was as a direct reaction to the developmental theories of Marx, Lenin, Durkheim and many other classical western thinkers that the paradigm of dependency emerged (2). The argument proceeded as follows: that the mode of articulation of the underdeveloped countries within the world system may result in a transfer of resources from the periphery to the centre which may give rise to various blocking mechanisms which hold back or distort the economics of the periphery. That is to say that dependency and underdevelopment may still exist even after the breaking of the colonial ties.

As has already been mentioned, the emergence of the dependency paradigm was also a reaction to the way in which many of the classical sociologists had tended to explain the developmental process. The work of Marx and Lenin has been mentioned here since their writings have figured more prominently in the dependency debate than the writings of

(2) A number of writers, such as Lukes (1977), have suggested, wrongly in my view, that Durkheim should stand outside of the classical evolutionary school.

Weber, Durkheim, Parsons and many other developmental theorists (3). In the last chapter, the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft dichotomy in the work of Ferdinand Tonnies (1963) was also mentioned. It is not necessary, nor is it desirable, to provide an extended critique of all of these theorists in this context. In finishing off this initial discussion on the classical developmental theorists I shall comment upon the work of Emile Durkheim as it may be argued that he was one of the central figures in explaining how traditional societies differed from modern societies. In doing so I shall confine myself here to mentioning his discussion on mechanical and organic solidarity.

In The Division of Labor in Society (1933), Durkheim postulated that structural differentiation was the essential feature of modern societies. Furthermore, he argued that the central aspect of transition from traditional to modern society was to be explained by the dissolution of the old ties of mechanical solidarity which necessarily bound people together in tightly knit traditional communities. The evolution of society from a state of mechanical to a state of organic solidarity represented a major stage of transition on the march to modernity.

Mechanical solidarity, according to Durkheim, was fundamentally based on a low division of labour. More particularly, it involved a segmental structure and a sense of common identity. It is/was typically found in pre-industrial communities (Durkheim, 1933: p130).

(3) Like Max Weber, Talcott Parson also started out as a non-developmentalalist.

People are/were bound together by the fact that they had been brought up to act and think alike, to follow similar routines and to share a common conscience. This common conscience reflected the low division of labour in societies of this type. The Highland clans, for example, formed a type of mechanical solidarity in the sense that their members adhered to a common set of beliefs and sentiments. Organic solidarity on the other hand is based, according to Durkheim, upon functional differentiation. In contrast to mechanical solidarity, organic solidarity presupposes not a common identity but differences between people in their beliefs and actions. This differentiation, it was argued, makes people and groups more interdependent, with the outcome being one of organic solidarity (Giddens, 1971: pp76-78). The growth of organic solidarity and the expansion of the division of labour were closely associated in Durkheim's mind with increasing individualism. Yet, paradoxically, individuals also become increasingly dependent upon one another.

Like Marx, Durkheim also was concerned with the absence of a true community feeling and identity within modern industrial society. He saw this state as stemming partly from the division of society into antagonistic classes as a result of what he called a forced division of labour. He also spoke of 'anomie' as a result of the absence or breakdown of moral controls. Like Durkheim, Marx sought to overcome what he called the state of alienation and to create a 'true' human community. However, in Marx's case this would have to be characterised by the abolition of a division of labour. In other words Marx assigned a negative value to what was for Durkheim in the normal forms a positive social fact. Moreover, whereas Durkheim envisaged a form of

corporatism in which the individual would be subordinate to the collectivity, Marx sought the liberation of the individual in exactly the opposite direction. Rather than receiving moral guidance from authoratative institutions, liberated men and women would determine their course of action. They would dominate institutions rather than be subordinate to them (4). In short, the greater subordination of the individual which was for Durkheim the solution to the problem of contemporary society was, for Marx, another indicator of the individual's alienation.

This brief discussion of various theories of development has already become a somewhat more lengthy discussion than was originally intended. Before returning to the dependency paradigm, let me highlight a number of important points. The fact is that, despite different points of reference and different theoretical orientations, a central concern in the writings of many of the early classical sociologists was to explain the development of society from a tradition-based society to modernity. Secondly, following the failure of non-European societies to follow a comparable developmental path, with few exceptions most of the classical theorists primarily tried to explain the transition from tradition to modernity in Western Europe. In practice, modernization was very closely linked to Westernization. Marx, for instance, prophesied that the 'backward' country saw the image of its own future in the more developed western one. Thirdly, the notion of dependency was never really an active concept in the

(4) With regard to this specific discussion, I have relied heavily upon the work of Roxburgh. See Ian Roxburgh (1979).

writings of many of the classical thinkers. Even in the work of Lenin, the notion of dependency was understood only within the theory of imperialism. Yet there are some fundamental differences between the concepts. The concept of imperialism as used by Lenin tended to focus on the contradictions of monopoly capitalism, the forms of class struggle and the perspective of inevitable social revolution. In contrast, the concept of dependency does not necessarily entail prospects for reform or inevitable revolution even though it directs our attention to the asymmetry of power between regions, states and economies. The dependency debate that emerged in the 1940s developed as a reaction to the way in which the Western world had hitherto attempted to explain the development of the underdeveloped nations of the world. It is to this debate that I now want to turn.

In contradistinction to some of the views already alluded to, the dependency paradigm emerged in the 1940s as a penetrating yet flawed critique of developmental theory, particularly of its implications for the third world. Numerous publicizers, summarizers and classifiers have attempted to chart the history of dependency theory (5). A vast number of definitions may be offered. Here I have selected several prominent schools of thought with a view to contrasting earlier and more recent approaches. More specifically, I shall refer to three broad schools of thought which influenced the debate until the initial disintegration of the dependency debate during the late 1970s. They are: (i) the early structuralist tradition of ECLA; (ii) the

(5) See for example V. Randall and K. Theobald (1985).

Marxist-imperialist tradition which emerged in the 1960s; and (iii) the world system theorists who emerged in the later 1960s and 1970s.

A central catalyst in the formulation of many of the early dependency arguments was a group of economists who worked for ECLA between the late 1940s and 1960. The early structuralist position, as epitomised by the work of Raul Prebisch, for example, tended to emphasise the part played by external factors in the underdevelopment of Latin America. During the 1960s, a more radical tradition, as epitomised by the work of Osvaldo Sunkel and Celso Furtado, argued that the existence of external/dependent ties should not conceal the existence of internal structural problems.

The early structuralist approach to dependency ultimately found a useful vehicle of expression in the writings of Raul Prebisch who became head of ECLA in 1950 after a spell as Argentina's minister of finance between 1935 and 1945. The initial structural idea of a centre-periphery economic relationship had been expressed in Prebisch's Argentinian economic policies (6). The cause of Latin American underdevelopment, according to Prebisch, was primarily a set of external factors. The initial conclusion reached by Prebisch was that Latin American underdevelopment was entirely due to its heavy reliance on the export of primary products in an international free trade market where an unequal exchange value for raw materials worked against the interests of the Latin American economy. Every quantum of Latin

(6) For a useful summary of this work see J. Love (1980).

American raw materials bought in return a small quantum of imports from the developed economic core of the industrial centre. Although the theory of unequal exchange value was not clearly expressed in Prebisch's early writings, the fact that he viewed external issues as a key factor in explaining Latin American underdevelopment was expressed as early as 1950 in The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems which began (Prebisch, 1950: pl):

In Latin America, reality is undermining the out-dated schema of the international division of labour, which achieved great importance in the nineteenth century and, as a theoretical concept, continued to exert considerable influence until very recently. Under the schema, the world economic system was that of producing food and raw materials for the great industrial centres. There was no place within it for the industrialization of the new countries. It is nevertheless being forced upon them by events. Two world wars in a single generation and a great economic crisis between them have shown the Latin-American countries their opportunities, clearly pointing the way to industrial activity.

Early structuralism attempted to present a theory of development which particularly emphasized the structural imbalances between the centre and the periphery. Dualism in this instance referred to the systematic, observable differences between the economic structure of the rich world in contrast to the economic structure of the poor world. The same kind of analysis could equally be done at a regional, national or international level depending on the unit of analysis in each case. This one or two dimensional mode of analysis led Prebisch to the

conclusion that underdevelopment was not the same as undevelopment or lack of development and that underdevelopment resulted from a specific process in which one part of the world developed at the expense of the other. The point is similar to the one made by Laclau (1971) in his critique of Gunder Frank when he argues that the third world was never underdeveloped but merely undeveloped prior to contact with the West. Once colonialism got underway, such formations became underdeveloped both relatively and via the mechanisms of the asymmetrical dependency interaction.

The early work of ECLA under the guidance of Prebisch should not be underestimated in the sense that this initial, albeit economic, argument proved to be a useful catalyst or starting point for many subsequent dependency formulations. Yet like many other dependency models, the early structuralist model never really managed to formulate an adequate theory of development in the sense that the approach to development was invariably reduced to a one or two dimensional explanation. It was an approach which specifically stressed external factors and primarily viewed development and underdevelopment in terms of capital accumulation. Even within ECLA itself, there was a reaction against the view that dependency could be explained easily in terms of external factors.

The Chilean economist Osvaldo Sunkel worked with ECLA during the early 1960s. Along with the Brazilian Celso Furtado and one of Sunkel's contemporaries, Pedro Paz, ECLA under Sunkel's influence developed a more radical tradition during the 1960s (7). Unlike

(7) In this instance I am specifically referring to Osvaldo Sunkel (1969).

Prebisch, Sunkel emphasised the fact that not only were external factors important in explaining underdevelopment and dependency but so too were internal factors. This does not mean that Sunkel deviated from the ECLA structural economic tradition, but that he emphasised the fact that the importance of external dependent ties should not conceal the existence of internal structural characteristics and problems common to Latin American countries (Blomstrom and Hettne, 1985: p49). However, Sunkel might be criticized for developing an "ideal-type" approach to internal development because he identified a number of characteristics such as low income, unemployment, economic, social and political marginalization as indices of an ideal pattern of development and underdevelopment which may be measured.

Unlike the early ECLA economists, Sunkel and Paz (1972) chose a broader inter-disciplinary approach. For instance, they found a Marxist approach to imperialism a perfectly acceptable framework for explaining development while at the same time arguing that such an approach tended to neglect what happens within countries subject to imperialism. Certainly they developed a wider socio-political and economic framework as opposed to a purely economic framework of analysis. For instance, commenting upon some of the external and internal class contradictions,

Sunkel (1969: p22) argued that foreign factors should be seen not as external but:

as intrinsic to the system, with manifold and sometimes hidden or subtle political, financial, economic, technical and cultural effects inside the underdeveloped country ... Thus, the concept of "dependencia" links the postwar

evolution of capitalism internationally to the discriminatory nature of the local process of development ... The process tends to ensure a self-reinforcing accumulation of privilege for special groups as well as the continued existence of a marginal class.

The 1960s and early 1970s writings of Sunkel certainly provide a more complex framework for understanding dependency and underdevelopment than that promoted by Prebisch and the early structuralists. Sunkel's work on transnational corporations, for instance, cuts through national boundaries and attempts to understand historical processes. Nonetheless Sunkel's position is still essentially different from the position that I want to adopt in this chapter. My reservations are firstly that, despite the development of a wider framework, Sunkel's analysis is still essentially economic. Economic factors also are the major driving force behind Sunkel's approach to development. Secondly, like many other dependency theorists, Sunkel's analysis rests upon a number of dichotomies such as external and internal, development and underdevelopment, centre and periphery and integration and disintegration. All of these provide potential obstacles to understanding societies or even global systems as a complex web of dependent and interdependent people forming figurations with each other. This problem is immediately removed if one considers such terms as development and underdevelopment as referring to activities which are primarily carried out by people and as a consequence of domination and dependency which result from one particular group within a figuration having greater power chances than the others. Finally, Sunkel reduces the activities of individual human beings to a matter of insignificance. It is essential to realise that

social development occurs via the various meaningful but structurally (figurationally) located actions in which people engage.

A more sociological contribution to the dependency paradigm came out of the Latin American Institute for Social Economic Planning (ILPES). The work of Cardoso (1972) is often regarded as one of the classic writings on dependency theory. Both Cardoso and Faletto (1969) have argued that the notion of development used by many dependency theorists tended to be a reflection of the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* dichotomy developed by Ferdinand Tonnies. They raised two points of concern: (i) that neither concept was broad enough to explain existing social situations, nor specific enough to distinguish between those structures which determine life-styles, tastes and culture; and (ii) that both concepts failed to explain the various stages of economic development and the corresponding social structures that characterised traditional and modern social formations.

Cardoso explicitly refrained from formulating a new theory of dependency. He rejected on a number of occasions the idea that dependency theory should be thought of as a theory independent of Lenin's theory of imperialism. In this sense, the work of both Cardoso and Faletto is similar to that of other Marxists such as Santos and Ray Mauro Marini. In order to explain the process of exploitation within the periphery, Marini (1972) introduced the concept of super-exploitation. He also used the term superimperialism in an attempt to translate Lenin's definition of imperialism to dependent capitalism. Thus, superimperialism was used to refer to the highest stage of dependent capitalism. Dos Santos also argued that the concept of

dependency capitalism should not be formulated outside of an imperialism framework (Blomstrom and Hettne 1985: p66). Dependency and imperialism were viewed as complementary terms by Dos Santos.

With regard to Latin America, Cardoso (1972) made the case for capitalist development taking place within a dependent situation. This analysis began with the assumption that modern capitalism and imperialism differed from the explanation given by Lenin. Capital accumulation was seen to be more a consequence of corporate control as opposed to simply financial control. Monopoly capitalism and development, for Cardoso, were not necessarily contradictory terms in that dependent capitalist development had become a new form of monopolistic expansion into the third world. However, this development was orientated towards a limited upper class type of market and society.

In moving towards a class model of dependency, Cardoso offered several criticisms of the existing dependency paradigm. These were: (i) that any analysis based on the naive assumption that imperialism unifies the reactions and interests of dominated nations is a clear oversimplification of what is really going on; (ii) that there was a need for historically grounded empirical studies of dependency; and (iii) that many static dependency theories were often misleading. On the one hand, new trends in international capitalism resulted in an increased interdependence based upon production activities while, on the other hand, international capitalism also gained a disproportional influence within industry. This type of criticism led Cardoso to argue that dependency should be viewed, not as a separate external variable but as a variable within a system of relations among different social

classes. Thus, like Gunder Frank and Dos Santos, Cardoso argued that dependency should be traced through the historical process as a form of class relations.

There is much to commend the work of Cardoso and Faletto. The emphasis upon social and political patterns of domination is a major advance, I believe, over the structuralist models formulated by Prebisch and the other ECLA economists. By emphasising historically shifting patterns of development they promoted a more dynamic elucidation of dependency theory. In this way they highlighted the distinction to be made between dependency as a static, ahistorical condition and dependency as a dynamic historical process. The concept of process promoted an analysis of the historically relevant factors and figurations through which a region or nation have become dependent. Like many Marxist accounts of dependency, the work of Cardoso could be said to be guilty of a form of economic determinism in the sense that the key driving force behind the analysis is to be found in a materialist explanation of development. One of the difficulties with such an approach is that it rests upon the adoption of the false conceptual dichotomy of base and superstructure. There are innumerable 'superstructural' relations which can be explained without necessarily reducing the explanation to the economic 'base'. This type of approach implies a failure to understand the broader nature of sociological enquiry and social development.

The work of Cardoso and Faletto was not the only work which contributed to a Marxist-imperialist approach to dependency. As early

as 1968, Dos Santos (cited in Chilcote, 1974: p4) defined dependency as:

... a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of inter-dependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries can do this only as a reflection of that expansion.

The above statement is often regarded as one of the classical definitions of dependency. Yet it is important to point out that, while Dos Santos did not alter his general position during the early 1970s, he did provide a somewhat broader approach to the problem of dependency and underdevelopment. The approach to dependency which emerged during the early 1970s from Dos Santos's work in particular is often referred to as the new dependency theory. Dos Santos identified three different forms of dependence which affected Latin American development: (i) colonial dependence; (ii) financial-industrial dependence; and (iii) technological-industrial dependence. Each of these forms of dependence was dominant during a particular historical epoch. The first form of dependency was characteristic of many of the dependency relations formed by colonial monopolies of land, mines and labour in conquered colonies. Financial-industrial dependence emerged during the latter part of the nineteenth century when heavy financial investments were made by the advanced countries in the production of raw materials and agricultural products in the periphery. Finally, the third form of dependence appeared after the

second world war and developed as a result of technological dependence. It is this third form of dependence that is specifically referred to as the new dependence. The important point made by Dos Santos is that, while dependency should be thought of primarily as a form of imperial relations, these relations shifted and historically took on different forms.

It is possible to include the earlier work of Gunder Frank within this broad group of Marxist dependency theorists who influenced the debate in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While Cardoso, Faletto, Marini and Dos Santos all represented an approach which emphasised particular, concrete, empirical studies of dependency, Gunder Frank might be classified more appropriately as a more central world systems theorist in the sense that his earlier and later works emphasise the need for a global analysis. The developmentalist perspective was replaced by a world perspective, the fundamental unit of analysis being not a particular nation-state but the world as the only social system, a totality of geoeconomic, geopolitical and geocultural processes. Whether we are dealing with the history of the system as in Immanuel Wallerstein's's The Modern World System (1974) or whether our attention is primarily directed towards the economic predicament of a continent as in Gunder Frank's Capitalism and Under-Development in Latin America (1967), this basic global perspective is maintained throughout.

The development of underdevelopment thesis which was expressed in Gunder Frank's earlier writing emphasised that commercial monopoly rather than feudalism and pre-capitalist economic forms was the

essential factor whereby national and regional metropolises exploited and appropriated economic satellites. This capitalism on a world-wide scale produced a developed metropolis and therefore an underdeveloped periphery. The same process, argued Gunder Frank, could also be identified as occurring within nations or between regions depending on the unit of analysis used. Frank's central thesis focused on the contradictions which had emerged as a result of capitalism. Capitalism, it was argued, generated underdevelopment in the peripheral satellites whose economic surplus was expropriated, while generating economic surplus and development in the metropolitan centres. While Frank's earlier work revolved entirely around the metropolis-satellite model of expropriation of resources, his later work was concerned more with class links and structures (Frank, 1984: pp245-278). The prime linkage between the dominant class of the metropole and the subordinate classes of the hinterland was the lumpenbourgeoisie or comprador class. This referred to the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped societies who blocked or hindered regular capitalist social formation in the dependent countries. According to this view any class in a dependent country which collaborated with the capitalist metropole consequently became a tool of manipulation.

As mentioned earlier, the crucial theoretical innovation proved to be the relational idea of core and periphery or metropolis and satellite. The division of labour integral to the emergence of capitalism in the sixteenth century, Frank argued, did not only create a class divide as Marx saw it, but also a division in the world economy between core areas or strong states and peripheral areas or weak states/stateless nations. This divergence of economic and political

power was not simply a matter of relativity but relational. Capitalism, the argument goes, could only come into being by a parallel emergence of an interstate political system. The point is similar to the one made by Wallerstein (1984: p15) when he argues that:

Political empires are a primitive means of economic domination. It is the social achievement of this modern world, if you will, to have invented the technology that makes it possible to increase the flow of the surplus from the lower strata to the upper strata, from the periphery to the centre, from the majority to the minority, by eliminating the 'waste' of too cumbersome a political superstructure.

Consequently all states or areas cannot develop simultaneously. Development, it is argued, can only take place at someone else's expense. Capitalism functions through the mechanism of unequal exchange that maintains inequalities between the metropolis and satellite in the case of Gunder Frank. While Cardoso, Faletto, Dos Santos and Marini all argue for concrete historical analysis of the periphery, the contribution of world system theorists such as Gunder Frank and Wallerstein was to argue for a more holistic approach. In particular, this holistic analysis refers to the global accumulation of capital.

In this initial introduction to and synthesis of some of the work represented within the dependency paradigm I have attempted to compare and contrast some of the major perspectives which contributed to the dependency paradigm up until the mid 1970s. While a great volume of words has been written concerning these early debates, it is not

necessary, I believe, to outline every position. However, by way of summary it can be said that most of the following points are common to the majority of positions within the dependency paradigm: (i) a reaction against the way in which classical Western and modern thinkers have dealt with the problems of development in the peripheral areas of the world; (ii) that underdevelopment is closely connected with the expansion of industrialised capitalist countries; (iii) that underdevelopment cannot be considered as the original condition in any developmental process; and (iv) that dependency is not only an external phenomenon but may also be an internal phenomenon within or between regions, states and nations depending on the unit of analysis being used in each case.

Despite the contribution made by the dependency paradigm, it has since been subject to an increasing body of criticism which in many cases has emanated from its own supporters. For instance, the development and underdevelopment thesis advocated by Gunder Frank has been severely criticised by a number of authors including Ernest Laclau (1971). Among the major points made by Laclau were that, firstly, development does not occur through a succession of stages and that today's developed countries were never underdeveloped but undeveloped. Secondly, that underdevelopment must be viewed as part of the historical product of relations between undeveloped satellites and the present developed metropolises. Thirdly, that the dualist perception must be rejected on the grounds that capitalism has effectively and completely penetrated the undeveloped world. Fourthly, that metropolitan-satellite relations are found within countries and regions as well as within the imperialist world. Finally, Laclau pointed out

that, while it is true that in specific cases the development of satellites may be limited by their dependent status, there is a danger of over-generalizing; i.e. that some satellites experience their greatest growth when their dependent links with the metropolis are weakened.

I agree with Laclau that it is necessary to reject the dualist perception of development and underdevelopment. However, Laclau's answer is to marginalise one form of dualism and replace it with another, namely the base-superstructure dichotomy of orthodox Marxism. Indeed, dependency theory in general has been plagued by the tendency to reduce the focus of analysis to one or two dimensional explanations of a set of false dichotomies. Holism versus particularism, economic versus sociopolitical, voluntarism versus determinism and development versus underdevelopment, to name but a few. This fragmentation of thought into various antagonistic schools is very similar to those numerous epistemological and ontological dualisms which have plagued sociology and formed major axes of tension within the development of the discipline. Here, I am referring to such polarizations as structure and agency, individual and society, nominalism and realism, material and ideal, and sociology and history, etc. As Dunning (1981: p2) points out, it is Elias's contention that the resolution of such dualisms is necessary in order to combat the tendency towards fragmentation into conflicting schools of thought and in order to facilitate the development of sociological knowledge. The same point holds true for the development of dependency theory.

A further major criticism of the dependency paradigm has been the inadequate conceptualization of the notion of development. This criticism is paradoxical in that the dependency paradigm, in part, emerged out of the dissatisfaction with the way in which western theorists had used the concept of development to tackle and explain the problems of the developing countries. Within the dependency school itself, the most forceful critique on this point was expressed during the late 1970s by Colin Leys (1977a). The principal theoretical objection made by Leys was that the meaning of development was obscure and in some instances still dependent upon western bourgeois developmental theory. Furthermore, Leys went on to argue that it is unclear whether it is the underdeveloped countries as a whole or merely masses within these countries that suffer from exploitation.

In many ways, this last point made by Leys is tangential to a comment made by Elias (1978a: p145) when he argues that it is often forgotten that development means an activity which involves people. This activity in the modern world involves a certain amount of planning with the general aim being to reduce the relative poverty of ordinary people in the poor countries of the world. The mention of ordinary people is very specific in the sense that it is often forgotten that even very poor countries usually have some disproportionately rich individuals. In both cases, the work of Leys and Elias emphasised the fact that it is necessary to consider the broader nature of development and to go beyond the sociology of development and indeed beyond the dependency paradigm. Certainly in Elias's case, obstacles to understanding that societies are figurations of interdependent people

are swept away when confronted with the problems of developing countries (Elias, 1978a: p145).

It would be misleading and incorrect to argue that dependency theorists have not attempted to respond to some of the criticisms voiced during the later 1970s. The modern world systems approach associated with the later writing of Wallerstein (1984) has attempted to transcend traditional national and class analyses which only could view the other as anathema. One welcome addition to the work of the world systems school has been a greater sensitivity to the notion of power. More specifically, this refers to the identification of the processes by which power is accrued and maintained at the centre. The argument put forward by Wallerstein is that, if the centres of the world are shaped as much by the exercise of domination as the peripheries are shaped by being dominated, there is a need to identify the processes by which the centres maintain and extend their power and at the same time mask or elude the real determinants of the world in which they have gained centrality.

Alternatively, one could consider the Neo-marxist response to the early approaches to dependency. From this Marxist perspective, dependency and development require an appreciation of class relations, class struggle and forms of exploitation in order to make sense of what is really going on in society and in the relations between societies. As Panitch (1981: p13) points out, without this type of perspective one is forced to see development and underdevelopment entirely as a creation of international relations or of ruling classes or of reified organisations. Dependency, it is argued can only be properly

understood if one turns to the examination of class as a totality, only if one specifies the historically developed class formation, patterns of exploitation and accounts of class struggle. The starting point for such an analysis rests upon the perception that class is a contradictory social relationship between producers and non-producers, not only entailing mutual dependence but also mutual power.

The framework in both instances is essentially different from the position being adopted in this study. In moving towards a dependency formulation which avoids deterministic or class reductionist explanations as the sole explanations of development, it is necessary to outline a broader approach to dependency and development. In order to suggest how this might be accomplished, I shall outline two principal criticisms of the dependency paradigm. The first critique is essentially cultural while the second is figurational.

Cultural Dependency

The sociogenesis of the differential meanings of the terms Kultur and Zivilisation forms an integral part of Elias's discussion on the civilizing process (Elias, 1978b: pp3-34). Referring specifically to the development of terms as used in German, Elias (1978b: p4) notes that the concept of Kultur places a specific stress on intellectual, artistic and religious facts which are but a few of the human products through which people express themselves. Kultur, writes Elias, is the word through which more than any other, the Germans express pride in their achievement. In contrast, the concept of civilization refers to a wide variety of facts such as levels of technology, types of manners,

the development of scientific knowledge, religious ideas and customs. What is clear is that the use of such terms as Kultur can be both similar and yet different depending on the historical origins of the context and tradition of their use.

While a comparison of the different usages of the terms Kultur and Zivilization is not central to the present analysis, it is interesting to note that the German concept of Kultur places a special stress on national differences and the particular identity of groups of people. In this usage of the term, a great deal of overlap exists between the notion of Kultur in the German sense and the notion of cultural identity as it is used in this study. As Elias (1978b: p5) points out, the term Kultur reflects the self-consciousness of a nation which in both a political and a spiritual sense is continually asking itself what is really our identity?. Yet such an identity and indeed such a Kultur are not independent of the people who live out and define the self-consciousness which Elias refers to. As a result of which historical processes has such an identity evolved? And, indeed, which figurations of people construct or become, as a result of their greater or lesser degrees of power, dependent upon such an identity? Yet it is the English term, 'culture' with its associated meanings and not Kultur that is used in this study.

The word culture, argues Williams (1981: p76), is one of the most complicated words in the English language, mainly because it has become an important concept in several distinct, incompatible intellectual frameworks. Culture's linguistic root emanates from the Latin word 'culture' which means to inhabit, to cultivate or to protect. The word

in its early fifteenth century usage was confined exclusively to ploughsharing and agriculture. As a noun of process, it described the tending of crops and animals. The term, writes Williams (1978: p78), was taken a step further by the philosopher Herder who pointed out that it was necessary to speak of cultures and not culture. The important point here being the idea of a fundamental social process, which shapes, in part, distinctive ways of life. For instance, 'working-class culture' may refer to the meanings, values, tastes and life-style of the members of that particular part-figuration. The real value of the term is summed up by Williams (1981: p59) when he says:

The variations in meaning and reference in the use of culture as a term must be seen, I am arguing, not simply as a disadvantage, which prevents any kind of neat exclusion of definition, but as a genuine complexity corresponding to real elements of experience.

While the semantic history of the term culture might be a noteworthy focus of study in its own right, the point being made here is that, within various intellectual frameworks, the term is multi-faceted and takes on a number of different meanings. With specific reference to just one tradition, namely cultural materialism, Alan Tomlinson (1981: piii) has argued that the term 'cultural form' has come to mean just about anything in which there is contained some expression or manifestation of social consciousness rooted in lived experience. Yet as Tomlinson himself notes, it is important to distinguish between two types of cultural form: one type which may be rooted in lived experience, and the other type which may be rooted in the cultural artefact, an actual object produced by a culture and

saying something, in some way or another, about that culture. For instance, some of the key cultural artefacts which express Scottish cultural identity are tartanry, kailyardism and the romantic view of the emigre. While I do not agree with the assertion made by Hugh-Trevor Roper (1983) that the Highland tradition of Scotland is, in fact, an invented tradition, it is certainly true to say that the image which the Scottish social formation, in part, portrays to the rest of the world is very much a Highland image. The objective cultural artefacts which make up what Nairn (1981) has referred to as 'cultural sub-nationalism' are, in fact, rooted in a Highland way of life which existed before the middle of the eighteenth century.

In developing a cultural critique of dependency theory, it is not necessary to outline all the different definitions and meanings that have been attributed to the word culture. Yet, in agreement with Foster Carter (1985: p113), I would argue that dependency theorists have paid too little attention, if any, to the cultural aspects of dependency. In the second instance, I shall comment upon the "cultural studies" school of thought which has relied heavily upon such notions as cultural production and cultural form. In both cases there has been a failure to outline an adequate theory of development. Like dependency theory, many recent cultural schools of thought have relied heavily upon materialist conceptualisations of development and have not only been insensitive to other forms of development but also perpetuated further such false dichotomies as base and superstructure, culture and ideology and structure and agency.

In a series of influential essays, Tom Nairn has recently attempted to theorise Scotland's cultural development, history and contemporary predicament. While it is not necessary to provide a detailed account of Nairn's thesis, it is important to understand the central tenet of Nairn's discussion on Scottish cultural development as presented in The Break up of Britain (1981). Of specific interest to the discussion at hand is Nairn's notion of cultural sub-nationalism.

While Nairn proceeds to provide a materialist theory of nationalism, the subjectivity of nationalism, he argues, must itself be approached with the utmost effort at objectivity. The real objective logic of nationalism, according to Nairn, is connected with the unevenness of economic development and the relations that arise between ethnic communities at different stages of economic advancement. This mode of nationalism may arise in one of two forms, either classical or neo-nationalism. Both, according to Nairn (1981: pl70-198), result from the same uneven process, namely the dialectic of development and underdevelopment. Classical nationalism occurs when a backward group mobilises at the instigation of a middle class in an attempt to resist the thrust of more advanced regions. Neo-nationalism occurs when an advanced community feels threatened by its less well developed neighbours and attempts to shake off ties which are seen to be impediments to future development. The somewhat dubious rationale for this being applicable to the Scottish social formation lies in the perceived future of 'super' development based on North Sea oil resources in contrast to the declining industry of England.

A pivotal period in modern Scottish history for Nairn was the period between 1800 and 1920. Nationalism then was the normal reaction of a number of small nations all over Europe to the active threat of domination and underdevelopment. Scotland during this period, points out Nairn, when many of the other small nations in Europe were struggling for their independence, failed to develop a fully authentic nationalist movement or culture. The reason for this lies in the fact that the middle classes, the main agents of nationalism, had no real material interest in the establishment of a separate state. In Nairn's (1981: p142) own words:

What counts is that the Scottish middle classes were never compelled to turn to their substantial inheritance and harness it en bloc, to mobilize it and the social classes beneath them in a developmental struggle. The usual raw materials of nationalism remained in Scotland, latent and unexploited.

In short, Nairn's thesis is that, up until the 1920s there was no real material dilemma of dependency and underdevelopment, and consequently no need for a political, nationalist cultural movement. Following on from the 1707 Act of Union, Lowland Scots in particular continued to be ushered by the English into the wealthy clubs and as a result, were able to reap the rewards of this imperial partnership. On the other hand, the incorporation of the Lowland Scots continued to provide a natural outlet for England's agricultural products. In the absence of any nationalist cultural movement, what evolved instead was

a cultural sub-nationalism which had to be cultural in the sense that it could not be political (Nairn, 1981: p155):

The relationship between civil society and the state in Scotland precluded a fully national culture...instead what evolved was a strange sort of sub-national culture.

Three prominent strands contributed to the concept of cultural sub-nationalism as it was used by Nairn. Since I shall be returning to this discussion later, I shall, at this point, merely outline the prominent strands involved in this concept. Firstly, there is the image of Scotland as expressed through the eyes of the emigre. Secondly, there is the legacy of the kailyard strain of literature; and thirdly there is the tartan factor upon which both the view of the emigre and the kailyard image heavily rely (8). The crucial point is that such a cultural identity is essentially romantic as opposed to political. It was only after about 1920 when Scotland as a whole was threatened with problems of dependency that a more political form of cultural resistance to British hegemony evolved. In the context of this study it is important to emphasise not only the cultural aspect of this dependency but to map out the process through which such a romantic cultural identity evolved.

As Hobsbawn (1983: p6) indicates, the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions has given rise to specific sets of

(8) Kailyard is the collective label applied to a group of novelists who wrote about Scottish rural life during the nineteenth century. The kailyard novels present a picture of harmonious social relations primarily revolving around lairds, farmers, doctors, and schoolteachers.

practices in many countries, all of which have accepted rules and rituals which have taken on a symbolic nature. Unlike Nairn, Hobsbawn is careful to point out that, while nations may become culturally dependent upon such symbols, these practices and symbols are in fact constructed and formally instituted by people who themselves seek to inculcate certain values and norms. Unfortunately the contribution made by Hugh Trevor-Roper (1983: pp15-41) to The Invention of Tradition (1983) suffers from one major fault, namely that, as many Scottish historians have pointed out, the Highland tradition of Scotland was not in fact an invented tradition. The Highlanders' tartan and many other symbolic artefacts of Highland culture all existed before 1745. While different meanings came to be attributed to tartanry during the early part of the nineteenth century, it is historically inaccurate to argue, as Trevor-Roper does, that tartan and the wearing of Highland dress are invented traditions.

While figurationalists would criticise Nairn's materialist approach to nationalism and economic development on the grounds that it is reductionist, perpetuates such false dichotomies as base and superstructure and fails to recognise other important forms of development, it is not necessary to dismiss the notion of cultural sub-nationalism that he introduces. The major contribution which the work of Nairn makes is, for present purposes, simply that he stresses that it is important for dependency and underdevelopment theorists to pay attention to many cultural aspects of dependency such as the process by which Scottish identity has become dependent upon such cultural artefacts as tartanry, kailyardism and the view of the 'emigre'. Yet, while accepting the logic of Nairn's analysis, there

are still certain inadequacies about his use of the term 'culture'. The absence of any attention to the oppositional currents of resistance through popular culture in Nairn's work, in part evolves out of a narrow and literary intellectualist conception of culture. In other words, Nairn seems to think of culture with a capital C as being 'high culture', the aesthetic, humanistic literary products of intellectuals. The logical consequence of Nairn's analysis for popular cultural forms such as sport is that they are reduced to a level of political insignificance. On the contrary, such popular cultural forms as football are capable of providing a great deal of information concerning various working class figurations in the sense that, in terms of lived experience, gender, religion, nationality and many other forms of bonding within and between figurations of people are expressed in them.

One of the major contributions made by the "Cultural Studies School of Thought", especially as evidenced in the work of people at or associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, has been to provide a broader theoretical framework for rethinking such high and low culture dichotomies (9). This distinction between high and low culture is generally a qualitative distinction based on the assertion that high culture such as opera, ballet and theatre is qualitatively different in terms of level of meaning, performance skills and overall contact than forms of

(9) On the work of the cultural school I have relied heavily upon the work of R. Hollands (1984).

low culture such as the pub, or the traditional Saturday night out at the cinema or night club. The cultural studies tradition, like many sociological traditions, has been quick to point out that the traditional distinction between high and low culture has less to do with content and more to do with a socially constructed process in which one dominant group, in terms of power and resources, has had the opportunity to define what constitutes high culture and low culture. Certainly there is nothing in this argument that figuralists would be at odds with. Various social fractions experience culture differently and, while one might question whether a dichotomy such as high and low might itself be false, then neither form of culture is socially exclusive. But again it serves to illustrate how certain social groups, through having less power, are in fact marginalised and become culturally dependent upon the traditions and symbols selected by more powerful groups. For instance as Ann Dummett (cited in Hargreaves, 1982: p79) has said:

For the middle classes, 'tea' in the afternoon means a leisured and unnecessary refreshment between lunch and dinner. You take it around four o'clock; the bread and butter will be cut thin, and you will not, except at a children's tea party, eat it in the dining room or kitchen. But tea to the majority of the population is the meal of the evening, eaten about five thirty when father gets back from work. Here, something accepted both here and abroad as characteristically 'English' means, in fact, quite different things to different groups of people in England. Nevertheless, it is the first (minority) and not the second (majority) meaning of tea which is thought characteristically 'English'.

A second major contribution that cultural studies have made to our understanding of popular culture has been to highlight the significance of the two related concepts, cultural production and cultural form, for analysing forms of popular culture such as sport. As Hollands (1984: p20) points out, it is attempted with such concepts, like figurational sociology, to link the process by which culture is produced and reproduced to the patterns of existing power relations in society. With particular reference to sporting forms, Hollands asserts that such concepts provide a platform for: (i) delving into the broader conditions and social relations in which a dominant conception of sport is made or produced; (ii) examining how the struggles between different groups and classes have resulted in dominant, residual and emergent sporting forms; and (iii) demonstrate how a particular form of sport is consolidated, contested, maintained or produced in the context of the reproduction of society as a whole.

In considering any historical process, culture is a useful concept in that, through what Williams (1977) refers to as dominant, residual and emergent forms, it embodies, in part, the trajectory of group life through history. There is nothing here that could not be incorporated into a figurational analysis, yet I would argue that the figurational framework allows for a much more complex analysis of the dominant, residual and emergent at a concrete level. In the first instance, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the dominant, residual and emergent form of cultural production are totally dependent upon the people who personify such traditions. There is a very real danger of losing sight of the fact that the trajectory of group life which Williams refers to is, in fact, one form of development involving a

number of inter-dependent groups such as classes, national or gender social fractions who themselves develop at different rates. In the second instance, it is far too simplistic to refer to one dominant group when in practice any such group is likely to be a figuration made up of a number of groups, each with their own distinctive sub-cultures, who might be bonded together through a complex web of interdependence involving economic, political, religious and hereditary bonds. These bonds themselves might be relatively constraining or liberating for various fractions within the group and, as such, might lead to a number of bonds of allegiance which may have various unintended consequences.

The fact that, in more complex societies, groups and cultures are stratified in relation to one another, is one of the key points stressed by figural sociology. Such social differentiation may or may not revolve around social class in any one instance. Not only do dominant and subordinate social fractions have a balance of shared and antagonistic interests but so do a number of fractions within each figuration. Each of these fractions may or may not negotiate with the dominant or the subordinate culture. This has a relative effect on the process of change which can be explained once that change has occurred. In this way, the social formation of any society or even the social formation of any cultural form can be viewed as a dynamic, all-encompassing whole, constructed from an infinite number of dynamic sub-figurations. In relations of domination and subordination, one of the relatively determining factors is the degree of cultural power which any particular social fraction has.

Before moving on to consider figurational development in more detail, let me briefly draw together some of the important points that have been made so far: (i) dependency theorists have not paid enough attention to various aspects of cultural dependency, such as selection of tradition and cultural identity; (ii) the cultural studies approach provides an important critique of the narrow, literary intellectualist definition of the word culture; (iii) there is a need to consider not only what happens at the level of popular culture but also at the level of relations and interaction between dominant and subordinate cultures. To assume that popular culture or subordinate figurations exist autonomously is bad practice; and (iv) the notion of figurational development, while not excluding much of what is contained within cultural studies, provides a broader framework of analysis which is neither independent of nor dependent upon materialist explanations of development or class reductionist explanations of practice. That is to say that figurational sociology leaves room for the influence of what are commonly called material factors amongst others.

Dependency, Culture and Figurational Development

From the start, it should be emphasised that this section does not provide an in-depth account of the work of Norbert Elias. His writings cover a wide range of topics such as war, violence, emotions, science, art, leisure and sport, to name but a few. Furthermore, at a more general level, I have already made various theoretical remarks concerning several points made by Elias. However, a key feature of Elias's work is the concept figurational development. I have already argued in this chapter that there are certain inadequacies with both the dependency paradigm and the cultural paradigm in the sense that

they have both failed to solve the problems that are raised by theoretical frameworks that have at their core such false dichotomies as base and superstructure, structure and agency, and culture and ideology. It has also been argued that as well as being insensitive to forms of cultural dependency, dependency theory, despite some recent formulations, has failed to fulfil its explanatory potential because it has never produced an adequate theory of development. Such obstacles begin to be swept away when the concept of figurational development is utilised.

In part, what distinguishes Elias's work from the many dualist explanations inherent in the sociological tradition is a relatively successful attempt to provide a developmental, dynamic and yet a socially unified scheme of sociological analysis which does not perpetuate such false dichotomies as self and society and individual and society. As Abrams (1982: p231) puts it in his discussion on historical sociology, the most remarkable recent attempt to contain the social and the individual within a unified scheme of sociological analysis is probably that made by Norbert Elias. Terms such as individual phenomena and social phenomena are themselves fictitious (Elias, 1983: p18). For instance, society itself does not exist outside of the individual people who form that society. At the same time individual behaviour is only relatively autonomous in the sense that such behaviour responds and is responsive to socially generated constraints and tensions. The term figuration is used to solve this false dichotomy. Consider the following examples from the work of Elias:

1. It is one of the elementary, universal aspects of all figurations that everyone is inter-dependent. Every person can refer to himself/herself as I and to other people as you, he, she, we or they. There is no one who is not and has never been interwoven into a network of people one's personal identity is closely connected with the 'we' and 'they' relationships of one's group, and with one's position within those units ... (Elias, 1978a: p128).

2. The network of interdependence among human beings is what binds them together. Such interdependencies are the nexus of what is here called the figuration, a structure of mutually orientated and dependent people. Since people are more or less dependent on each other first by nature and then through social learning, through education, socialisation and socially generated reciprocal needs, they exist only as pluralities, only in figurations. That is why it is not particularly fruitful to conceive of men in the image of individual man. It is more appropriate to envisage an image of numerous interdependent people forming figurations. Seen from this basic standpoint the rift in the traditional image of man disappears (Elias, 1978b: p261).

3. How and why people are bound together to form specific dynamic figurations is one of the central questions, perhaps even the central question of sociology (Elias, 1988: p208).

The core concept within the figurational approach is that of interdependence. In many ways, writes Rojek (1985: p159), the term interdependence as it is used by figurationalists is very similar to and yet different from the concept of social structure. Certainly the

multi-facetal forms of bonding which bind individuals, groups and even nations together have a very definite structure, yet this does not necessarily imply reducing the process of bonding to materialist or class reductionist explanations of structure. The term figuration implies a much more 'open-ended' approach which allows for an infinite number of networks and forms of bonding. The point is simply this - that while economic and class bonds of interdependence may in fact be relatively determining the degree of determination is flexible and yet specific to any forms of figurational development at particular periods in history. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Elias has questioned the term 'determination' in the sense that it is much more objectively adequate to talk of determination of a social process only after a certain sequence of social changes and not before. For instance, while history might eventually prove Marx to be correct, the 'inevitable' collapse of capitalism has faltered as a result of capitalism's ability to accommodate conflict and tension and to solve at least momentarily its own inherent contradictions.

In his discussion on human interdependencies and the problems of social bonds, Elias (1978a: p134-157) refers to affective, political and economic bonds. Yet in each instance, Elias is careful to point out that these inter-dependencies may occur at different levels. The range and focus of an individual's emotional bonds with other individuals will differ from individual to individual. Yet individuals also form emotional bonds with cultural artefacts such as flags and national symbols. At yet another level, emotional bonds may be formed within and even between larger figurational units such as villages, towns, and nation-states. While the size, structure and stage of

development may differ between particular groups, nation-states and many other figurations, the function of the emotional form of bonding may or may not differ. At the same time, the emotional sphere does not operate independently of the other spheres which form the integrating and differentiating aspects of any particular or general web of interdependence. As such, it is important not to make universal generalisations about the degree of importance of any one particular sphere, such as 'the economy', without attempting to discuss the relative autonomy of that sphere in relation to other spheres which constitute any particular social formation.

A further core concept within figurationist sociology is the relational concept of power (10). The notion of power has proved to be a fruitful, analytical concept for many social and political theorists. There is the economic theory of power found in Marxism and liberalism which tends to view power as a commodity or resource, the basic assumption being that power is a function of class domination which results from the control of the means of production. Many Neo-marxist, and in particular cultural materialist, discussions of power have concentrated upon the process by which the main features of power in social life have been mobilised and reproduced (11). One of the major advantages that the figurationist approach to power has over classical Marxist accounts is that the essence of power in societies is seen to exist in all forms of human relationships which in turn tend to become

(10) Here I have relied heavily upon the discussion in Eric Dunning (1981).

(11) See for example Steven Lukes discussion on power (Lukes, 1977).

relatively structured, through a process of negotiation and struggle, into forms, for example of class domination and repression.

Alternatively, more structural Neo-Marxist discussions on power, such as those of Althusser and Poulantzas, specifically define power in terms of structural determination. In his earlier work, Poulantzas (1975) in particular tended to view relations of power entirely in class terms. Yet in State, Power and Socialism (1978) Poulantzas concedes that relations of power do not exhaust class relations and may go a certain way beyond them. Again, one of the major advantages of figural analysis over class analysis is the open-ended framework of analysis which allows for social class explanations of power relations but also allows for a multitude of other dynamic power relations, such as gender figurations, racist and anti-racist figurations, and many state figurations which may or may not be explained in terms of class reductionism.

One of the major critiques of the Marxist and Neo-Marxist approaches to power is to be found in the work of Michel Foucault (1975). The conception of power, and in particular the notion of resistance as it is used by Foucault, questions the idea that power is always in the possession of the dominant force which represses subordinate groups. In focusing upon the way in which power is "exercised", power relations are not simply seen as power relations between haves and have nots but as strategies which generate multiple points of resistance to forms of repression or domination. Yet Foucault also argues that power relations need not only be viewed as repressive or negative phenomena. As Rojek in his discussion of Foucault points out, not only does Foucault's work illustrate that

freedom is a positive effect of the organisation and exercise of power but also that, however relatively powerless individuals or groups may feel, in practice everybody has a certain relative amount of power, which they may or may not exercise in a relational sense (12).

There are a number of similarities between the work of Foucault and the work of Elias in terms of their approach to power relations. Like Foucault, Elias emphasises the fact that, as long as individuals are involved in human relationships nobody is or can be powerless. As Elias contends power is a structural characteristic of all relationships. As long as people are dependent upon one another whether it be as a function of emotional, political or economic bonds there will always be a power-relation or a balance of power within and between figurations. Like Foucault, Elias comments upon the fact that, as a part of all human relationships, the problems of power cannot be explained in simple terms, such as single-variable accounts or models. Furthermore, Elias attempts to illustrate that, as a dynamic aspect of figural analysis, the relational practice of power operates at a number of different levels. For instance, within the two-person model (Elias, 1978a: p193):

We depend on others; others depend on us. In so far as we are more dependent on others than they are on us ... they have power over us, whether we have become dependent on them by their use of naked force or by our need to be loved, our need for money, healing, status, a career or simply excitement. Be that as it

(12) For a useful summary of the work of Foucault see J. G. Merquior (1985).

may, in direct relationships between two people, A's relationship to B is also B's relationship to A. In such relationships A's dependence on B is always connected with B's dependence on A, except in marginal situations. But it is possible for one to be very much slighter than the other. It may be the case that B's power over A is greater than A's power over B. This balance of power is weighted in B's favour.

There is no need to, I believe, to elaborate upon all the different game models outlined by Elias. In each case, as more and more people become involved in the figuration, the chain of inter-dependence becomes more complex and the balance of power ratios more inter-twined in a nexus of possible permutations and outcomes. It is crucial to realise that the central point illustrated in all of the different game models is the fact that power is a "relational" phenomenon" which in practice operates at a number of different and variably interpenetrating levels.

It would be misleading and indeed incorrect to argue that the immanent dynamics of such figurations merely develop in an evolutionary sense. Consider Elias's (1983: p4) discussion on a river with three essentially different currents running at different speeds. If the three currents are viewed in isolation then the currents may seem unique, but, in practice as part of the river such currents develop at different rates and are still part of the river. Social figurations and parts of figurations also develop at different rates and yet are still part of the general process of social development. The concept of change, however, does not adequately capture the complexity of the developmental process. Two crucial points writes Dunning (1988: p7),

need to be imparted. Firstly, a social process can involve changes in different directions, for example, towards higher or lower levels of social differentiation and integration. Secondly, while the concept of development entails a transformation towards higher levels of social differentiation, this process may or may not be reversed at any particular point in the process. It must be stressed that, while the Eliasian notion of development might entail what some are prone to see as evolutionary tendencies it does not entail the notion of an inevitable process of change or of change in a single direction.

Finally, I should like to draw together the main strands of the theoretical position that I have outlined in this chapter. The discussion has been organised around three main areas: (i) the development of dependency theory; (ii) the need to consider general and specific aspects of cultural dependency; and (iii) I have submitted the proposition that many of the problems and limitations of dependency theory and cultural theory are in fact removed when the notion of figural development is utilised as the major theoretical point of orientation. By this I do not mean to imply that the explanatory power of dependency and cultural theory will not be utilised in this study, but that a much broader, open-ended framework of analysis is provided if the strengths of dependency and cultural theory are incorporated into and complemented by a figural approach.

In the first instance, it has been noted that dependency theory, as it has developed, refers more to a paradigm of conflicting theories and explanations rather than to one unified body of theory. Some of the common themes within the dependency paradigm include the assertions

that underdevelopment is intimately connected with the expansion of industrialised capitalist countries; that development and underdevelopment are but different aspects of the same process; that dependency is not only an external phenomenon but also an internal problem to many social formations and that dependency can only be properly understood if one turns to an examination of historically-structured relations and struggles between various metropolises and hinterlands depending on the unit of analysis. Yet the dependency paradigm has, in part, not developed its potential for a number of reasons: (i) it has failed to expand an adequate theory of development; (ii) it has relied too heavily upon economic and class reductionist explanations as the only factors affecting development; and (iii) that there has been a neglect within the dependency paradigm to consider forms of cultural dependency.

In the second instance, it has been argued with specific reference to the present study, that there is a need to consider the process by means of which Scottish cultural identity has become relatively dependent upon such cultural artefacts as tartanry, the view of the emigre, and the kailyard and clannish image of Scotland. At a concrete level, in what way do the Scottish Highland Gatherings contribute and depend upon aspects of this cultural identity? Are the Scottish Highland Gatherings expressions, to use Nairn's term, of sub-cultural nationalism? Furthermore it has been noted that one of the advantages of the term 'culture' is the complexity of meaning that is inherent, for example, within Raymond Williams notion of dominant, residual and emergent cultural forms or within the broadly defined "cultural studies" school of thought. However, I have also commented throughout

that the figurational approach, while allowing for the incorporation of Williams' dominant, residual and emergent forms, also provides a much more open-ended developmental framework. Not only is it important to remember that dominant, residual and emergent forms consist of figurations of people but also that it is totally unsatisfactory to consider popular cultural forms in isolation from the more powerful groups within a figuration. In practice, popular cultural forms only have a relative autonomy.

I have argued throughout this chapter that the figurational approach has a number of advantages which make it a powerful explanatory framework of analysis: (i) it moves beyond economic and class reductionist explanations yet includes them within broader explanations of development; (ii) it rejects such false dichotomies as individual and society, culture and ideology; (iii) the figurational approach allows not only for a much more comprehensive analysis of social relationships, but also the exercise of power at different levels and rates of development; and finally (iv) that, like practitioners of cultural studies and historical materialism, figurational sociologists view static, ahistorical models of social structure and social development as unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOLK ORIGINS OF THE MODERN HIGHLAND GATHERINGS

There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great and so general as that which operated in the Highlands by the late conquest and subsequent laws The clans retain little now of their original character. Their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated (Johnson, 1924: p51).

It is within the broader context of the social relations which characterised the Highland clan formation that many of the folk origins of the modern Highland Gatherings may be found and understood. A particular way of life existed in the Highlands until about 1746, after which the British state's post-Culloden policies gradually marginalised and eventually transformed the traditions, social structure and experiences of those people who lived out their lives within the Highland social formation. Yet it is not the post Culloden phase of development which is the central concern of this chapter but the period up until about 1750. The evidence provided above by Dr Samuel Johnson certainly alludes to a Highland way of life in which the Highland clans were ferocious, independent, contemptuous of government and in reverence of their chiefs. The basis for such an interpretation stems, in part, from the dominant perception of the Highland way of life as being primitive, violent and an increasing embarrassment to the more civilized people within the British social formation. Such perceptions, at least in part, invariably rest upon the power to define

history. Histories of many social formations have often been written at the expense or marginalisation of subordinate social fractions. As a 'destroyer of myths', it is part of the role of the sociologist to question such interpretations.

More specifically this chapter attempts to establish the fact that many of the traditions which are so central to today's Highland Gatherings did in fact exist within a Highland social formation which existed before about 1750. The wearing of tartan dress, the playing of the pìo-baireachd, hill-running, and Highland dancing are all examples of cultural practices which not only existed before the middle of the eighteenth century, but also form the core of existing Highland Gatherings such as Lonach, Braemar and Glenisla. Without the inclusion of such practices, albeit in their modern forms, today's Highland Gatherings would be recognised as something other than Highland. When asked what are the requirements of a traditional Highland Gathering, the secretary of the Glenisla Highland Gathering replied (Glenisla: 18/8/86):

... Piping, highland dancing,
hill-running and heavy events.
These are the main things, and
another thing which I don't think is
adhered to enough today is people
who are organising and running the
games should all wear Highland
dress.

I think it is important to emphasise that the following analysis is not meant to be a detailed social history of the Highland social formation. My primary intention in this chapter is to establish the fact that an initial phase in the development of the Highland

Gatherings existed between at least the eleventh century and about 1750. A secondary concern is to illustrate that many antecedent forms and practices, which have subsequently developed into what are today the modern Highland Gatherings, did in fact contribute to the social and political institutions of a Highland way of life which differentiated itself from a more powerful Lowland figuration. At the centre of this Highland social formation was the Highland clan, a particular figuration, characterised in part by a patriarchal-feudal set of social relations.

Processes of Unification and Anglicization

While the narrative in this instance begins during the eleventh century, it would be misleading and indeed incorrect to suggest that various processes and figurations had not already influenced the relatively fluid structure of the Scottish social formation before this period in history. With reference to the origins of the modern Highland Gatherings, it is not necessary to provide an in-depth analysis of the Scottish people much before the reign of Malcolm Ceann-Mor (1058-1093). By this stage, the existing social formation had already undergone a complex developmental process leading to the emergence of a number of relatively independent figurations each having a greater or lesser degree of power.

It is possible to identify five broad relatively independent social fractions which occupied the territory now called Scotland before the eleventh century. The Picts, writes Gregory, (1836: p2) being the original Caledonians, continued to be the most powerful group

north of the "Firths" up until the sixth century. At the beginning of this period, the Irish Scots, or Dalraids, developed settlements in both Kintyre and Argyll. The Strathclyde Britons occupied the land of Cumbria stretching all the way from Dumbarton over to Carlisle, plus a vast area south of the Solway Firth which today is referred to as Cumbria and Westmorland. However, conquests by more powerful Anglo-Saxon groups meant that much of the territory controlled by the Britons, together with Northumberland and Lothian, subsequently came under the control of the Anglo-Saxon group which had come up from the south. The final group to influence the development of the Scottish social formation during this early period were the Norsemen who continually attacked the inhabitants of the Western Isles from at least the eighth century. Some of the oldest Highland clans take their point of origin from Somerled, a vassal of the King of Norway who emerged as a distinct threat to the Scottish monarchy during the twelfth century.

An initial unification process took place between about 843 A.D. and about 1050 A.D. This development had mainly been the work of the Irish Scots or Dalriads who had in part united the relatively independent tribes under Kenneth MacAlpin, the first King of the Scots (843-880). This initial unification process became a necessary development for the Picts, Irish Scots, Anglo-Saxons, and Strathclyde Britons who were continually being attacked by the more powerful Norse raiders. However it would be wrong to think of this initial Scottish formation as a unified state. Despite their normal allegiance to the monarchy, there was, as yet, no notion of law that could be applied to all the different groups. Each of them had distinct characteristics and interests. Each of them had a degree of power relative to the

others and each was prone to rebellion. This nominal unification was subject to a continuous process of tensions and strains as a result of the degree of power which any one of the relatively independent groups exercised within the union at any particular period. During phases in which the Norse threat of domination was high, the bonding of these Scottish groups was strong. During periods in which the threat of domination was reduced, unification amongst the Picts, Irish Scots, Anglo-Saxons, and Strathclyde Britons was prone to degrees of instability. It might be argued that the most striking features of this nominal unification were the low level of cohesion which existed and the strength of the centrifugal forces which tended to contribute to disintegration.

Furthermore, it would be far too simplistic to argue that, at this stage, the social differentiation amongst these past figurations revolved around a distinct set of Highland and Lowland or Celtic and non-Celtic social relations. Certain factors which gave rise to such a social differentiation began to appear as a result of a second process, an anglicization process, which further emerged during the rule of the Canmore Kings. The succession of Canmore Kings up until the end of the thirteenth century marked a very definite and important epoch in the social and economic development of Scotland. A number of inter-related factors marked the evolution of the Lowlanders as a particularly powerful force whose values and way of life became gradually more closely connected with the affluent south as opposed to the more mountainous wild regions of the north.

By the eleventh century, the Gaelic language was spoken throughout most of Scotland. The power of the Dalriadic tribe had procured a Gaelic hegemony under what proved to be the last of the Gaelic speaking monarch, Malcolm Ceann-Mor (1058-1093). A paradoxical situation emerged when the monarch went to the English royal house for a Queen who held the values and beliefs of a more Anglo-Norman civilization as opposed to the traditions of Gaelic Scotland. There can be no doubt that the marriage of Malcolm Ceann-Mor to Queen Margaret in 1058 marked a decisive phase in a process of change by which the Anglo-Norman figuration became the more dominant influence upon the Scottish throne. According to the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, (1831; Vol 12, p127), the marriage in 1058 marked the relative beginning of an anglicization process which eventually led to the marginalization of Gaelic culture and an increasing cultural dependency upon a more dominant metropolitan culture. This anglicization process continues today. For instance in the case of Argyll, though it is still Highland in both a topographical and figural sense, the permeating effects of this anglicization process have meant that the people, once members of an independent Gaelic speaking culture, are now linked with the English speaking West of Scotland linguistically, commercially and, in some cases, sentimentally. The last battle to be fought on British soil, the Battle of Culloden (1746), marked the end of an intense period of struggle against the marginalization of the Highland way of life.

If the emergence of an anglicization process was one factor which eventually led to a Highland/Lowland social differentiation, a second factor was the decision taken by Malcolm Ceann-Mor, and the subsequent

Canmore Kings, to remove the royal court from its Highland seat in Perth to a more southerly, lowland seat in Dunfermline. One of the unintended consequences of this action was an increase in the level of violence experienced in the north of Scotland. In those areas of the north such as the glens and the valleys, far removed from the royal jurisdiction, it became increasingly difficult to practise the same levels of law and order as existed in the south. As Browne (1841: Vol 2, p127) indicates, the transfer of the seat of government to the south meant that the administration and practice of law became either inoperative or feebly enforced in the north. The people of the north gave themselves up to violence and turbulence and revenged in person any insults or injuries which the law did not attend to. In short, the point that is being made here is that the removal of the Scottish court from the north to the south facilitated, in part, a process which led to the inhabitants of the north developing another formation, in order to protect themselves from attacks, and also to attack aggressive or weak neighbours. This process contributed to the emergence between the fourteenth and eighteenth century of the Highland clan formation, a figuration which developed a specific set of social relations and practices.

Perhaps the greatest catalyst in this period of change was the development of further forms of feudal control. This, probably more than any other factor, created the emergent social differentiation which, in the fourteenth century, expressed itself in Highland and Lowland figuration terms. Feudalism was specifically viewed as a mechanism by which the monarchy could consolidate its power through a set of feudal relations. The whole feudal edifice functioned to

support the monarch at its apex as the ultimate ruler of all land and the sole fountainhead of all justice. Particularly in the more southerly lowlands, this contributed to a further unification spurt whereby the relative fusion of Anglo-Saxons, Strathclyde Britons and fragments of several other social fractions gave rise to a relatively unified Lowland figuration of people. Yet in the north, the feudal relationship between landlord and tenant was mediated by a patriarchal relationship which existed between the Celtic tribal chiefs and the clansfolk. The policies of the succession of Canmore Kings were violently resisted by the people of the north. In many ways the entire history of what was to become the Highland social formation during the period between the eleventh and the eighteenth centuries revolved around the tension between the centrifugal tendencies of the Highland chiefs and the destabilization forces which resulted, in part, from the process of anglicization.

Aspects of Elias's (1982: ppl3-90) discussion on the dynamics of feudalization are directly applicable to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms involved in this process of destabilization. The state of military, economic and transport arrangements during this stage of Scottish development left the ruling monarchs, in this case the Canmore Kings, with little choice but to delegate power to a network of Highland chiefs. Neither of these groups were restricted by an oath of allegiance or loyalty to the central authority. Consequently, whoever was delegated power within any particular territory was in effect ruler of that area (Elias, 1982: pl7). As soon as the central power showed signs of weakness the Highland chiefs as territorial landlords sought to demonstrate their independence from the central authority and their own ability to rule within their own

clan territories. That is to say that one of the essential characteristics of feudalism involved a process whereby centrifugal pressures became dominant over centripetal pressures with the result that effective power became concentrated in the hands of the local Highland chiefs.

Clearly no single factor led to the differentiation between what were to develop into relatively autonomous Highland and Lowland cultures within the Scottish social formation. A number of other factors in addition to those discussed so far might also be mentioned. Some writers have explained the processes which subsequently led to the social differentiation between the people of the north and the people of the south as simply a case of geography which created not only a material division of wealth but also two distinctly different ways of life (Grant, 1930). There is certainly more than an element of truth in the hypothesis that the political economy of the respective figurations in the north and the south was influenced by the mainly pastoral labour relations experienced in the south and the cattle-raising economy of the north. Vulgar Marxists, for example, would argue that the essential explanatory factor lies in these fundamentally different sets of economic relations. I have tried to indicate here, however, that a much more complex process was involved, not least of which consisted of the conflict and struggle which emanated from two essentially antagonistic forces involving a primarily feudal/patriarchal set of power relations in the Lowlands and patriarchal/feudal set of power relations in the Highlands. In short, in both the Lowland and the Highland areas of Scotland at this stage,

(1) For a further discussion on these differences see A. Cunningham (1932).

social relations consisted of a mix of feudal and patriarchal elements. However, whilst feudal elements were dominant in the Lowlands, in the Highlands the reverse held good.

It is within the context of this complex process of development that one of the earliest gatherings seems to have occurred. As we have seen, during the reign of Malcolm Ceann-Mor in the eleventh century, a hill-race on the Braes of Mar is believed to have taken place. It is certainly asserted that the point of origin of today's Braemar Royal Highland Gatherings was an eleventh century incident when the King summoned the clans to the Braes of Mar whereupon a hill-race to the summit of Craig Choinneach took place (Colquhoun and Machell 1927; Webster, 1973). The function of this sporting practice, we are told was to select the ablest athletes so that they might serve as postal runners for the King. While there is no eleventh century document which specifically relates to this sporting practice, in addition to the account provided by Colquhoun and Machell presented in Chapter One, the following evidence might also be considered:

1. On the hill of Creag Choineach (pronounced Kanyach) whose tree-clad precipice rises abruptly from the road leading into Braemar, Kenneth MacAlpine, first King of Scots, had his hunting seat and in the heart of the village lies unnoticed the ruins of Kindrochit Castle, the stronghold of King Malcolm (1058-1093), about whom more is known. Tradition has it that King Malcolm called the clans to the Braes of Mar to select by competition his hardest soldiers and his fleetest messengers and this may be called, without due licence, to

be the original Braemar Gatherings (Braemar Society Unpublished Papers).

2. The Braemar Royal Highland Society was founded in 1817. But the origins of the Braemar Gatherings go back much further indeed, and for this there are two main causes. Firstly, Braemar lies in the heart of the biggest deer forest in the country and for thousands of years Kings and nobles have been drawn to the vicinity by the thrills of the chase. Secondly, its geographical position made it a point of great strategic importance in the centre of roads and tracks through the hills, leading East, North and South. It has also been, in fact, a good place for gathering, be it clan gathering, military or something more friendly. There are good reasons for believing that such meetings go back as far as the 11th century (Braemar: 4/7/1986)

3. When, in the eleventh Century, Malcolm Canmore King of Scotland made his decision to run a royal sports meeting on the Braes of Mar to test out the speed and endurance of the young post runners of his Kingdom, he started something that has had a long living tradition and history in this Scotland of ours. The old castle of Kindrochit, which was the hunting lodge of King Malcolm, lies buried in the heart of Braemar, amidst weeds and rubble, unnoticed by the thousands of people who visit the village each year. It is an interesting thought that on the ground where the old Mar Castle now stands, feats of strength and endurance were attempted in the presence of the King in those far-off days and that the counterpart of that simple

gathering exists in the modern Braemar Gatherings (Annual Book of Braemar, 1962: p27).

4. Many are the tales of Malcolm Canmore. He it was who first established a system of postal runners throughout the Kingdom. At the time of this event he was resident at Braemar and one day he summoned all his tenants and subjects to meet on the mound where stands Braemar Castle. Then the King announced that he would award a magnificent baldric of gold, together with a sword and a purse of gold to the first man who could attain the summit of Craig Choinneach (Annual Book of Braemar. 1962: p253).

In situating this event within the broader context of the policies of the Canmore Kings, the point that I wish to make is simply that, from the evidence available, it is quite possible to hypothesise that the policies and actions of the Canmore Kings not only led to an increased level of violent behaviour in the north but also gave rise to the development of a network of postal runners which facilitated the process of communication. It is consistent with what is known about the Highland Gatherings to suggest that: Malcolm Ceann-Mor might have called a gathering of the clans on the Braes of Mar during the eleventh century; that a hill race to the top of Craig Choinneach might have taken place; that the function of this hill race was to select by competition the fastest athletes amongst the clansfolk in order that they might act as postal runners; and that this event is consistent with what we know about not only the point of origin of the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering but also the Highland Gatherings in general.

Hill races are certainly one of the traditional sporting practices maintained at today's Highland Gatherings. However, when considering this as a point of origin several qualifications have to be made: (i) while tradition and popular culture suggest that this eleventh century event might be the origin of the gatherings, lack of original eleventh century documentation precludes absolute certainty; and (ii) since the Highlander him/her self did not arrive until the fourteenth century a question mark must be raised against the assertion that the hill race on Craig Choinneach was in fact a Highland Gathering of the clans and not just a gathering at which clansfolk were present. While the processes which eventually gave rise to the social differentiation between Highlanders and Lowlanders were certainly at work as early as the eleventh century, there is no evidence to support the claim that the Highlanders or the Highland clan figuration achieved a distinct identity much before the fourteenth century. All that can be said about the hill race up Craig Choinneach, and the gathering of the clans on the Braes of Mar, is that today's Highland Gatherings have developed out of a number of antecedent forms some of which may date back to at least the eleventh century.

Wild Scots and Highlanders

The term 'Highlander' was first used in the fourteenth century to describe the manners, customs and way of life of the groups of people who lived to the north of the Highland line. In terms of social organisation, the greatest distinction between the Highland and Lowland figuration was the existence of the Highland clan as a distinct and powerful figuration which signified a rejection and threat to many of the anglicizing and modernising forces already operating not only in

the Lowlands but also in the south. This does not mean that clans did not exist in the Lowlands. Yet such Lowland clans as the Humes, Hamiltons and Douglas's were essentially different from the Highland clans such as the Macdonalds, Mackays or Mackintoshes. Lowland people would certainly have rejected the implication that they were clannish in the sense that the meaning of the term clannish came to be associated with a patriarchal, materially impoverished and somewhat violent way of life.

The first chronicler to use the term Highlander to describe the social differentiation of Scotland in Highland and Lowland terms is generally believed to be John Fordun. Writing in 1380 Fordun (Cited in Dickinson et al, 1952: Vol 1, p8) remarked:

The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. The people of the coast are of domestic civilized habits, trusty, patient and peaceful, devout in divine worship yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hand of their enemies. The highlanders and the people of the islands on the other hand are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person, but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language, and owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation and exceedingly cruel.

The Highland way of life has often been depicted as the barbarous antithesis of a more civilised Lowland culture. Writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, John Major drew a distinction between

the 'Wild Scots' of the Highlands and 'Householding Scots' of the Lowlands (Cited in Dickinson et al, 1952: Vol 2, p6). Commenting on various practices, Major goes on to describe the delight which the Wild Scots take in cattle-raiding and a life of indolence. Their chiefs, he adds, largely follow bad men, are full of mutual dissension, and war rather than peace is their normal condition (Cited in Dickinson et al, 1952: Vol2, p6). By the eighteenth century, the perception of the Highland way of life from a Lowland point of view was one of suspicion and distaste. The Highlands were seen as a dangerous and primitive periphery which was increasingly an embarrassment to the British nation. A report of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge observed in 1748 that "it is generally allowed that the Highlands of Scotland is not a very delightful country, nor its inhabitants the most civilised or best bred people in Europe" (Smout, 1981: p434). The report went on to add that many of the inhabitants were wild and barbarous (Smout, 1981: p435). With particular reference to the Highland army which gave expression to this Highland way of life in the 1745 rebellion The Scots Magazine (1745: p51) of 1745 spoke of the Young Pretender's army as:

made out of the barbarous corners of this country; many of whom are papists, trained up to the sword, by being practised in open robbery and violence, void of property of their own, the constant invaders of that of others; and who know no laws but the will of their leaders.

The terms 'barbarous' and 'civilized' are themselves part of a developmental process. Social formations do not stand still but are in a continual state of flux. Furthermore various fractions move at

various rates. This process is not in any sense evolutionary in that the process at any particular period in time may be reversed. According to Elias, (1978b: p47) two ideas are popularly used in the concept of civilization and its antithesis, 'barbarism'. On the one hand, the terms refer to distinctly developmental stages through which all social formations are held to move and on the other hand, it is important to remember that such concepts themselves are socially constructed by rising middle classes whose ideas of moral standards and manners are extended to include the civilising of the state, the constitution, and education and therefore the civilising of broader sections of the population who become liberated from what is viewed as barbaric (Elias, 1978b: p48). At the moment of its formation, the concept of civilization was a reflection of various reformist ideas and gave expression to the way in which a rising group was able to gain access to high office and to construct a certain way of life which reproduced and maintained existing power relations.

The 1745 rebellion, of course, was ill-received by the English establishment. The dominant interpretation of this period in Highland history has often been mediated by social class, religious Lowlander and many other figurational points of reference. Even today it is sometimes claimed by aggrieved Highland scholars that Scottish children are often taught to regard the Highlander as a violent and feckless barbarian (Maclean, 1956: p41). It can be argued that all social formations, and not just the Highland social formation, have passed through a stage of barbarous behaviour as they have developed or moved towards a state of modernity. Furthermore, exactly which groups within the British social formation have been taught to view Highland culture

as a barbarous and violent way of life may have much to do with not only those who have been in a position to write and define Highland history but also the social relations that have historically developed between the Highland and Lowland figurations. An important factor in this process has been the power of the dominant Lowland figuration to marginalise and even dismiss Highland culture either as of secondary importance or as a threat to the advancement of a dominant metropolitan hegemony.

The usage of the term culture in this sense is similar to many of the high culture-low culture dichotomies which pervaded the early 1970's sociological literature on culture (2). As such, the same principal critique might be applied, namely that it is incorrect to imply that one culture is superior or inferior to another and more objectively adequate to talk of two or more sets of experiences and traditions. Each culture or way of life being of equal value and yet fundamentally different. Furthermore, the distinction between Highland and Lowland ways of life has much to do with the power relations between the two figurations. The power to define, in many cases, results from the mobilization of political, economic and cultural resources that any particular figuration can draw upon. To understand further how this broad figurational differentiation developed between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century, it is necessary to consider some of the key characteristics of the Highland figuration.

(2) See for example T. Kando (1975)

While the language of the clansfolk continued to contain a strong Gaelic emphasis, the Highland chiefs and chieftains, writes Hunter (1976: p7), were by the early eighteenth century equally at home conversing in French or English. The anglicization process and the language of commerce at the Lowland cattle markets necessitated that the tribal patriarch was fluent in at least Gaelic, English and French. The increasing commercial interchange between the two societies certainly facilitated this development but the image of the Highland chief dealing in commercial affairs through Gaelic, English and French is somewhat contradictory to the assertion that the Highlanders were in fact barbarous, uncultured and uncivilized even in the high culture - low culture frame of reference. The Highlanders in general, though, tended to be extremely superstitious. The phases of changes of the moon were closely observed and it was only during particular periods that many utilitarian functions such as cutting turf or thatch for the house were carried out (Martin, 1884: p122). Superstition was often resorted to as a means of curing illness. For what Keltie (1885: Vol 2, p303) refers to as consumptive disorders, the Highlanders used to remove the fingernails and toenails of the patient, put the cuttings in a bag made from a piece of the patient's clothes, wave the bag three times around the patient's head crying, 'deis-iuil', and bury the bag in some remote place. Many historians have explained the essential differences between Highlanders and Lowlanders simply in terms of geography. Again Keltie (1885: Vol 1, p299) explains that, having little contact with the rest of the world beyond the Highland line, the clansfolk acquired a particular character and retained or adopted many habits, customs and manners which differed widely from their Lowland neighbours. In similar vein, Stewart (1822: Vol 1, p7) asserts that:

Firmness and decision, fertility in resources, ardour in friendship and a generous enthusiasm, were the result of such a situation, such modes of life, and such habits of thought. Feeling themselves separated by nature from the rest of mankind, and distinguished by their habits, manners and dress they considered themselves the original possessors of the country and regarded the Saxons of the Lowlands as strangers and intruders.

In terms of dress, the Highlander had a very distinct Highland garb. A number of modern historians have tended to argue that the dress of the Highlander, in particular the notion of tartanry, was very much an invented tradition which emerged during the nineteenth century (Trevor-Roper, 1983). Yet there is a great deal of evidence which suggests that, while the production of clan or family tartans did not exist before the nineteenth century on such a large scale as it does today, it is in fact wrong to assert that the tartan tradition of the Highlanders was an 'invented tradition'. While the wearing of tartan may have taken on a different 'meaning' after about 1750, there are a number of quite reliable references to the wearing of Highland dress and tartan before the middle of the eighteenth century. Since so many of today's Highland Gatherings are dependent upon a symbolic tartan cultural identity, it is worth considering some of the empirical evidence concerning Highland garb. For instance, as early as 1512 John Major commented on the distinctive dress of the Highlanders:

From the middle of their thigh to the feet they have no covering for the leg, clothing themselves with a mantle instead of an upper garment and a shirt dyed with Saffron (Cited in Keltie, 1885: Vol 1, p326).

A Frenchman, John de Beaugue, writing about 1556 stated that:

at the siege of Haddington in 1549 they (the Scottish army) were followed by Highlanders, and these last go almost naked; they have painted waistcoats and a sort of woollen covering variously coloured (Cited in Keltie, 1885: Vol 1, 327).

George Buchanan, writing in his Rerum Scoticarum Historia of 1582, described how the Highlanders used their clothing as camouflage:

They delight in marled clothes, especially that have long stripes of sundry colours; they love chiefly purple and blue. Their predecessors used short mantles or plaids of divers colours sundry waies devided; but for most part now they are browne, more nere to the colour of the hadder; to the effect when they lie amongst the hadder the bright colour of the plaids shall not betray them.... (Cited in Keltie, 1885: Vol 1, p327).

While there is a description in many of the early accounts of various colours and dyes, there is no suggestion that these dyes formed specific clan tartans. Nor do the descriptions used here differentiate clearly between the differences in dress within the Highland figuration. Perhaps one of the best descriptions on this point is to be found in Edward Burt's (1815: p104) letters of 1730:

Few besides gentlemen wear the trowze, that is breeches and stockings all of one piece, and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of

chequered tartan The common habit of the ordinary Highlanders is far from being acceptable to the eye; with them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half way down the thigh and the rest is brought over the shoulders and then fastened before, below the neck, often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin or a sharpened piece of stick, so that they make pretty nearly the appearance of the poor women in London.

Again with reference to the modern Highland Gatherings it must be noted that, not only the wearing of the kilt but also the wearing of numerous tartan symbols, provides this tradition with a specific sense of Highland cultural identity. Certainly, as has been indicated here, the wearing of Highland dress and various antecedent forms of tartan help to distinguish the Highlander from the Lowlander. Yet it is important not to divorce the meaning of tartanry in all its various forms from the original context in which it developed. Furthermore, it is also important not to consider the wearing of tartan today as a completely novel development divorced from earlier traditions. While clans and tartans existed before about 1750, it is doubtful whether specific clan or family tartans were developed to the same extent as they are today with the cultural production and reproduction of so many, and in some cases mythical, symbolic family tartans. Within its original social context, a tartan or, to use the Gaelic term 'breacan', gave expression not just to a form of dress but to a whole way of life. It is also often forgotten that, after about 1750, the wearing of the kilt and the wearing of tartan never again became as popular an aspect of everyday life amongst the ordinary folks of the Highlands.

In contrast to the Highlanders, the Lowland Scots tended to be more anglicised in the sense that their language was a fusion of English and Lowland Scots dialects. In the Lowlands, too, the power of the monarchy was more effective in the sense that, just as in much of England, Lowland Scots society was primarily a social formation in which the rule of the monarchy via his/her landlords was, in principle, absolute. This contributed to a more passive way of life in comparison to that in the Highlands. As Smout (1981: p26) indicates the feudal factor more than any other factor helped to differentiate the Highland from the Lowland way of life. While differences in language, superstition, dress, religion, wealth and many other social, political, economic and cultural factors contributed to the Highlander acquiring a distinctive cultural identity, one of the major contributory factors which gave rise to the Lowland assertion of 'Wild Scots' was the level of violence experienced not only within and between Highland fractions themselves, but also between Highland and Lowland fractions. Certain mediating factors such as the relative powerlessness of the king and the difficulties of stabilizing the royal warrant in the Highlands have already been mentioned. There was also the Highland tradition of the creach. 'Creach' was the term given to the practice of 'lifting' cattle from other clans but more regularly from the Lowland Scots. In many cases, such raids involved the burning of homes, the destruction of crops and either the killing or the removal of cattle or livestock. The traditional creach is explained in some detail by Stewart (1822: p326):

These predatory expeditions were more frequently directed against Lowlanders, whom the Highlanders considered as aliens and whose

cattle they therefore considered as fair spoil at all times. The forays were generally executed within great secrecy and the cattle often lifted or secured for a considerable time before they were missed.

The black cattle were the main staple product upon which the clan economy depended until the end of the eighteenth century. Black cattle provided milk, butter, meat and cheese - four of the major staple products of consumption. Their hides made shoes and clothing, while the practice of cattle droving was one of the Highlanders' major occupations during the peaceful respites from clan warfare. Yet during periods of clan feuds, cattle were often carried off by the various Highland clans. Quite often, hostile clans would initiate acts of violence by a cattle raid upon the property of another clan. As such, the practice of the creach or cattle raid provided a central tradition, not only within Highland folklore, but also Highland history.

It is not necessary to provide an in-depth account of all the incidents of conflict, struggle and violence between the Highland clans to illustrate the fact that the Highland way of life was often experienced and interpreted as violent. The following are some of the incidents of internal warfare between the clans which occurred during the sixteenth century (MacLeod Papers, unpublished, p80):

- 1501 - The Macleans and Camerons were at war.
- 1501 - 1506 Donald Dubh's insurrection was going on.
- 1513 - 1519 Sir Donald of Lochalsh was in rebellion.
- 1528 Conflict between the Macleods of Dunvagan and the
 Macdonalds of Sleat.

- 1529 A Macdonald/Maclean alliance attacked the Campbells.
- 1539 Conflict between the MacDonalds of Sleat and the
 Mackenzies of Kintail.
- 1544 The Frazers and Clan Ranald fought the battle of
 Kinloch Lochy.
- 1545 Donald Dubh's rebellion against Queen Mary (1542 -
 63).
- 1561 - 1564 Conflict between the Macleans of Dowart and the
 MacDonalds of Islay.
- 1569 Mackintosh and Kepoch were at war.
- 1581 Glengarry and Kintail fell out.
- 1585 Conflict between the Mackintoshes and the Camerons.
- 1588 The Macleans attacked the MacIans.
- 1598 Conflict between the MacAllasters and the MacDonalds.
- 1599 Conflict between the MacDonalds of Sleat and the
 Macleods of Dunvegan.

In any one instance, a number of reasons might be given as to why the Highland way of life exhibited a high rate of violence right up until the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, there seems to be a certain degree of agreement among Highland historians concerning some of the principal reasons: (i) that the power of the king was relatively weak in the Highlands and, as a result, aggression, conflict and warfare developed at various rates between Highland fractions; (ii) that amongst the Highland clans the most violent feuds usually resulted from wounded pride or an insult to a clan member and as a result it was felt necessary to avenge the honour of the clan as a whole; (iii) that many feuds were in fact hereditary feuds which were transmitted from

generation to generation; (iv) that the strong patriarchal/feudal relationship which bonded the clansfolk to the Highland chief meant in practice that an insult against a clan member was invariably interpreted as an insult against the clan and ultimately the chief himself; and (v) that many clans, particularly the smaller ones, bound themselves by various treaties to larger clan units from whom they sought protection. Invariably in order to influence the balance of power and consequently the outcome of any conflict, smaller clans were drawn into feuds instigated by larger clan units. All of these factors and many more mediated the rates of violence and the figural arrangements and relationships that operated at any particular period or point of struggle, negotiation and conflict.

With particular reference to the modern Highland Gatherings, it is important to note that any particular breach or act of violence involving any Highland clan may have resulted from a "Gathering of the clan or clans". In the historical epoch when the overall clan figuration was at its height, the term Gathering of the clan took on a very specific meaning. The importance of mentioning this here is merely indicative of the general point that I am attempting to establish throughout this chapter, namely that the modern Highland Gatherings have developed out of a number of antecedent forms and traditions which existed before about 1750. The very term 'Highland Gathering' of the clan or clans during the epoch when clan organisation was the dominant structural form in the Highlands referred specifically to the practice whereby the chief or chieftains summoned the clansfolk to a gathering. Such a gathering of the clan may have been a celebration at the end of the autumn harvest, an act of council to

transact clan business or it may have been a summons for the clansfolk to gather and prepare for a creach. The "Gathering of the Clan" whether it be for a council or for a creach was generally instigated by dispatching the fiery cross. This consisted of two pieces of wood bound together to form a cross. One of the horizontal ends was burned while the other horizontal end adorned a cloth dipped in blood. Symbolically this cultural practice was not only a signal for the clan to gather but it also meant that anyone who disobeyed the summons of their Highland chief or chieftain would be punished by fire and sword (Carnell, 1939: p162).

The carriers of the fiery cross were those athletes or runners selected by their chiefs to carry the fiery cross throughout the clan territory. This custom is referred to on many occasions, not only within the existing literature on the Highland Gatherings but also within Highland folklore. Consider the following examples:

The carriers of the fiery cross are selected by their chiefs with great care. Indeed records show that in 1745 Lord Breadalbane's men went round Loch Tay, a distance of thirty two miles, in ten minutes under three hours ... In 1715 the fiery cross went the same round, and 500 men assembled in just two hours under the command of the Laird of Glenlyon (Annual Book of Braemar, 1980: p173).

A second meaning which may be attributed to the pre 1750 use of the term Highland Gathering arises out of the agrarian context of the Highland way of life. Such a Highland Gathering is referred to in a discussion concerning the origins of the Aboyne Highland Gatherings and Games (Aboyne, 1967: p19):

1. Behind the Gathering there is, however, a much older history ... , for it was to a great extent the custom of the Highlanders to hold an autumn Gathering in the weeks after the securing of the harvest; this ancient social tradition is one of the most characteristic features of autumn life in the Highlands ... Such gatherings gave the chiefs and chieftains an opportunity to meet and discuss business ... In addition to giving this opportunity to meet, the occasion was also appropriate for engaging in sports and healthy pastimes as well as ... the traditional dancing and music of the Highlanders.
2. In 1703 the Laird of Grant sent a summons to 600 of his people to be ready for a gathering in August (Aboyne: 2/7/1986).

It would be misleading and indeed incorrect to suggest that the Highland way of life necessitated a perpetual state of violence, or indeed that the pre-1750 Highland economy was totally dependent upon cattle as a staple product. Highland clans were to some extent independent, yet inter-dependent self-sufficing communities. During periods of peace, the labour of the clansfolk revolved, in part, around not only the tending of cattle but also the production of agricultural produce. Barley and oats were grown in their own fields and ground in their own querns. The butter, cheese and meat consumed by the clansfolk was the produce of their own flocks and herds. Natural beds of peat, after being cut, dried and stacked produced a supply of fuel. Linen was produced from home-grown flax, while wool from the sheep was spun and dyed with various colours derived from local plants and berries. When the weaving was finished the cloth was cleansed of oil

and grease. This was done by the process of walking the cloth or the 'laughad'. Such a practice is described by Pennant (1774: p56):

Twelve or fourteen women sit down on each side of a long board, ribbed lengthways, putting the cloth upon it. First they worked it backwards and forwards with their hands and then they used their feet, singing all the time.

A number of outside accounts have mistakenly simplified the existence of the pre-1750 Highland clan way of life in terms of violence and an economic dependency upon cattle and sheep many of which were stolen from Lowland Scots (Richards, 1982). Certainly as staple products, cattle and sheep exerted a considerable influence upon the social and economic development of the Highlands. Yet the presence of cottars and other marginal groups of people within the clan figuration provided not only a source of military power but also a ready supply of manual labour. A considerable proportion of any Highland clan figuration had only a very tenuous grip on the land. Yet, while at home the clansfolk worked close to the land and developed a method of agricultural production which, because of its inefficient methods of cultivation, was heavily criticised by nineteenth century reformers.

As Richards (1982: Vol 1, p39) explains, under the "runrig" method of cultivation the various strata within the Highland clan worked both co-operatively and individually to exploit the land in three ways: arable, fine pasture and rough grazing. At the core of this runrig practice of cultivation was the division of land into in-field and out-field pastures. The out-field land was less accessible and produced little

in terms of crops. The most productive land was the in-field land which was processed under a continuous rotation of grain crops. In addition to the in-field and out-field areas, there was the common grazing land for cattle. Such a system of runrig farming has been described by one writer as a rational, integrated system adapted to the availability of resources and the agrarian context of the Highlander (Fairhurst, 1967: pl2).

This agrarian context has been mentioned here for a number of reasons: (i) to illustrate briefly that the Highland way of life before about 1750 was not, as many would have us believe, experienced as a perpetual state of violence; (ii) that while the Highland economy during this period was dependent, in part, upon such staple products as cattle, an impoverished form of agrarian subsistence also contributed to the economic development of the Highlands; and (iii) that while the evidence in most cases is fragmentary, there is evidence that indicates that it was within this agrarian context that an antecedent form of Highland Gathering developed. Further examples of this practice might also include the origins of the Cowal Highland Gathering and the Trossachs Highland Gathering. While the earliest record of the Cowal gathering, in its developed form, appears in the Argyllshire Standard of May 4th 1894, the official history of the Cowal Highland Gathering makes reference to a much earlier form of Gathering:

Highland Gatherings in Scotland go back many generations. It was customary for the Gaels to hold an Autumn gathering and sports prior to the "kirn" or "harvest home" when the crops had been safely gathered in (Cowal, unpublished papers, p4).

The Trossachs Highland Gatherings claim to go back some 450 years. Local tradition has it that they were part of a celebration of the hairst kirn or bringing in of the harvest (Trossachs: 15/2/1985). Traditionally the clan Macgregor of Glengyle brought in the harvest. Such a celebration was briefly described by Percy Yorke (1821: p35):

The ceremony over, the whole marshalled themselves into a line of procession, and one of the Highlanders being a piper, of which there is almost always one with every band of mountaineers who descend at harvest time to the Low Country, he headed them and struck up a "pibroch" of triumph. On arriving at the barn door they separated and, as no work was done that day, he took themselves to various amusements to pass the interval from dinner till the hour of six o'clock, the appointed time of assembling to the Kirn-supper.

A party of the Celts amused themselves, and me, among others, by their extraordinary feats in "putting the stane", hopping, leaping, and running. Their agility far surpasses that of the Low Country hinds; but these in strength, if not in dexterity, are their equals. The speed with which some of them ran up the face of a hill was quite wonderful. Fiery in their tempers, they were, during their "strives", more than once on the point of breaking out into hostilities, and their skein-dhus, a small dirk-like knife, which all Highlanders in this part of the country carry (sheathhead), held up in the attitude of defiance.

While a number of cultural differences between the Highlander and Lowlander emerged between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century,

from the standpoint of social organization the greatest distinction between the two social fractions was the existence of the Highland clan figuration as a way of life north of the Highland line. The central axis of tension within the Highland social formation during this period resulted from the centrifugal tendencies of the Highland chiefs and a destabilizing force of feudal origin. It is within a relational social context of patriarchy, feudalism and the Highland clans that further antecedent forms of today's modern Highland Gatherings may be situated.

Highland Clans, Patriarchy and Feudalism

The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. They are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their origins from particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their immediate protectors and defenders (Burt, 1815: p105).

At the apex of the Highland clan was the Highland chief whose function it was to act as leader in warfare, protector of the clansfolk, landholder and legal administrator of the clan. The most prominent members of each clan figuration, apart from the chief, were the chieftains of the various sub-sets of the parent clan. Many chieftains also held the position of 'tacksmen' and like all chieftains were invariably related by blood to the chief. The tacksmen generally rented or loaned land from the chief on the understanding that their principal role was to provide the chief with a skilled military power rather than cash. An interesting comment is made by Hunter (1976: p9)

when he states that the tacksmen, inordinately conscious of their status as the 'daoine waisle' or gentlemen of the clan did not trouble themselves with the day to day tasks of farm labour. Instead they rented or loaned their farms to a group of sub-tenants or cottars who, as sub-tenants of the sub-tenants, constituted the lowest order within this set of power relations which formed the Highland clan figuration. For the great majority of the clansfolk, security of tenure was relatively dependent upon the good will of the chief or chieftain.

While this may have become relatively problematic during the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden, before the middle of the eighteenth century the figuration was bonded together by a dynamic patriarchal/feudal set of social relations. At the root of the Highland clan as a figuration lay the myth that all in a given clan were descendants of a common ancestor who had in the past founded the clan. The word clan itself is, in fact, the Gaelic term for 'family' or 'children'. At the apex of this traditional power structure was the Highland chief, the senior member of the clan who, as the tribal patriarch, demanded and was often given enormous respect and loyalty from his clansfolk. This obedience and loyalty is commented upon by both Martin and Burt in their analyses of the Highlands in the eighteenth century:

The islanders have a great respect for their chiefs and heads of tribes and they conclude grace after every meal with a petition to god for their welfare and prosperity (Martin, 1884: p209).

The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime Degree of Virtue to love their Chief and pay him a blind

obedience, although it be in opposition to the Government, the laws of the Kingdom, or even to the law of God (Burt, 1815: p105).

The patriarchal power of the chief was derived from the principle of kinship. Personal status was given to the chief as senior member of the clan, together with the right to hold land on behalf of the clan. In other words there was no private ownership of land. The power of the chief was not territorial in origin but sprang from the belief that he was the natural leader or father of his people. In many cases, the patriarchal power of the chief was consolidated by a feudal charter being granted by the monarchy or some other leading powerful figure such as the Lord of the Isles. However, as Cunningham (1932) explains, the chief already occupied a position of power by natural right independently of the monarchy. That is to say, the power of the Highland chief was only in the second instance relatively dependent upon his social relationship with the monarchy or some other office.

Feudalism on the other hand rested upon an entirely different premise in that the personal rights and the status of the landlord emerged from the ownership and control of property and land. The landlord or monarch in turn allotted land to his vassals who in turn may have allotted further portions of land to sub-vassals. Conditions of service under feudalism were often military and when broken the land was invariably forfeited. In other words it was the fact of possession that upheld the landlord's property right subject to the stipulation of the feu being met. An essential difference and similarity between the feudal and patriarchal forms of power is that one was essentially tenurial or territorial while the other was essentially personal. One

was a relationship between chiefs while the other involved a broader relationship between clan chiefs and members. It is not being argued that such forms of power were exclusive to the Highlands or Lowlands but that the former is best described as a patriarchal/feudal set of relations while the latter may be described as a feudal/patriarchal set of social relations.

While stability existed in many instances where the Highland chief was also the Highland landlord, the Highlanders were in constant revolt against an anglicization process which they identified as a direct threat to the patriarchal social relations of the Highland clan figuration. A primary axis of tension developed out of feudal and patriarchal rights of marriage and inheritance. Moreover, under the patriarchal way of life, women could not succeed to the chieftainship of the Highland clan. Nor could they convey the position of chief out of the clan by marriage into another clan. Moreover, under feudal practices it was perfectly feasible for women to inherit the ownership of land. An essential feature of the Highland way of life was that the Highland clan figuration was relatively dependent upon land being laid out to ensure the continued existence of the clan. However, unlike feudal forms of land ownership, the land of the Highland clan was not the private property of the chief but the public property of the clansfolk.

It would be misleading and indeed incorrect to generalise about the Highland social formation as being either patriarchal or feudal much before the middle of the eighteenth century. Certainly a more feudal set of practices operated more forcibly following the removal of the Highland chief's hereditary powers after the Battle of Culloden.

The integration of the Highlanders after this event was but another development towards a particular form of unification. The feudal power of the Highland landlord was eventually to supersede the patriarchal power of the Highland chief. Indeed after about 1750 many Highland chiefs rejected the old way of life and developed a different set of powers and practices as private landlords. Yet in practice, before the destruction of the Highland clan as a vital and significant focus of social organisation, what operated in the Highlands was a fusion of patriarchal and feudal forces which formed a continual axis of tension between the Highland and Lowland social formations. Both forces existed side by side in the Highlands yet essentially in opposition to one another. When considering the effect of these forces upon the Highland social formation, I am in general agreement with the argument put forward by Smout (1981: p43) when he asserts that the Highland social formation was based on a kinship or patriarchal set of social relations modified by feudalism. The Lowland social formation on the other hand developed a feudal set of social relations modified by kinship or patriarchal considerations. Within the Highland clan figuration rights to land were dependent upon personal status and not status upon the holding of land. The residual elements of this personal bond are still recognised in Scots law today by the fact that the Queen, in her position as monarch, is regarded as Queen of the Scots and not Queen of Scot-land.

As head of the clan, the Highland chief exercised a number of heritable jurisdictions. The existence of such hereditary powers illustrates further the fact that the Highland chiefs operated in many instances independently from the rule of the monarchy. In both civil

and criminal cases the Highland chief either sat in judgement himself or appointed one of his chieftains who was in turn relatively dependent upon the Highland chief. These powers of jurisdiction are commented upon by Colonel David Stewart on a number of occasions (Stewart, 1822). For instance, the following account is given of a petition brought before the Duke of Atholl, hereditary Highland chief of the Clan Murray, in 1707 (Stewart, 1822: Vol 2, p51):

"My Lord, here is a petition from a poor man, whom Commissary Bissett, my baron bailie, has condemned to be hanged; and he is a clever fellow, and is strongly recommended to mercy, I am much inclined to pardon him". "But your Grace knows," said the President, "that after condemnation, no man can pardon but his majesty." "As to that," replied the Duke, "since I have the power of punishing, it is but right that I have the power to pardon;" and calling upon a servant who was in waiting, "Go", said he, "send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence, to be instantly set at liberty".

Just as the Highland chief in the old Highland clan figuration represented a link with the past, so, too, does the position of the Highland chief at many of today's Highland Gatherings. The chieftain to the Cowal Highland Gathering and the Argyllshire Highland Gathering has always been the current Duke of Argyll. The Aboyne Highland Games are frequently run under the patronage of the Marquis of Huntly, Highland chief to the Clan Gordon. The standard of the Marquis of Huntly, chief of the Aboyne Highland Games, is always hoisted on a flagstaff at the commencement of these games (Aboyne, 1965: p23). The standard indicates the identity of the person in command, while the

hoisting onto the flagstaff indicates the Marquis' actual presence on the field (Aboyne, 1965: p24). Sir John Forbes as head of the Forbes Clan is the current hereditary patron to the Lonach Highland Gathering (Lonach: 20/8/1986). Captain Farquharson of Invercauld is not only hereditary Highland chief to the Clan Farquharson, sub-set of the Clan Chattan, but also chieftain to the Braemar Highland Gathering and the Ballater Highland Games. Finally, reference might also be made to the Duke of Atholl, hereditary Highland chief to the Clan Murray and chieftain to the Atholl Highland Games. The examples here have only been cited to illustrate the point that today's Highland Gatherings are relatively dependent upon and have continued to perpetuate the cultural production and reproduction of symbols from the past in the person of the Highland chief. This is not an invented tradition but another example of the way in which today's Highland Gatherings have developed from various antecedent forms which contributed to a Highland way of life which existed prior to about 1750.

Within the pre-1750 Highland social formation, the office and responsibilities of the Highland chiefs were, in part, reflected by the figuration of clansfolk who constituted the tail or "Luchdtachk". The principal members of this immediate group are listed by Logan (1876: Vol 1, p8).

- (1) The Gille-Cowe, or henchman, who closely attended the chief and stood behind him at the table.
- (2) The Bladair or spokesperson.
- (3) The Bard.
- (4) The Piobaire, or piper.

- (5) The Gille-Piobaire, the piper's servant who carried his instrument.
- (6) The Gille-more, who carried the chief's broadsword.
- (7) The Gille-casfluich, who carried him when on foot across rivers.
- (8) The Gille-cambstraithainn, who led his horse along rough and dangerous paths.
- (9) The Gille-trusaineis, or Baggage-man.

With particular reference to the Modern Highland Gatherings it is important to elaborate upon the importance of the Piobaire within the clan figuration. Indeed it was a poor Highland chief who could not celebrate the deeds of his clansfolk with a piper and bard as part of the "luchdtachk". Piobarieachd is the Gaelic word meaning simply piping, pipe music or the art of playing on the bagpipe. Research is only just beginning to lay bare some of the circumstances in which the piobaire and the piobaireachd took root and began to flourish as a folk tradition within the Highland clans (Cowan, 1980). As a cultural facet of pre-eighteenth century clan life, the piobaire composed the piobairachd, or pipe tune, for special or outstanding occasions to express moments of sadness and gladness in the social history of the clan. For instance, the piobaire might have provided a lament for a departed Highland chief but it might also have provided a message of loyalty and welcome to the succeeding chief. Since at least the sixteenth century many clan chiefs and many of the chieftains have had their own hereditary pipers. It is an office kept within particular families, generation after generation. The most celebrated example of this specialization is the MacCrummens of Skye, hereditary pipers to the Macleods of Macleod (MacAoidh, 1833). Other examples include the Macarthurs, hereditary pipers to the MacDonalds, Lords of the Isles;

the Mackays, hereditary pipers to the Mackenzies of Gairloch, and the Macintyres, hereditary pipers to the Clan Menzies (MacAoidh, 1833: p9).

Many theorists have discussed the origins of the piobaire and the piping dynasties, especially the MacCrummens. In his account of the hereditary pipers, Aonghas MacAoidh (1833: p8) asserts that the first MacCrummen piper to the Clan MacLeod was Eain Odhar who in turn was succeeded by Patrick Donn, in the sixteenth century. In his personal memoirs of the Skye pipers, Angus Macpherson suggests that it was Alasdair Macleod who bestowed the lands of Boicraig on the Clan MacCrummen whereupon the clan developed a piping school during the 1600s. Many of the pre-eighteenth century Highland chiefs sent the piobaire to the piping school in Skye. While the MacCrummen school of piping continued into the nineteenth century, its modern counterpart can be found in the piping and dancing school of Braemar where the MacCrummen technique of bagpipe playing continues to be taught. While the Highland clans as a way of life has long since ceased to exist in its original format, one of the residual traditions maintained from the sixteenth century is that the MacCrummens of Skye still function as the hereditary pipers to the Macleods of Macleod. The development of this lineage is presented in the table below (Annual Book of Braemar, 1980: p200):

THE MACCRUMMENS LINEAGE

1500 - 1980

Finlay a' Bhreacain

1st Hereditary Piper

Ian Odhar

2nd " "

Patrick Donn

3rd " "

Donald Mor

1570

4th	"	"	Patrick Mor	1595-1670
5th	"	"	Patrick Og	1670
6th	"	"	Malcolm	1690
			Donald Ban	1710
			Angus Og	
7th	"	"	Ian Dubh	1730-1822
8th	"	"	Donald Ruadh	1743-1825
			Roderick	1814-1880
			Malcolm	1851-1928
			Roderick Murchison	1889-1912
9th	"	"	Malcolm Roderick	1918
10th	"	"	Iain Norman	1952

It is not necessary to provide an in-depth account of the piobaire and the piobaireachd in this context. The point that is simply being made here is that as an integral part of today's Highland Gatherings, the playing of the Piobaireachd, is a central tenet of the Highland tradition, albeit reproduced today in a changed and modernised form. Yet while it serves in part as a symbol of Highland cultural identity, it has also developed out of the tradition of the Piobaire who held an important position within the old Highland clan. Once again, all that is being said is that today's Highland Gatherings have developed out a number of antecedent cultural forms which have their point of origin and original 'meaning' firmly rooted within the Highland clan figuration. The Piobaire, the Piobaireachd and the Ceol Mor are all associated with long-standing traditions which link them to the cultural milieu of pre-1750 clan life.

Within the clan, the chieftains occupied a position of social significance which was superseded only by that of the Highland chief of the clan. The degree of power of the chieftain was mediated by his relationship to the socially superior Highland chief. It is not necessary to develop a lengthy account of the significance of the chieftain to the clan figuration since much of what has already been said of the Highland chief applied at another level to the chieftain. The chieftain was the immediate connection that the clansfolk had with the various sub-sets of the clan figuration. The chieftain, therefore, had a degree of power over his own clansfolk but he was dependent, in part, on the Highland chief. Like the Highland chief, the chieftain's relationship with the clansfolk was mediated through a partriarchal/feudal set of power relations. The various chieftains of the various sub-sets of a clan were not only bonded to the Highland chief through family ties; they also leased land from him. In return for the land, the chieftains ensured that the Highland chief was provided with military support in times of feud and warfare and that the land and cattle were worked and provided for in times of peace.

It is perhaps relevant in this connection to consider one or two examples to illustrate the relationship of the chieftain(s) to the clan figuration. Among the most powerful of the Highland clans were those that developed under the patronage of the Lords of the Isles during the fifteenth century (3). As Gregory (1836: p59) suggests, analysis of

(3) In terms of territory the Lords of the Isles controlled by far the largest and most powerful province in Scotland during the fifteenth century. At the beginning of that century it probably included all the Western Isles and such mainland territories as Kintyre, Knapdale, Morvern, Ardgour, Ardnamurchan, Moidart, Knoydart, Lochdart and Argyll. The Lordship of the Isles lasted about 150 years, finally being forfeited in 1493.

the Highland clans which developed under the Lords indicates that they can be fruitfully divided into two broad social groups.

The first group included all those clans whose chief boasted a direct male line of descent from the Clan Macdonald. In this instance the Highland chief at any particular period of time would have been the hereditary Highland chief of the Macdonalds. However, a complex clan figuration also emerged under the Clan Macdonald which included the Clan Iain Mhor of Islay, the Clan Ranald of Garmoran, the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan, the Clan Iain Abrach of Glenco and the Clan Allaster of Kintyre (Gregory, 1836: p68). Each of these relatively independent clans had its own chieftains who in turn may have owed allegiance to the senior branch of the clan, namely the Clan Macdonald and their Highland chief. The second group included all those clans who were connected to the Macdonalds but not through a direct male line of descent. Included within this group were the Clan Gillean or Maclean, the Clan Macleod of Lewis, and the Clan Macleod of Harris, the Clan Chameron, the Clan Chattan, the Clan Macneil of Barra, the Clan Mackinnon, the Clan Macquarries, the Clan Macphee, the Clan Maceacherns and the Clan Mackay (Gregory, 1836: p68).

Many of these clans developed various branches or septs which in turn developed into relatively autonomous yet dependent clan figurations. The establishment of so many relatively independent clans, comments Grant (1930: p491), was an early feature in the development of the Highland clan formation during the fifteenth century. Some examples of these divisions at any point between the

fifteenth and eighteenth century might have included the Macleans of Duart and the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleods of Harris and the Macleods of Lewis, the Macneils of Barra, and the Macneils of Gigha, the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Macdonalds of Clanranald and the Macdonalds of Glenco. In each of these instances, the clansfolk owed allegiance in the first instance to the chieftain of their immediate branch, who in turn owed allegiance to the chief, chieftain and clansfolk of a parent branch, the members of which, in turn, owed allegiance to the Highland chief or the closest relation to the progenitor of the clan. In all of these cases, the power of the Highland chief was mediated through his chieftains who in turn had a degree of relative power over the clansfolk. While the action of the clansfolk might also have been further complicated, at any point in the development of the overall Highland clan figuration, by monarchical bonds, in the first instance it was through the patriarchal/feudal relationship with their respective Highland chiefs and chieftains that all other actions were mediated.

Some chieftains also performed the role of tacksman. However, in general the tacksman occupied a further position within the complex webs of interdependence which developed into what became known as Highland clans. Most chiefs or chieftains leased a high proportion of their land to the tacksmen who were quite often closely related to the chief or chieftain's immediate family. The tacksman effectively organised the agricultural functioning of the clan under the runrig form of production. In general, the behaviour of the tacksmen

determined the day to day working character of the Highland clan (4). Prior to about 1750, the tacksman, unless the clan was at war or organising a creach, remained on the farm. Many of the tacksmen were themselves farmers who leased tracks of land from the chief or chieftain and, in turn, sublet the land to sub-tenants or cottars. The tacksman occupied a place of high social status within the clan and, as Smout (1981: p316) indicates, basked warmly in the chief's reflected glory. It would be wrong to imply that the tacksmen, although farmers, actually involved themselves fully in the actual labour process. It was the sub-tenants or cottars, that is to say the lower orders in any clan who actually worked the clan land and provided the Highland chief with a source of military power.

The actual sub-strata of the Highland clan consisted of the less powerful members of the clan who have been referred to here variously as sub-tenants, cottars and crofters. As members of the Highland clan, the sub-tenants were, as already mentioned, in most cases extremely loyal and obedient to the Highland patriarch or chief. Yet their experience of life was one of various gradations of power, inferiority and poverty. Commenting upon experiences like these, Burt (1815: p139) refers to the fact that the poverty of the clansfolk and the chief's patriarchal obligations to the ordinary clansfolk meant that, invariably, it became customary for the Highland chief to free the clansfolk from arrears of rent. This occurred on average about one

(4) Eric Richards (1982) p.iii. It would be wrong to assert that a private system of landownership was uniform practice much before about 1750. Certainly some elements of this long term social process were present before this time, but the power of the Highland chief could be removed by the clansfolk if they felt that his hereditary position was being abused. Forms of private ownership began to emerge fairly early on but only became consolidated after about 1750.

year in every five. Life for the ordinary clansfolk was far removed from the romantic glamour that many post 1750 Lowland writers bestowed upon these sub-strata of the Highland clan. Apart from their military functions, the clansfolk provided the agricultural and pastoral labour upon which the pre-1750 clan economy depended. They paid rent to the tacksman by working his land without wages while the rest of the time was mainly devoted to procuring their own subsistence from the land. Large families, writes Smout (1981: p317), lived in small huts with chickens and sometimes other livestock wandering in and out. Yet it was upon these members of the figuration that the Highland chief depended not just during periods of violence but also during times of peace when the sub-tenant worked the land and performed the pastoral duties which procured whatever wealth the pre-1750 clan figuration could generate.

As a complex web of interdependence, the Highland clan figuration and the way of life associated with it continued to develop well into the middle of the eighteenth century. Immediately prior to the Battle of Culloden, which effectively brought an end to the Highland clan figuration as a lived way of life, the power of the Highland clans can in part be illustrated by their military strength. It is reflective of the patriarchal character of Highland history that it is impossible to estimate what the total number of clansfolk was in about 1750. In particular, the documentation provides little or no evidence concerning the number of women that contributed to the power of the Highland clans. Furthermore, the only official estimate of the military power of the Highland clan is credited to Duncan Forbes of Culloden who, in 1724, transmitted to the Hanoverian government a detailed account of

the Highlands and the 'manpower' of the Highland clans which were involved in the struggle against the Hanoverian hegemony (Stewart, 1822: pp26-27). The significance of such an enumeration in the context of this discussion is merely to illustrate the strength of the clan's military power prior to Culloden and to indicate in concrete terms that an actual set of clans actually existed. The enumeration proceeded as follows:

Argyll	3000
Breadalbane	1000
Lochnell and other chieftains of the Campbells	1000
Macleans	500
Maclachlans	200
Steward of Appin	300
Macdougals	200
Steward of Grandtally	300
Clan Gregor	700
Duke of Athole	3000
Farquharsons	500
Duke of Gordon	300
Grant of Grant	850
Mackintosh	800
Macphersons	400
Frasers	900
Grant of Glenmorrison	150
Chisholms	200
Dyke of Perth	300

Seaforth	1000
Mackenzies	1500
Menzies	300
Rosses	500
Sutherland	2000
Mackays	800
Sinclairs	1100
Macdonald of Sleat	700
Macdonald of Clanranald	700
Macdonnell of Glengary	500
Macdonnell of Keproch	300
Macdonald of Glencoe	130
Robertsons	200
Camerons	800
Mckinnon	200
Macleod	700
The Duke of Montrose, Earls of Bule and Moraym Macfarlanes, Colquhouns, McNeils of Barra, McNabs, McNaughtons and Lamonts	5600
	<hr/>
	31630
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In this chapter, I have attempted to situate the discussion of the origins of today's Highland Gatherings within the broader context of Scottish history and Highland development. The discussion has been organised around three areas: (i) the processes of unification

and anglicization and in particular the effect which the policies of the Canmore kings had upon the Scottish social formation; (ii) the emergence of the Highlander or Wild Scot in the fourteenth century and some of the major cultural characteristics which led to the social differentiation between the Highlander and Lowlander; and (iii) as a unique figuration within this study, the Highland clan and the patriarchal/feudal social relations which centrally bonded those involved in the Highland way of life to one another. It is a way of life which was often misinterpreted as being solely violent and barbarous and yet which was experienced in practice in terms of a combination of violence, impoverished material existence, and as revolving around the Highland clan as a particular set of social relations. A central axis of tension and struggle during this stage of development revolved around the centrifugal tendencies of the Highland chiefs and a destabilizing force of feudal origin.

I have also emphasised the fact that this chapter has not attempted to provide a detailed social history of the Highland social formation but merely to contextualize and explain the origins of today's Highland Gatherings. While a great deal of empirical evidence is impossible to come by with regards to particular cultural and sporting practices, this chapter has attempted to establish the fact that an initial phase in the development of the Highland Gatherings can be located between at least the eleventh century and about 1750. During this period of development many of the cultural artefacts and customs which are so central within today's Highland Gatherings contributed towards a Highland way of life which revolved around the Highland clan. Some of these points of origin preceeded the emergence

of the Highlander as a distinct and recognised social category. In short, all that can be said is that a first phase in the development of the modern Highland Gathering existed from at least the eleventh century until about 1750, during which time many of the sporting traditions and cultural artefacts upon which today's Highland Gatherings are dependent existed in various antecedent forms.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

While an initial phase in the development of the Highland Gatherings may have existed from at least the eleventh century until about 1750, a second phase in the development of this Highland tradition lasted from about 1740 until about 1850. At least three important factors affected the development of the Highland Gatherings during this period. In the first instance, the post-Culloden policies of the British state further accelerated a process of cultural marginalization and anglicization which, as I have already indicated in Chapter Three, may be traced back to the eleventh century. Secondly, a number of Highland cultural practices, including sporting traditions, were transported with the emigre, in particular to North America. It is important not to divorce the development of these Highland Gatherings overseas from the general causes and conflicts which contributed to the emigration process during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whereby the descendents of those people, like the Duke of Argyll, who had been partly responsible for the destruction of the Highland culture became guardians of its existence albeit in a romanticized form. Thirdly, in a determined attempt to retain selective aspects of Highland culture such as dance and music, many Highland Friendly Societies in Scotland and abroad actively encouraged the further development of a number of Highland Gatherings.

Cultural Marginalization

A number of factors gave rise to the reorganization and social upheaval that characterized much of Highland history immediately after

the '45' rebellion. An interesting, albeit crude, Marxist thesis is put forward by Burgess (1980: p89) when he argues that the subjugation of the Highland threat was the inevitable outcome of a much longer process which emerged with the 1707 Act of Union and the essentially economic interests of those who had a stake in transforming Scotland into a progressive capitalist society. The logical extension of Burgess's position leads him to assert that the defeat of the Highland forces was not only inevitable but necessary since it was the last obstacle in the path of those who wished to encourage the recasting of the Highland social formation along capitalist lines. Taken as a whole, the argument is simply this: that the initiatives of the British state in close alliance with Scotland's ruling class, amounted to a campaign of cultural genocide aimed at eradicating all traces of a way of life which posed a direct threat to capitalist penetration of the Highlands.

There are a number of important points of departure within the Marxist exposition put forward by Burgess. Certainly the effects of the Hanoverian government's post-Culloden policies led to a relatively increased level of dependency upon the British state. The collapse of the "45" rebellion and the confiscation of Highland estates helped to enliven the Highland land market and increase the revenue of loyalist landowners like the Duke of Argyll (Youngson, 1973: p20). But to argue that this was inevitable as a result of a general process of economic determination dating back to the 1707 Act of Union is problematic and possibly a consequence of the author's lack of detachment from his subject matter rather than of a tight fit between theory and evidence.

The defeat of the Highland forces may have been inevitable but such a judgement can only be established retrospectively and other factors such as the degrees of power, the forms of military organization and the strategies of the contending sides would also have affected the outcome. Recognition might also be given to the fact that the Highland forces almost succeeded in the sense that they reached within about 120 miles of their target, namely London. Finally the question might be asked whether the strengthening of capitalist relations of production was as important as the weakening of the patriarchal association between chief and clansfolk? I would argue that it is much more realistic to assert that a fusion or inter-weaving of these forces contributed to an increased level of dependency upon the actions of the British state. One of the many consequences of this development was the cultural marginalization of the traditional Highland way of life.

It is not necessary to provide a detailed account of the actual events which preceded the events of the Battle of Culloden; nor is it a central concern of this study to afford a lengthy discussion concerning the defeat of the Highland forces. The significance of Culloden, as I mentioned earlier, was not so much that it resulted in the defeat of the Highland forces. Rather, as Hunter (1976: p12) suggests, such defeats in the past had simply served as a prelude to future hostilities. What distinguishes Culloden from previous defeats is that it marked an increase in the rate at which the British state pursued its policies of cultural marginalization designed gradually to destroy not only the Highland clan figuration but also a wide range of cultural practices central to this way of life.

The legislation which most immediately transformed the Highland way of life was the Act of Proscription which took effect from the 1st August 1747. By one Act of Parliament, the British state provided the legislation which contributed to the destruction of many of the cultural traditions and ways of life which had previously existed in the Highlands. The act banned: (i) the wearing of Highland dress; (ii) the meeting together of Highland people; (iii) the playing of the bagpipes and other forms of traditional entertainment; and (iv) the carrying of arms such as the targe, dirk, the claymore and pistols (Stewart, 1822: p115). Although the Act was eventually repealed in 1782, and different meanings became associated with the wearing of Highland dress, there is little evidence to suggest that the common people of the Highlands ever resumed the habit after 1747. Throughout Scotland the following words were nailed to the doors of town houses and churches (Prebble, 1985: p311):

And it is further enacted. That from and after the 1st August 1747 no man or boy within Scotland other than such as shall be employed as officers and soldiers in the King's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the cloaths commonly called highland cloaths, that is to say, the plaid, philebag or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb; and that no tartan or party coloured plaids or stuffs shall be used for great-coats, or for upper coats; and if any such persons shall, after said 1st August, wear or put on the aforesaid garments, or any part of them, every such person so offending, being convicted thereof by the mouth of one or more Justices of the Peace for the shire or stewarty, or judge ordinary of the

place where such offence shall be committed, shall suffer imprisonment, without bail, during six months and no longer; and being convicted of a second offence, before the court of judiciary, or at the circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond the sea, for seven years.

While the Act of Proscription immediately affected those cultural artefacts closely associated with many of the traditional Highland Gatherings, the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 reduced the power held for so long by the clan chiefs. The reduction in the degree of power which the Highland chief was traditionally able to exercise over his clansfolk struck right at the heart of the clan figuration (Stewart, 1822: pp115-120). No longer could the chief marry his clansfolk, order them to take up arms or possess land in the name of the clan. When the clansfolk could no longer be legally ordered to follow their chiefs, the possibility of internecine warfare was reduced. The Highland chiefs began to be further incorporated into a Lowland way of life. Putting tradition behind them, the Highland chiefs and their subsequent descendants began to marry southern wives, send their sons and daughters to southern schools, abandon the Gaelic language and to exploit their lands commercially (S/A/S, 1831: Vol X, p91). All of this they did with the encouragement of successive British governments determined to destroy the social and cultural order which had supported the Highland clan figuration.

Once the chiefs lost their traditional powers, many of them lost the traditional patriarchal attachment to their clansfolk. While there were exceptions to the rule, the atrophy of the patriarchal bond

between the chief and the clansfolk was generally replaced by the more purely economic bond which functioned within the landlord-tenant relationship (Prebble, 1985: p314). Land which the Highland chiefs had once possessed on behalf of the clan now became their land in fact and law. The relatively communal way of life of the clan was replaced by a social structure in which the power of the dominant group was, in part, materially supported by a system of land ownership. As Gray (1957: p11)suggests this dominant group was composed of a handful of great landlords, old clan chiefs for whom the function of leadership of the clan had been replaced by the function of land ownership and land management. By about 1800, a mere handful of such estates had come to dominate the whole land system of the Highlands.

Partially because Highland chiefs had been used to moving both within Highland and Lowland societies prior to 1746 they made the transition to their position of power relatively smoothly. Power and social status were stratified downwards from the landlords to subordinate gentry and ultimately to the crofter or peasant. The British government was, therefore, able to pursue its policies of cultural marginalization not by expropriating the traditional Highland aristocracy but by incorporating the more powerful members of the clan figuration within the Hanoverian hegemony (Hunter, 1976: p12). Only a relatively small number of Highland chiefs were exiled or executed. After the repeal of the Act of Proscription in 1782, many of the Highland chiefs-cum-landlords wore the tartan once again and kept a piper to play at their board (Prebble, 1985: p310). However, as has already been mentioned, at the level of popular culture there is little evidence to suggest that the clansfolk ever resumed the practice. For

them such cultural artefacts belonged to the old tradition, a way of life that had been largely destroyed during the second half of the eighteenth century. By the time Walter Scott had published Waverley in 1814, the history of the Highlander had already begun to be not only distorted but romanticised.

This initial discussion can briefly be summarised by saying that: (i) by the end of the eighteenth century much of the traditional clan figuration had disintegrated; (ii) much of the old Highland culture and way of life had been virtually destroyed by a wave of repression after the 45 rebellion; (iii) what emerged instead was predominantly a landlord-tenant set of social relations in which land became a source of capital gain rather than a community resource; and (iv) many of the Highland elite began to reject the old way of life and identify increasingly with a more metropolitan culture and consequently Lowland values and norms. Such changes were merely indicators of further changes implemented by an emerging landlord class who required a greater income to maintain their status in the social circles to which they aspired. While there were many dominant moments in Highland history, few loom as large in Gaelic consciousness as the Highland clearances. It is to this issue that my attention will now be turned.

Clearance and Emigration

The Highland clearances are remembered for many reasons. Most of the writing on the clearances may be crudely divided into two schools of thought. Passionate accounts have tended to concentrate on the great suffering experienced by the Highland people during the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An example of this school of thought is to be found in John Prebble's account of the Highland clearances in which the argument is simply that, after Culloden, the Highlanders were increasingly deserted and betrayed by the very people they had defended for centuries and been loyal servants to in every sense of the word (14). Alternatively, the dispassionate school of writers such as Bumstead (1982) and Richards (1982) have played down the degree of suffering experienced by the Highland people and tended to argue that this was but one necessary feature which characterized the agrarian transformation of the Highlands during this period. In seeking to explain what happened in the Highlands, Richards in particular argues that the landlords as much as the tenants were often victims of external influences beyond their control.

Like Richards, Bumstead makes a plea for a more rigorous interpretation of Highland history during this period. The clearances, he argues, cannot be homogenized into a conflict between coercive landlords and a passive peasantry who were unable to affect the course of their own history (Bumstead, 1982: p220). According to Bumstead, victimization assumptions have clouded the analysis of Highland history and rely upon present-day as much as historical myth for their continuity. Yet it is debatable whether Bumstead dispels such myths entirely or merely adds to the mythology of the Highland clearances. The core thesis he puts forward is that the tenants could and did make decisions that were beyond the control of the landlords. Thus the decision to emigrate to North America and elsewhere was as much a consequence of reaction to a changing way of life as it was to eviction from the land by Highland chiefs and landlords. It was only by

emigration, so the argument goes, that the Highlander could hope to hold on to the traditional way of life.

Certainly this seems to cut across the traditional or passionate view as exemplified not just by Prebble but also Hunter (1). They argue that the Highland landowners, in conjunction with the capitalist sheep farmers from the south, exploited Highland land and people purely in terms of profit maximization. Undertaken for profit the clearances were as good or bad an example of naked exploitation as has ever been seen within the British social formation (2). The destruction of the old Highland society was conducted with unexampled brutality and lack of concern for the tenants and other groups of people who had to scratch out a living from the peripheral edges of the Highlands. The primary determining factor in all of this was the economic and financial interests of those people whose objective it was to incorporate the Highlands into a 'progressive' capitalist formation. The Highland landowners, therefore, deliberately created a crofting or tenant community which rested upon a weak economic foundation (Dickson and Clarke, 1982: pp151-153). When this collapsed, emigration or destruction were the stark choices facing the bulk of the Highland tenantry.

(1) The passionate school of thought includes the work of Hunter (1976) and Prebble (1984) in the sense that both of these accounts of the Highland clearances attempt to highlight the crofter's point of view. The primary causal factor for the suffering of the crofters is in both accounts the coercive policies of the landlords which led to the widespread replacement of the human population by sheep.

(2) See J. Hunter (1981) for a summary of this position.

Having briefly described the central foci around which much of the conventional wisdom on the clearances revolves, it is perhaps useful at this stage to establish a number of factual parameters before providing a critique and alternative account of the clearances. Although it should be stressed that the major function of this discussion is to contextualize the Highland Gatherings developmentally and not to provide an in depth review of Highland history during this period.

When did the clearances actually occur? Narrowly defined, the term 'clearances' generally refers to the effort of the landlords to redistribute and often reduce the tenantry living on their estates. The first clearances occurred in Perthshire during the 1760s. However, a much greater rate of eviction took place between 1780 and 1855. The people mostly affected during this period were the tenantry of Ross and Sutherland, Invernesshire and the Hebrides (Dickson and Clarke, 1982: p152). A degree of overt tension and struggle between landlord and tenant continued up until the Crofters Act of 1886. As Richards (1982: p502) himself points out, it would be a mistake to believe that this crofting legislation brought an end to the struggle between landlord and tenants in the Highlands. If nothing else though, it did reduce the power of landlords to evict the Highland people from the land and, therefore, it can be taken to mark the end of the Highland clearances.

What major factors gave rise to this process of clearance and consequently emigration? No one single factor determined this process in Highland history. Rather, a complex inter-weaving of many variables and groups of people resulted in the relatively less powerful people being evicted from the land. The following are but some of the many

principal factors involved. Firstly, the landlord class needed an increased level of income not only to survive but also in order to maintain their social status within an increasingly metropolitan social milieu; secondly, the traditional staple products of cattle, agrarian subsistence and limited amount of rent provided less of a potential income than the income to be derived from sheep farming. This gave rise to the widespread replacement of the human population by sheep and, later, deer; thirdly, the decline of the clan figuration meant that the bonding between the traditional Highland chief and his followers had been weakened if not broken; fourthly, pushed onto the edges of the estate, the resources and land available failed to support the Highland population; and finally, while the tenants were not powerless, they were unable to stop the effects of various modernizing and civilizing forces which were changing the Highlands during these periods. These particular factors were some of the key variables associated with the Highland clearances between 1760 and about 1886.

To the Highlanders who experienced the clearing and indeed to the Highlanders of later generations, the suffering, although it was real, resulted not so much from the loss of land as from the fact that it represented an enormous betrayal of the Highlanders by their own hereditary leaders. On this point I am in agreement with the comparison made by Hunter (1981: p61) where he argues that it was this aspect of betrayal which marked off the Highland emigres from their Irish counterparts. The Irish folk who found themselves bound for North America during the nineteenth century knew exactly who was responsible for their plight. They were the victims of a more powerful English nation, a nation whose religion, background, history, language

and traditions were all quite different from the indigenous Irish culture. In contrast, the Highland emigres, in many cases, were forced off the land by their own hereditary chieftains. There was hardly anything in the Highland culture which could help the emigre come to terms with this situation, except perhaps, as Hunter indicates, an awareness that the new order and the advent of increasing evictions, famine and poverty were experienced in much harsher terms than even the patriarchal, violent, materially impoverished clan way of life had been (Hunter, 1981: p62). This fact alone contributed a great deal to the idealization and romanticization of the old way of life.

The thesis put forward by Bumstead suggests that it was the pull to a new promised land rather than the push from the Highlands which was the critical factor behind the emigration process. The emphasis on pull factors, voluntarism and matters of agency are foremost in Bumstead's account of the Highland clearances between 1770 and 1815. Pre-1770 and post-1815 clearances are not accounted for in this particular exposition. Aside from this minor criticism, the major problem, I believe, with Bumstead's account revolves around the degree of emphasis which he places on the pull factors as opposed to the push factors. Bumstead fails to take account of the idea that a changing balance between pull and push factors may have occurred at any point within the overall process of clearance. One might conclude, in this instance, that the demise of the clan figuration with land becoming perceived as a capital rather than a community resource, the cultural marginalization of the Highlands along with the movement of the hereditary leaders of the clan figuration into a more metropolitan culture, constant increases in rent and increased competition for land

all appear to be critical push factors. Quite simply, the tenantry were no longer in as powerful a position to survive within the changing nexus of social relations. They either remained to struggle against greater immiseration or moved to other lands in the hope of retaining core aspects of the traditional way of life (3). To describe this as free choice fails to take adequate account of the notion of power and in particular of the way in which power in its relational sense structured and mediated a complex web of figural arrangements. To repeat a critical statement in the text, "only by departing his native land could the Highlander hope to maintain the traditional way of life" (Bumstead, 1982: p101). This categorically indicates that there was little option but to move or remain and participate in unequal conflict in terms of power and resources. If choice is significant, it primarily reflects where the Highlanders went, not the fact that they were forced to go.

Perhaps it is too simplistic to argue that the strengths of the work of Prebble and Hunter are the weaknesses of the work of Bumstead. Yet in refusing to accept the claims of the passionate school of writers, the interpretation of the clearances presented by Bumstead situates the Highland tenantry as passive recipients of the forces of change. Again, a greater sensitivity to the notion of power, so central to figural sociology, would have enabled Bumstead to provide a more complete account of the clearances in the sense that, while the tenantry were not as powerful as the emerging landlord class,

(3) See J. Ferguson (1984) for a critique of J. M. Bumstead (1982).

they were not powerless. The absence of an adequate sensitivity to the resistance and struggle which the crofters, in particular, instigated is perhaps explained more in terms of historical values and orientation rather than from the actual actions of those less powerful groups of people who, while experiencing eviction, poverty, famine, and congestion on the land, did not by any stretch of the imagination merely accept such changes (Dickson and Clarke, 1982: p168).

Consider the following examples. In 1792, 200 inhabitants of Easter Ross and Sutherland gathered to drive about 10,000 sheep from land which they viewed as being common land (Hunter, 1976: p94). In April 1821 Sheriff-Officers who came with Writs of Removal on behalf of Lord Stafford were literally stripped of their clothes, deprived of their papers and chased off the bounds of the property at Gruids (Prebble, 1984: p128). In Caithness, two women and three men were sent to Dornoch Jail for six months for obstructing and assaulting Alexander Farquhar, the messenger at Arms who had proceeded to read to them their orders of eviction (Prebble, 1984: p128). At Durness in August 1841, a Sheriff-Officer called Campbell came with the Writs of Removal, was mobbed and his papers were eventually burned (Prebble, 1984: p168). The Superintendent of Police at Dornoch got the same 'welcome' when he rode to Durness in an attempt to pacify the tenants (Prebble, 1984: p168). Two years later in Assynt, John Macleod, a small tenant at Balchladdich, stood up against the Duke of Sutherland's factor and refused to be evicted (Prebble, 1985: p169). While the rates of conflict and struggle might not have been as high as those which emerged during the crofters struggle leading up to the Crofters Act of 1886, the dispassionate accounts of the clearances fail to give due

recognition to the factual evidence which suggests that the crofters' resistance, however sporadic and disorganised it may have been, was in fact intense and far from passive.

A point made by Elias (1978a: pl81) in his discussion of Marx is certainly relevant to much of the historical literature on the clearances. While recognizing that one of Marx's greatest contributions to sociology was to situate social class problems centrally within a theory of social development, he was unable, argues Elias, to detach himself from the idea that those social classes which were rising were all good and those which were descending were all bad. In much the same way, writers on the clearances have been unable to free themselves from the idea that all landlords were bad and all crofters were good. The problem is immediately removed when one considers in factual terms what actual developments emerged. Some landlords such as the Duke of Sutherland and the Duke of Argyll were certainly responsible for mass evictions and emigration but other landlords such as Macleod of Dunvegan attempted to absorb the brunt of the changes almost to the extent of ruining themselves financially. It is in fact a central facet of figurational sociology to attempt to explain a process such as the Highland clearances in terms of tension and struggle between different social fractions without referring to one particular fraction as 'good' and one particular fraction as 'bad'. The argument that landlords as well as tenants were often caught up in external influences relatively beyond their control can be made without attempting to exonerate those landlords who were responsible for exploitation, eviction, poverty and ultimately famine amongst many of the Highland tenantry. As already mentioned, to the Highlanders of

later generations the horror of the people's clearances lay less in the way they were accomplished and more in the fact that they represented in many cases an enormous betrayal of groups of people by their own hereditary leaders. The patriarchal-feudal bonds which had bound the clan figuration were being broken and replaced by a more economic, landlord-tenant set of social relations.

The crucial point that needs to be made in the context of this study is that the Highland clearances further contributed to a process of cultural marginalization which not only led to the relative demise of the old social order but also to the less powerful people, namely the tenantry, becoming increasingly dependent upon a more powerful landlord class. The actions of the landlords continue to be controversial to this day in the sense that the underdevelopment of the modern Highlands is in many ways one of the products of the mass evictions which took place between 1760 and about 1886. Certainly the landlords replaced previous staple products such as cattle by the introduction of a further staple product. The Highland economy became more dependent upon not only the actions of the landlord class but also upon one primary staple product, namely sheep. Furthermore the dependency and subsequent underdevelopment of the Highland social formation did not result simply from economic concerns but also from many social, political, cultural and religious actions taken by the landlords amongst others. The clearances only completed a process of cultural marginalization which had been consolidated by the actions of the British state after the 1745 rebellion. A process which included prohibitions against the wearing of tartan, the playing of the bagpipes and the meeting together of Highland people.

While many of the Highland landlords continued to reject the old way of life and became further incorporated within the process of anglicization, many of the cultural traditions which contributed to the traditional Highland Gatherings were exported with the emigre overseas. Out of this emigration process developed many of the North American Highland Gatherings.

The first Scottish organisations formed in the United States were economic, social and cultural groups aimed at helping the emigre. The oldest charitable society appeared in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1729 (Donaldson, 1986: p24). According to the 1903 Register of Scottish Societies in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, such organizations functioned to: (i) relieve indigent emigres or their families; (ii) foster and encourage a love of Scotland, its history, literature, customs (including national athletic games) and (iii) promote friendly and sociable relations amongst its members (Donaldson, 1986: p25). Further examples of these groupings of emigres include those formed in Philadelphia in 1749, Savannah, Georgia in 1750, New York City in 1756, Albany and Schenectady in 1803 and Buffalo in 1840, to name but a few (Donaldson, 1986: p25). While in Canada, St Andrew's Societies first appeared in 1798, by the end of the nineteenth century such groupings existed in New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and the Northwest Territory. The first Highland Gathering in North America was probably the 1819 gathering organized by the Highland Society of Glengarry, Ontario (Donaldson, 1986: p26).

It is worth, at this point, keeping in mind the comment made by Gruneau (1983) in his discussion of the development of sport within the

Canadian social formation. According to Gruneau (1983: p94), a preliminary phase of structuring the development of Canadian sporting practices involved imported and indigenous game contests, and popular recreations first became increasingly subject to the limits and pressures imposed by a wide range of voluntary and municipal organisations. Canada during this early phase became to a degree dependent upon not only the sporting forms of native peoples but also on an imported set of colonial sporting practices which were often based on oral traditions.

Certainly the Highland Gatherings might be included in a whole range of cultural practices which were both oppositional to and incorporative of Canadian cultural life during this period. They were oppositional in the sense that they were representative of those anglo-phonic members of a dominant group which consisted of colonial estate holders, military officers and merchants and which were exploitative of not only the interests of the indigenous population but also of developing French interests. Yet Highland Gatherings were also incorporated into a Canadian way of life which, for many of the Highlanders who left the Highlands during the clearances, held a future promise of prosperity which could not and did not exist back home as a result of the social, cultural, political and economic changes that were taking place.

Among the first members of the old social order to feel the effects of the clearances were the tacksmen. Short of funds, one of the first steps that the chieftain-cum-landlord implemented was to increase the rent of this nascent middle-class. It was precisely this

that forced many tacksmen, unable to survive in the new order, to sell their belongings, gather a considerable number of tenants together and emigrate to North America (Creegan, 1969). Many of the tacksmen had considered much of the land to be their inheritance for past services to the chief, a feeling which gradually gave rise to resentment. As a Highland traveller noted in the 1770s, such resentment drove many to seek a retreat beyond the Highlands (Pennant, 1774: Vol 2, p307). As it was, the tacksmen emigrated in vast numbers in the post-Culloden decades, either directly forced out by the landlord or going of their own accord, believing that the only way to hold on to the traditional culture was to emigrate (Bumstead, 1982).

Many of the emigres who initially left were, therefore, members of the middle classes of the old clan figuration and, as a result of their social standing, they were different from what Smout (1981: p52) refers to as the ragged hosts that followed after 1815.

Increased rents, the harsh winter of 1771, and cattle blight were amongst some of the factors which contributed to some 700 Macdonalds leaving Skye for America in 1772 (Brander, 1982: p52). Between 1768 and 1772, some 3,000 Highlanders were estimated to have emigrated to the Cape Fear districts of North Carolina. While other Scots also emigrated to North Carolina, it was particularly Highlanders who settled in the Cape Fear districts where they tended to form distinct cultural groupings, retaining their own language and garb and, in many instances failing to integrate with other settlers (Brander, 1982: p55). Another harsh winter, that of 1783, saw famine barely staved off in the Highlands as a result of the distribution of relief. The

familiar complaints of rising rents, uncertainty of tenure, poverty and disaffection with a changing social formation convinced many Highlanders that the only course open to them was emigration. It was no longer just the tacksmen who were leading large parties abroad but also ministers, priests and, in some cases, Highland chieftains who were unable to survive in the new order (Brander, 1982: p60).

While the degree of emphasis which Bumstead (1982) places on the pull factors to North America might be questionable, the empirical data provided in his text provide a useful insight into the number of Highlanders who emigrated to British North America between 1760 and 1815.

Migration of Highland and Lowland Scots to British North America
1760-1815

<u>Period</u>	<u>Destinations</u>			<u>Origins</u>	
	<u>British</u> <u>N.America</u>	<u>13 colonies</u>	<u>Highland</u>	<u>Lowland</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
1763-75	1,143	20,000	11,043	10,000	
1776-89	1,080	1,000	1,480	600	
1790-93	1,771	1,000	2,271	500	
1794-180	160	no data	14	143	
1801-03	7,100	1,000	7,000	1,100	
1804-15	3,400	no data	2,500	500	400

Adapted from J. Bumstead (1982) p.299

Whatever the explanation for this emigration of Highlanders to North America, it is clear from this brief discussion that a vast number of Highlanders, unable to survive in the changing social formation of the Highlands, did in fact leave that region. This process of emigration has continued through to the present day. The choice facing Highlanders during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was to remain in the face of changing cultural, economic, social and political pressures or to emigrate in an attempt, not just to survive but also to hold on to a traditional way of life which had become marginalized in its original context. Those who remained continued to be locked into the increasingly unequal conflict between landlord and tenant, a form of tension which in a residual sense contributed to the Crofters War which secured the Crofters Act of 1886. Those who left took with them many of the cultural artefacts and traditions which subsequently contributed to the emergence of a vast number of Highland Gatherings in North America at a much later date. Some of the following are examples of the earliest Highland Gatherings formed in Canada and North America.

Although the Glangarry Highland Society Gathering of 1819 is probably one the earliest Highland Gatherings organized in Canada, the oldest continuous Highland Games are those sponsored by the Antigonish Highland Society founded in 1816 (Donaldson, 1986: p26). The first games took place in 1863. By 1867, Scottish Highland Gatherings and Games had spread across the whole of Canada. In much the same way, Caledonian Highland gatherings were instituted in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and Newark New Jersey, by the end of the Nineteenth century. Highland dancing, bagpipe music, athletic events,

tartan-costumed chiefs, emigre clansfolk, and prizes for the best dressed Highlander were all common practices at these early Highland Gatherings and Games. An interesting comment is made by Donaldson (1986: p27) when she states that the Highland Games held by the new York Highland Society of 1836 represented an early cutting of nostalgic pride among emigre Scots. A form of behaviour which, as I shall argue later, contributed to a romantic view of the Highlander divorced from the original, and to a certain extent continuing, social context of dependency and underdevelopment experienced in the Highlands.

Founded in 1853, the Boston Caledonia Club held its inaugural Highland Games that same year. The Boston Scottish Club advertised its tenth annual Highland Games in 1866, the same year as it merged with the Boston Caledonia Club (Scottish American Journal: 11/8/1866). Thereafter known as the Boston Caledonian Club, the organization continued to sponsor Highland Games well into the twentieth century. The objectives of the Club as laid down in article I of the Club's constitution included the following statement:

Whereas physical culture is considered by all in our day to be an essential element in the education of young men, in order to qualify them for the more important duties of active life; and believing that no physical exercise conduces more to a perfect physical development than the Scottish national games; and knowing, also, that the practice of these games fosters and keeps alive the associations, social customs, and the memory of the land of our father's birth; therefore we, the members of the Caledonian Club of Boston, for our better physical and mental improvement, do hereby agree

to the following Constitution,
Bye-Laws, and Rules of Order. (Cited
in Donaldson, 1986: p28).

Another example might include the San Francisco Highland Games which date back to November 24th 1866. Like many other emigre Highland Societies, the objectives of the Society included: the encouragement and practice of highland games; the preservation of the customs and manners of Scotland; the promotion of a taste for the Gaelic language and literature; and the binding more closely of the social links of sons and daughters and general descendants of emigres (Donaldson, 1986: p32). By 1867, the San Francisco Highland Games had instituted the tradition of the chief's message. That year, Donald MacLennan addressed the assembly with the following words:

We are assembled here this morning
to participate in the sports so dear
in the memories of our native land.
Though transplanted, as it were, to
the shores of the Pacific many
thousands of miles from bonnie
Scotland, still the hearts of her
children warm at the recollections
of their youth, and beat more
strongly at the mention of her name.
It has been one of the peculiarities
and the pride of our people, in
whatever portion of the globe we may
dwell, to honor and cherish all that
reminds us of our earlier years; and
in those fond recollections we
harbor our national Games, to
celebrate which we are met here
today (Donaldson, 1986: p33).

It is not necessary to provide example after example to
illustrate the point that, by the time the North America United
Caledonian Association was formed towards the end of the nineteenth

century, Scottish Highland Games had been firmly established as forms of sporting practice within North America. The term 'North America' is deliberately used in the sense that the emigres did not form two separate national associations, one in Canada and one in the United States. Indeed as Redmond (1982: p11) has indicated, the importance of the emigres' cultural identity as Scots took precedence over any Canadian or American national identity during this period. Yet it was a cultural identity which was already beginning to be transformed, mythologised and romanticised. It is doubtful, if history is remembered, that these first emigres who experienced the changing way of life, the poverty, famine and evictions of the Highland clearances would have shared the same "fond recollections" expressed in Donald MacIennan's speech at the 1867 San Francisco Highland Games. Indeed if one uses the example of another MacIennan, namely Hugh MacIennan, a leading exponent of Canadian national identity, it was more an expression of relief that he experienced when he returned to Montreal from the empty glens of Kintail (Hunter, 1981: p61). The North American social formation, unlike the Highland social formation, had during the nineteenth century a prosperous future in which many emigres were involved. In North America there was no anti-landlord ideology or movement and, despite the fact that many emigres experienced discrimination in both Canada and America, it did not take place within the same sort of social context as the crofter's struggle which was being experienced back in the Highlands. Indeed there was a growing climate of optimism in North America.

In short, the experience of the Highland emigres and ultimately their view of the Highlands and Scotland as a whole were

radically disconnected from reality. As older cultural and linguistic links with the Highlands gradually disappeared, mythology and romance came more and more to encapsulate this picture of life in the Highlands. The dominant interpretation of Highland history became one in which clansfolk were expelled because of their bonds of loyalty to the Stuart monarchy. Such an interpretation fails to take account of those Highland chiefs who became landlords and stood to gain financially from the emigration of the less powerful members of the Highland social formation. Nor does it take account of the process of cultural marginalization or indeed the conflict between landlord and tenant or clansfolk and chief. Yet it was not just in North America that the image of the Highland way of life and indeed of the Highlander was being transformed and romanticised.

Cultural Transformation

The Highland Societies of Scotland emerged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in response to the widespread destruction of Highland culture after the '45' rebellion. Some of these early Highland and Friendly Societies promoted the development of a number of Highland Gatherings and Games. Lonach and Braemar are but two of the most notable examples. Following the repeal of the Act of Proscription in 1782, the wearing of Highland dress became popular among, not just the Highlands social elites, but in particular also among their Lowland counterparts. Although the kilt was sometimes worn by the Highland landlords for everyday purposes, it generally became a ceremonial form of dress (Grant, 1961: p326). Amongst this social elite, the practice of wearing the kilt and other forms of tartanry had

been greatly influenced by the romantic novels of Walter Scott. The revival of interest in Highland culture contributed to the visit of George IV, in full Highland dress, to Edinburgh in 1822, an act which itself was designed to further foster the incorporation of Scotland into the emerging British hegemony (Grant, 1961: p261).

It should not be forgotten that, while the romantic storybook picture of the glens of the Lowlands and the south of Scotland was just beginning to catch on, the real glens of the north were still being emptied as Highland people were evicted from the land, migrating to the lowlands and emigrating to North America. The Highland Societies, in fact, did a lot not only to foster Highland sentiments but also to facilitate the process of emigration. Such societies as the ones formed in London in 1778 and in Edinburgh in 1780 did a certain amount as far as the preservation of piping skills and the encouragement to wear Highland dress were concerned but a paradoxical situation also emerged in which many of the descendants of those people who had been responsible for the destruction of the old Highland social order were now becoming the guardians and promoters of not just Highland culture but of Scottish cultural identity in general. Having mythologised the Highlander firstly, as a threat to Hanoverian hegemony and the progressive forces of capitalism, the symbolic artefacts of the Highlander such as the kilt, tartan, dirks and sporrans now came to be regarded as the crucial symbols not of a specifically Highland cultural identity but of Scottish cultural identity as a whole. The Highland Societies themselves were small groups of people who, in general, supported and facilitated the conditions of dependency that were being

created in the Highlands social formation with all the resultant consequences of emigration, sheep farming and crofting.

Many of these Highland Societies were socially exclusive in that they functioned in many instances to facilitate the interweaving between members of the social elite in the Highlands and the overall Scottish social formation. As already mentioned in Chapter One, the Northern Meeting of the Inverness Society was formed on the 11th of June 1788 (Minutes, Northern Meeting: 11/6/1788). As the minutes of the first meeting indicate, military personnel were well represented on the organising committee, with Colonel Hugh Grant of Moy, Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Captain William Wilfon, Captain Gregory Grant and Lieutenant John Rofs (4). The Duke and Duchess of Gordon, Lord Huntly and the Earl of Seaforth were amongst some of the many Landlords and Ladies who regularly attended the social functions of the Inverness Society. While Highland Games did not figure in the proceedings of the Inverness Gathering until 1840, the minutes indicate that dances and elaborate balls were held annually:

That an Annual Meeting of Gentlemen, Ladies, and their Families, shall hold in this place for the Space of One Week, to commence on the last Monday of October First, and thereafter on the last Monday of October Yearly, and that for the Purpose of promoting a social intercourse (Minutes, Northern Meeting: 11/6/1788).

(4) See chapter one for further discussion on this point.

On the 23rd June 1815, the Inverness Journal reported that, at a meeting earlier that month, a number of Highland gentlemen had formed themselves into a 'pure' Highland Society in support of dress, language, music and characteristics "of our illustrious and ancient race in the Highland and Isles of Scotland". Membership of the Society would certainly not have included the Highlanders of Kildonan who that same month emigrated to Canada only two years after the anti-clearance riots of 1813 which took place in Kildonan and Assynt (Richards, 1982: p299). This was an exclusive Highland Society for those anglicized gentlemen and ladies of the Highlands who owned land (Prebble, 1984: p143). Alistair Ranaldson, an early President of The Society of True Highlanders and befriended by Walter Scott, was despised by Robert Burns because of his "arrogance and indifference to the true condition of the Highland people" (Prebble, 1984: p144).

The origins of the Braemar Royal Highland Society are slightly atypical in that the Society takes its point of origin from a meeting of the Braemar Wrights Society which took place in January 1816 (Braemar: 4/7/1986). As was noted earlier, the early social composition of this society consisted not only of the local landed gentry but primarily of local skilled manual workers, mostly carpenters, who developed the society as a form of collective social insurance in the absence of any welfare state. It could also be said to have been an early form of trade union and, as such, carried kinship and friendship a practical step further by organising social relief in times of hardship for the sick, the elderly, the widows and orphans among its membership. Yet from these origins at the level of popular culture, by 1826 the Society had been transformed into the Braemar

Highland Society. While social relief remained one of the membership functions, other primary tasks included the preservation of the kilt, language and cultural interests of the Highlands (Jarvie, 1986: p351). By 1831, the vice-presidents of the Braemar Highland Society included Lord Elcho, Sir David Kinlock, Sir Thomas Lauder, and Sir Williams Cumming, all titled landowners (Jarvie, 1986; p351). In 1832 another landowner, the Marquis of Caermarthen, presented each of his gamekeepers with a complete Highland costume of his own prefabricated Dunblane tartan. That same year, the society included athletic contests in its Gathering for the first time.

By 1832 the Lonach Highland and Friendly Society had formed. The inaugural meeting of this Society is commented upon by the now current secretary as follows:

Although the games did not start until the 1830's, the actual Society was formed in 1823 ... The Society was spoken about in 1822 at the coming of age of John Forbes who is the older son of Sir Charles Forbes the first Baronet of Newe They were having a bonfire at his coming of age on the top of the Lonach hill on the 15th December 1822 and they decided then that they would form the Society (Lonach: 20/8/1986).

The residual elements of the clans Forbes, Wallace and Gordon, have formed a strong connection with the Lonach Highlanders. Like many of the Highland Societies, the objectives of the Lonach Highland and Friendly Societies are fourfold: (i) the preservation of Highland garb; (ii) the support of loyal, peaceable, upright and manly conduct; (iii) the promotion of social and friendly feelings amongst the inhabitants

of the district; and (iv) establishing a voluntary fund from members with the proceeds being directed towards social relief amongst members or their families (Lonach: 20/8/1986). While the facts alone indicate that the Highland Societies contributed to and supported the emigration process, it should also be noted that, in comparison to many of the modern Highland Gatherings and Games it is primarily the Highland Gatherings of such Friendly Societies as Lonach, Braemar and Glenisla, that glimpses of some of the residual elements of the past may be seen. Yet even here there is a feudal bonding with the landlord and a blending of romantic kitsch symbols with the residual symbols of the past. Such a romantic cultural transformation was in no small part due to the writings of Walter Scott.

A revival, not just in the wearing of the kilt and plaid but also the fashion of tartanry in general, had developed by the time King George IV visited Edinburgh in 1822. The following account is given of one of the social engagements attended by the monarch (Grant, 1898: p261):

a great mistake was made by the stage managers - one that offended all the southern Scots; the king wore at the levee the Highland dress. I dare say he thought that country all Highland, expected no fertile plains, and did not know the difference between the Saxon and the Celt.

After George IV had visited Scotland in 1822, Messrs J Spittal and Son of Edinburgh wrote to William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn saying "we are likely to be torn to pieces for tartan, the demand is so great we cannot supply our customers" (Grant, 1898: p262). While the

fashion of wearing tartan partly resulted from the royal seal of approval being given to this and other symbols of Highland culture, much of the revival was also connected with the influence of the Scottish enlightenment and in particular with the romantic images of the Highlander presented by Scott in Waverley (1814) and other novels. Consider the following extracts from Waverley:

He was an old smoke-dried Highlander wearing a venerable grey beard and having for his sole garment a tartan frock, the skirts of which descended to the knee (Scott, 1814: p192).

It was up the course of this last stream that Waverley, like a knight of romance, was conducted by the fair Highland damsel, his silent guide (Scott, 1814: p76).

In the progress of their return to the castle, the chieftain warmly pressed Waverley to remain but for a week or two, in order to see a grand hunting party, in which he and some other Highland gentlemen proposed to join. The charms of melody and beauty were too strongly impressed in Edward's breast to permit his declining an invitation so pleasing. It was agreed, therefore, that he should write a note to the Baron of Bradwardine expressing his intention to stay a fortnight at Glennaquoich (Scott, 1814: p184).

In Waverley (1814) the main heroes are an inexperienced Hanoverian officer, who ultimately fights for Charles Edward Stuart, a loyal Hanoverian officer who fights against him, a very old-fashioned Lowland baron and a hot-blooded Highland chief who repeatedly steals Lowland cows. Like many other of Scott's, novels a peculiar mixture of fact and fiction provides a romantic historical novel which as Lukacs (1975) observes, is also dependent upon enlightenment realism. By this

he meant that Scott identified with the past only in the sense that it no longer posed a threat to the established order. The romanticism of Scott, and others, was based on the belief that the past was really gone and that past history should not be used as a basis of social or political mobilization which linked the past with present problems (Nairn, 1981: p115). Consequently, the Highland images presented by Scott are not those of eviction, poverty, famine and increasing dependency on the landlords but ones of tartan kilts, ben and glen romanticism and the kilted Borderer. It was only within this belief that the past was not linked to the present that Scott welcomed George IV to Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century.

In Scottish terms, it is certainly arguable that the collapse of a distinctly Highland way of life after the failure of the '45 Rebellion gave rise to a process of cultural marginalization and subsequently a process of cultural transformation. The Highlander was rendered safe to be assimilated into the imagination of the Lowland Scot and the Scottish way of life in general. A culture was by and large destroyed after Culloden and yet, precisely because of this its symbols became available not only to a nascent European Romantic movement, of which Scott was part, but also to Scottish cultural identity in general. Because of the obscurity of Highland history and because of the popular tide of feeling at the time towards the Highlanders the literati had relatively few problems in locating a sentimental Scottish nationalism north of the Highland line. What is of concern here, though, is not so much the influence of writers such as Scott within the European context, but rather the legacy which was left for the Highlands after its culture had been marginalized and

transformed. It was left with images of purple hills, monarchs of the glen, romantic heroes and kilts, tartans, claymores and other Highland symbols all of which were adopted as images of the real Scotland. Forgotten were the realities of the clearances, what the '45 Rebellion actually stood for and the experiences of famine, poverty and eviction.

The period between about 1740 and about 1850 marked a very distinctive stage in the development of the Highland Gatherings. It was a stage during which the Highland Gatherings, like many other aspects of Highland culture, were influenced by the British state's post-Culloden policies. An initial phase of cultural marginalization was subsequently followed by the Highland Clearances and emigration in particular to North America. The people who remained became increasingly dependent upon the actions of the Highland landlords, many of whom had been Highland chiefs within the old clan figuration. The process of emigration contributed to the emergence of Highland Gatherings and Societies overseas. In Scotland, the paradoxical situation developed by the early part of the nineteenth century whereby many of the descendants of those landlords who had contributed to the demise of the Highland way of life became the guardians of its existence. Many of the graphic symbols which were adopted by the Highland and Friendly Societies became romanticized and in part divorced from their original social context. The romantic images produced by Walter Scott and other writers certainly contributed to this process of cultural transformation. It was a transformation which was to contribute, not only to the emergence of the 'sporting landlord' phenomenon but also to the processes of 'Balmoralization' and the popularization of the Highland Gatherings.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPORTING LANDLORDS

It cannot be argued that there was a direct mono-causal link between the financial difficulties of sheep farming and the development of the Highlands as a sporting playground during the Victorian period. However, the decline in the fortunes of sheep farming, the increasing wealth of the metropolitan sectors of capital, the influence of not only the traditional aristocracy but also the nouveaux riches, the further entanglement of land ownership with financial capital and an improved network of communication were certainly some of the key structural factors which contributed to the process whereby the Highlands became increasingly dependent upon the sporting landlords of the late nineteenth century. In a relational sense, the power of those at the apex of the Highland figuration to implement cultural, political and economic changes had an immense effect upon the way of life experienced by the small tenantry or crofting class. While those people who worked the land were not powerless, they were not as powerful as the dominant grouping of this period, namely the sporting landlords. They were locked, in short, in a relationship of what one might call heavily asymmetrical interdependence.

The power of the sporting landlords to control and influence the agenda led, in part, not only to the popularization of the Highland Gatherings and Games but also to a process of increasing cultural dependency whereby the images and practices associated with this sporting form continued to be selected, romanticised and attributed different meanings. Two crucial developments which took place between

about 1840 and about 1920 were: (i) the process of "Balmoralization", whereby the Scottish Highland Gatherings became inextricably linked with "Balmorality", loyalty and royalty; and (ii) a popularization process involving not only the popularization of the Highland Gatherings but also the popularization of the Highlands as a sporting playground. These developments took place against a background of tensions and struggles between two broad inter-dependent social fractions each with a greater or lesser degree of power. On the one hand there were the landowners who paraded as Highland chiefs at the Highland Gatherings, and who continued to facilitate the emigration process and converted many of the nineteenth century sheep farms into deer forests for sporting purposes. In contrast to the way of life experienced by the sporting landlord class, the crofters, those who were primarily responsible for working the land, experienced poverty, famine and land congestion during the Victorian period.

The passing of the Crofters Act of 1886 marked an important milestone in Highland social development. The demand for crofting legislation followed the Napier Commission's enquiry into the living conditions of the Highland Crofters during the early 1880s. By recognising the crofting community's claim to security of tenure and independently assessed rents, the Act brought an end, by and large, to an intensive period of eviction, oppression and exploitation which followed the defeat of the Highland forces at Culloden. While the Crofters Act managed to provide the crofters with a degree of power in relation to the sporting landlords of the nineteenth century, it failed to return the ownership of land to the direct descendants of the

clansfolk of a previous epoch. The end of one period of struggle marked the beginning of another.

The Balmoralization Process

The future of the crofters during the 1840s, according to Hunter (1976), was as bleak as it could be. Poverty, threat of eviction, overcrowding on the peripheral allotments of land and a yawning chasm between income produced and rent paid to the landlord were some of the crucial facts of life which structured crofting experiences. Such experiences of hardship and hunger were only exacerbated by failure of the staple product of the crofting communities, namely the potato. Commenting upon the dependency of the crofters upon this staple product, the Minister of Movern wrote that the potato root was the crofting population's staff of life (Hunter, 1976: p28). While the losses were greatest amongst the inhabitants of the Western Isles, no area of the Highlands escaped the potato famine which began after about 1846 and continued to the early 1850s. The Highland emigres of previous years were soon to be joined by more of their compatriots who were forced to leave the land through experiences of starvation and eviction. More particularly, they experienced starvation in the sense that the staple product of the crofting community had failed and eviction due to the lack of income to pay the rent demanded by the landlord (1).

(1) James Hunter (1976) is generally accepted as providing the most complete account of the development of the crofting communities during this period. For a contra-factual account, see Eric Richards (1982).

In stark contrast to the experiences of the crofters, other developments in the Highlands during the first half of the nineteenth century gave rise to the emergence of the sporting landlords, a class of people whose pursuit of pleasure and material wealth resulted in the transformation of many of the sheep farms into deer forests for stalking and shooting purposes (Hawker, 1893). Of course, the two sets of crofting and landlord experiences were not in a causal sense totally divorced from each other. The drop of income which the landlords experienced as a result of the potato famine certainly focused the landlord class into finding supplementary forms of income. As yet, the decline in the fortunes of Highland sheep farming was not really a major factor affecting the development of deer forests (2). Yet the potential of the Highlands as a sporting domain had already been recognised. As early as 1833 the Earl of Malmesbury offered sporting rights on the island of Harris for £25 (Jarvie, 1986b: p50). That same year another writer wrote (Barron, 1907: Vol 2, p.xxxvi):

This was the first year that the Highlands became the rage, deer forests were made and rented for prices not exceeding £300 ... at that time a stranger could shoot over almost any part of the Highlands without interruption. The letting of the farae naturae being unknown to their predecessors.

About this time, according to Malmesbury, the Highlands began to develop as one of the sporting and recreational domains in particular

(2) As sheep walks declined, the deer forests expanded reaching 3,599,744 acres by 1912, one fifth of the Scottish land area. See Scottish Land Enquiry Committee (1914).

of the southern aristocracy (Barron, 1907: Vol2, p.xxxvi). The evidence provided by Malmesbury above refers not only to an approximate date and an approximate cost of renting deer forests but also to an antecedent ideology which operated in the Highlands, namely that at one time the Highlands were relatively open to any stranger who wanted to shoot deer. The letting of land for shooting purposes had been unknown prior to this period. More specifically, Malmesbury does in fact reinforce a residual ideology, one which is no longer dominant, that pertained in the Highlands, namely that the land and its contents belonged to the clansfolk and not the landowners. Certainly the shooting of deer in the Highlands existed long before this period but what marked the Victorian epoch from the past was the systematic development of deer forests as private sporting estates and the subsequent profit for some.

It was against the historical background of contrasting crofting and landlord experiences that the Balmoralization process occurred. Between the 1840s and early 1900s, Queen Victoria resided on Deeside, in the first instance as a tourist and in the second instance as a landowner and chieftain to the Braemar Royal Highland Gatherings (McConnachie, 1895). The patronage bestowed on the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering by Queen Victoria marked the beginning of a Balmoralization process which linked together a bonding between the reigning monarchy, the Balmoral estate and the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering in particular, although not exclusively. This process contributed greatly to the cultural production and reproduction of the Highland Gatherings in a particular social form. It was a form or set of practices which in no small way became characterised in terms of

loyalty, royalty, tartanry and Balmorality. The Balmoralization process was closely linked to a second process of popularization which involved not only the popularization of the Highland Gatherings and Highland Games but also the popular development of the Highlands as a sporting playground for a certain social elite. The two processes of Balmoralization and popularization were inextricably linked, historically, socially and politically.

It was the prospect of shooting deer that first attracted royalty to the Highlands. The development of sporting estates received royal approval with the visit of Prince Albert and Victoria to Drummond Castle in 1842 (Duff-Hart Davies, 1978: p101). The couple returned to the Highlands in 1844 visiting the estates of Ardeverikie and Glenlyon (Barron, 1907: Vol3, p57). Initially this sporting practice was primarily a male preserve. For instance, the Inverness Courier of the 19th August 1849 refers to the Marquess of Douro shooting at Achnacarry, Lord Ward shooting at Glengarry, Lord Macdonald and Captain Turner at Castle Leod, Lord Selkirk at Upper Morar and Lord Lauderdale shooting on the Lochbroom estate. Yet the involvement of Queen Victoria (1838-1901) in this sporting form encouraged further female members of the aristocracy to participate in a sport which had hitherto remained patriarchal and almost exclusively characterised as a form of male preserve. Clearly I am not arguing here that increased participation rates by female members of the aristocracy gave rise to any form of equal opportunity within the sport either in terms of gender or class control. Nevertheless, the involvement of such female members of the aristocracy as Lady Seymour who stalked the deer at Achnacarry in 1845 and Lady Meux who stalked the deer at Ceannacroc in

1857 might be cited as examples of increasing involvement by women in this particular exclusive form of sporting practice (McConnachie, 1895: p237). Within the sporting landlord class the involvement of women represented both a development and challenge within male upper class leisure forms.

The diaries of Queen Victoria (1838-1901) are full of insight into the development of her close affinity with the Highlands. Here I have selected only two extracts to add weight to the fact that such a development had taken place prior to 1848:

- (1) There were a number of Lord Breadalbane's Highlanders, all in Campbell tartan, drawn up in front of the house, with Lord Breadalbane himself in Highland dress at their head, a few of Sir Neil Menzies men, a number of pipers playing, and a company of 92nd Highlanders also in kilts. The firing of guns, the cheering of the great crowd, the picturesqueness of the dresses, the beauty of the surrounding country, with its rich background of wooded hills, altogether formed one of the finest scenes imaginable. It seemed as if the great chieftain in olden feudal times was receiving his sovereign. It was princely and romantic (Victoria, Diaries: 7/9/1842).
- (2) The English coast appeared terribly flat. Lord Aberdeen was quite touched when I told him I was so attached to the dear dear Highlands and missed the fine hills so much. There is a great peculiarity about the Highlands and the Highlanders; and they are such a chivalrous, fine, active people. Our stay amongst them

was so delightful.
Independently of the beautiful
scenery, there was a quiet, a
retirement, a wilderness, a
liberty and solitude that has
a charm for us (Victoria,
Diaries: 3/10/1844).

The evidence provided may be drawn upon to make several points:

(i) that the monarchy had already established a close connection, a bonding of affinity with the Highlands during the early 1840s; (ii) that by this time the wearing of family tartans had become a fashionable tradition amongst the Highland landlords, one that was given royal approval; (iii) that the image of the Highlander in the eyes of the southern aristocracy had dramatically changed in a relatively short period of time from being barbarous, threatening and hostile to being fine, chivalrous, active people. Now that the Highlander no longer posed a threat to the established order, the ideology and rhetoric attributed to the Highlander quickly changed; and (iv) that the way of life experienced by royalty and the aristocracy was certainly at odds with the way of life experienced by the majority of the Highland population during this period.

By the time the monarchy had acquired the Balmoral estate in 1848, a number of new sporting estates had emerged. The Marquess of Salisbury purchased the Island of Rhum in 1845 specifically to furnish himself with a deer forest (Barron, 1907: Vol3, p135). Three years earlier Edward Ellice had bought Glenquoich for £32,000 (Mitchell, 1893: Vol 1, p79). So popular had forests and moors become that, the Inverness Courier of the 19th of August 1840, reported that many sportsmen had to return south after travelling the whole of the north

in search of shooting quarters without being able to "obtain a nook or cranny". The major sporting estates developed in the 1840s included Jura, Rothiemurchus, Kinlochewe, Ardverikie, Glencalvie, Glenquorch, Patt, Flowerdale and Altournie (Orr, 1982: p169). In 1846 Robert Somers commented that, if the sporting forests were to increase over the next quarter of a century as they have done over the last quarter, then "the Gael will perish from their native soil" (Somers, 1877: Letter No 25).

The Balmoral estate at one time belonged to the Earl of Mar, who was succeeded by the Gordons. In the seventeenth century, the Marquess of Huntly, chief of the Clan Gordon, sold part of the estate to the Farquharsons of Invercauld (McConnachie, 1895: p237). By 1746 the estate had passed into the hands of the Farquharsons of Auchendryne and Inverey who in turn sold the estate to the Earl of Fife in 1748. The Earl of Fife, after leasing the estate to Sir Robert Gordon, subsequently leased it to Prince Albert in 1848. The new owners of the Balmoral estate arrived on the 8th of September 1848. Commenting upon the occasion, Queen Victoria (1838-1901) noted in her Scottish Diaries (1868: 8/9/1845):

We arrived at Balmoral at a quarter to three. We lunched almost immediately and at half past four we walked out and went up to the wooded hill opposite the windows ... The view from here looking down upon the house is charming. To the left you look towards the beautiful hills surrounding Loch-na-gar, and to the right towards Ballater.

That same year, the Queen, Prince Albert and the principal members of the Royal Court attended the Highland Gathering of the Braemar Society (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p27). The Balmoral connection was reproduced in 1849 when the monarch and members of the royal family attended the Gathering at Braemar Castle on the 6th of September of that year. The Braemar Gathering by this time was becoming a traditional event in the social calendar of the new Highland landlords. Many of the nobility from Aberdeen, Perthshire and Forfarshire, write Colquhoun and Machell (1927: p87), regularly presented themselves at these Highland Gatherings. The Duke of Atholl and Sir Charles Forbes of Newe both brought Highlanders dressed in their respective clan tartans to the 1849 Braemar Highland Gathering. The Scottish Diaries of Queen Victoria (1868: 12/9/1850) provide a more detailed account of the Braemar Highland Gathering of 1850:

We lunched early and then went at half past two o'clock with the children and all our party to the Gathering at the Castle of Braemar as we did last year. The Duffs, Farquharsons, the Leeds and those staying with them, and Captain Forbes and forty of his men who came over from Strath Don, were there ... There were the usual games of putting the stone, throwing the hammer and caber and racing up the hill at Craig Cheunnich ... Eighteen or nineteen started and it looked a very pretty sight to see them run off in their different coloured kilts.

A closer fusion between the Braemar Highland Gathering and Balmoral occurred in 1859 when the Braemar Highland Society was invited by the Monarch to hold a Highland Gathering at Balmoral on the 22nd of

September. What was by now becoming a tradition was reproduced in 1887, and again in 1890, 1898 and 1899 (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927). By this time, the Braemar Highland Society had become known as the Braemar Royal Highland Society. Symbolically, the bonding between Balmoral, the reigning monarch and the Braemar Gathering became enshrined in the position of the Highland chieftain. Such a tradition whereby the reigning monarch, or a member of the royal family, while on holiday at their summer residence at Balmoral, came to act as Highland chieftain to the Gathering at Braemar continues to the present day. This link between the past and the present is commented upon in the Annual Book of the Braemar Gathering (1980: p193):

As laird of the Balmoral Estate Her Majesty has clearly demonstrated that she is vitally interested in the upkeep of the old traditions of the clans, the glens and their people and her presence each year at the Braemar Gathering is symbolic of this love of sport that has been a characteristic of her family right back to the days of her great-great grandmother Queen Victoria, who first graced the Gathering with her presence in September 1848.

As I indicated in the first chapter, there can be no doubt about the influence of a particular social class in shaping the late eighteenth and nineteenth century Highland Gatherings. Certainly the Balmoralization process produced and reproduced images of loyalty, royalty, tartanry and the clan figuration. In the Scottish Diaries, Queen Victoria (1868: 20/9/1868) the monarch constantly refers to herself as a clan chieftain, while Prince Albert not only manifested the tartan image by wearing the kilt but also designed and reproduced

tartan kilts for the retainers of the royal party. The special value of the Highland Gathering was commented upon by the Duchess of Fife, the Princess Royal, when she said that, at the Highland Gatherings 'the laird and clansman, crofter and shepherd meet for the purpose of keeping alive the memories of the great past' (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927: p9). Yet it is important not to forget that less than a hundred years earlier, the same clan figuration was viewed in an entirely different light. As a descendant of the Hanoverian monarchy, Queen Victoria symbolised the same forces of change that had led to the destruction of the Highland clan way of life. As such, the Balmoralization process represents not so much a link with the traditions of the past, but is also representative of a process of cultural transformation whereby traditions from the past, divorced from the social context in which they were originally situated and experienced, were in fact attributed with different meanings.

While historians, anthropologists and many others may have questioned Trevor-Roper's discussion concerning the invention of tradition, it is interesting to note that the essay by David Cannadine (1983) in the same collection of papers shows how much of what is regarded today as the British tradition was in fact hastily contrived towards the end of Queen Victoria's reign. Despite the continued centrality of the monarchy in British political, social and cultural life during this period, serious work by historians and sociologists on the subject of the monarchy is notable only by its relative absence. Indeed, as Nairn (1987) points out, serious curiosity about the British crown has been singularly lacking. Durkheim, of course, commented upon the integrative force of religious ceremony and ritual and the way

in which such rituals embody, reflect, uphold and reinforce widely-held popular values (3). Marxists by contrast have argued that rituals and ceremonies have tended to be used by ruling elites as a means of consolidating their ideological hegemony over subordinate groups or classes. One of the advantages of the figurational approach is that it stresses not only the power relations within and between social fractions as a mediating factor in the selection of tradition but also that traditions and rituals have to be understood within a developmental framework. The point that is being made here is simply that, when placed within the wider developmental framework of Highland history, it is important to understand that various social class fractions, such as landlords, by virtue of their power, may select, interpret and attribute different meanings to such cultural artefacts as tartanry, clans and what Nairn (1981) has referred to as the kitsch symbols of the Highlands.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that Queen Victoria was not only a Highland sporting landlady and patron to the Braemar Royal Highland Society Gathering but also, along with her husband, an active patron of the Society for Assisting Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Prebble, 1984: p202). The famine of the 1840s had served only to intensify the Highland landlord's hostility towards the crofting system. As Hunter (1976) indicates, by the late 1840s and early 1850s, most Highland landlords were well aware of the fact that a tenantry that could not produce an adequate rent would only lead to the

(3) This discussion on ritual and tradition has been influenced by the discussion of Marx and Durkheim in Hobsbawn (1983) and Nairn (1987).

bankruptcy of the landlord's estate. The landlords' evident conviction that emigration was the answer to the crofting problem stemmed not only from the belief that sheep and deer provided a more reliable source of income, but also that emigration would once and for all rid the landlord of the dependent crofter. The actual machinery that was developed to enforce this ideology was provided for in the Emigration Advances Act of 1851 which, after being introduced into the House of Commons on July 21st, received royal assent from Queen Victoria on the 7th August (Hunter, 1976: p77). The significance of the Act was not so much that it further facilitated clearances and enforced emigration but that it set the seal of royal approval on the landlords' land policies.

With Queen Victoria as its patron, the Highlands and Islands Emigration Society functioned to assist the emigration of those crofters who wished to leave the Highlands. However, as I have already argued, there is a danger in placing too great a voluntaristic interpretation upon this process in the sense that, if choice was significant, it reflected where the populace went and not the fact that they were forced to go. If a factor or landlord sets fire to your house and belongings you have little choice but to move out. Quite simply, the traditional peasantry suffered as a result of the policies of the landlords. The Highlanders either remained to experience misery and struggle or moved reluctantly to other lands. For instance, the Society succeeded in sending some 5,000 Highlanders to Australia in the first five years of its existence (Hunter, 1976: p87). Of all the many thousands of people who left the Highlands during the 1840s and 1850s, few were as harshly treated as the highlanders of Barra, South Uist and

Benbecula. What they experienced can, in part, be gleaned from the recollections of Catherine MacPhee (Hunter, 1976: p81):

Many a thing have I seen in my own day and generation, many a thing, O Mary Mother of the black sorrow! I have seen the townships swept, and the big holdings being made of them, the people being driven out of the countryside to the streets of Glasgow and to the wilds of Canada, such of them as did not die of hunger and plague and smallpox while going across the ocean. I have seen the women putting the children in the carts which were being sent from Benbecula and the lachdar to Loch Boisdale, while their husbands lay bound in the pen and were weeping beside them, without power to give them a helping hand, though the women themselves were crying aloud and their little children wailing like to break their hearts. I have seen the big strong men, the champions of the countryside, the stalwarts of the world, being bound on Loch Boisdale quay and cast into the ship as would be done to a batch of horses or cattle in the boat, the bailiffs and the ground-officers and the constables and policemen gathered behind them in pursuit of them. The God of life and he only knows all the loathsome work of men on that day.

A Marxist interpretation of the clearances would be keen to highlight the degree of resistance, struggle and conflict between the landlords and crofters throughout the processes of clearance, emigration and the development of the sporting estates. Yet in the extensive literature concerning such processes during the 1850s and 1860s, no feature is more frequently commented upon than the crofters' lack of resistance to the evictions and the absence of violence, terrorism and intimidation. Clearly such passiveness must not be

over-exaggerated. In February and March of 1847, food riots erupted along the eastern and northern coasts of Caithness (Hunter, 1976: p90). During the 1850s, crofters denied access to land as a result of deer forest developments on Lewis, marched into the forest and released the deer as a direct protest against the landlord (Jarvie, 1986b: p55). The flockmasters who looked after the sheep often resisted many deer forest developments since they threatened not only the flockmasters' existence but also restricted the land available for sheep grazing (Jarvie, 1986b: p56). The Straithaird clearances of 1850 were resisted with some success by the crofters faced with eviction and subsequent emigration. But while there was a great deal of tension and conflict during the clearances, the conflict that emerged during the 1840s and 1850s consisted mainly of sporadic, relatively unconnected and isolated acts of defiance.

It is perhaps useful at this stage to highlight a number of important points that have been made in this chapter to date. More specifically, it has been suggested: (i) that a number of factors such as the declining fortunes of sheep farming and the inability of the crofters to obtain an income adequate for meeting their rent meant that the Highland landlords of the Victorian period had to find alternative sources of income; (ii) that by the 1850s, the Highlands had already shown signs that they were to become a popular sporting playground for not just the traditional aristocracy but also for the nouveaux riches; (iii) that the Balmoralization process contributed not only to the popularity and identity of the Braemar Royal Highland Society and Gathering but also gave the royal seal of approval to Highland sport in general; (iv) the same process also contributed to the production and

reproduction of images of loyalty, royalty, tartanry and clannishness so closely associated with Braemar; (v) the monarchy also associated itself with the machinery by which many Highlanders were forced to leave the Highlands; and (vi) that in stark contrast to the leisure experiences of the sporting landlords, many people in the Highlands experienced life in terms of famine, poverty and congestion caused by over-crowding upon the peripheral areas of the landlord's estate.

The Popularization Process

It would be misleading and indeed incorrect to argue that the Balmoralization process was the only factor that led to the broader popularization of the Highland Gatherings and Games. Improved communications and transport were certainly a significant factor, too. The opening of the Deeside Railway from Aberdeen to Banchory in 1835, to Aboyne in 1859 and to Ballater in 1866 certainly contributed to the popularization of this Highland sporting form. Commenting on a general trend, McConnachie (1895: piii) estimated that Ballater alone was catering for 10,000 visitors a year by 1870 and that the coming of the railway had made Ballater the commercial capital of Upper Deeside. Braemar remained relatively isolated and yet fashionable for what McConnachie (1895: p108) refers to as a more select class of visitors. There is little doubt that the Balmoralization process was inextricably linked to the process by which the Highland Gatherings and Games became popular during the latter half of the nineteenth century. When asked to comment upon the impact of Queen Victoria's attachment to the Highland Gatherings, the now current President of the Braemar Royal Highland Society replied (Braemar: Interview 4/7/1986):

There is no doubt, indeed, that the Games became popular because of the royal attachment ... When Queen Victoria came to the area a lot of landowners got the people who worked for them, stalkers, tenants, keepers, etc ... rigged out in tartan ... Queen Victoria rigged out all her retainers in the Royal Stuart Tartan.

The literary tradition of the kailyard also contributed in no small way to the popularization process. The kailyard school originated in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and expressed a romantic nostalgia for a phase of Scottish life that had largely disappeared (Bold, 1983: p105). Like Scott's work of the early nineteenth century, the kailyard school contributed to a romantic, essentially Highland, image of the Scottish social formation. It contributed to what Nairn described as the cultural sub-nationalism which existed between about 1800 and 1920. As a form of nationalism, this cultural form was distorted in the sense that it was primarily created by a Scottish bourgeoisie who helped socially to construct a Scottish cultural identity that was unique and potentially a force of mobilization against a British hegemony. And yet at another level, it created a cultural illusion of Scotland which was essentially unionist and concealed many of the realities of Scottish and Highland exploitation (Carter, 1976: ppl-13).

The kailyard image of Scotland was underpinned by two main factors. Firstly, as mentioned above, the kailyard image, allied with the tartan-tourist image, helped to define a romantic cultural identity which was representative of unionist sentiments and feelings. Secondly, in countries such as America, Canada and Australia there

developed an emigre market. A relative prosperity abroad allied with the distance from the realities of a lived way of life experienced by fractions of the Scottish social formation helped to create a market for kailyard writers who celebrated (mostly imaginary) Scottish images of the past. Such a form of cultural sub-nationalism abroad also helped to reinforce a nostalgic image of the Highlands in particular and Scotland in general.

Three central members of the kailyard school, Barrie, Crockett and Maclaren, presented an image of Scotland in which class relations were harmonious as were the social relations which existed more specifically between the landlords and the crofters (Carter, 1976: p3). Scotland was portrayed as a country of bens and glens with the most prominent members of the Scottish social formation being ministers, doctors and housekeepers. Maclaren (1896) in particular was aware of the potential market to be expropriated from Balmorality and the growth of tourism particularly in the Scottish Highlands. As one writer commenting on the kailyard novels notes (Orwell, 1970: p409):

Our picture of Scotland was made up of burns, braes, kilts, sporrans, claymores, bagpipes and the like, all somehow mixed up with the invigorating effects of porridge, protestanism and a cold climate. But underlying this was something quite different. The real reason for the cult of Scotland was that only very rich people could spend their summers there.

The kailyard writers were not without their critics. Many commentators such as George Blake (1951) argued that the writers

gratified a Victorian sentimentality and were victims of the chronic Scottish disease of nostalgia. Yet it was a romantic nostalgia, divorced from social reality, which helped to contribute to the popularization process of the Highlands and Highland cultural forms. The Highland Gatherings and Games certainly became popular in the light of this process. While it is not necessary to explain in detail the development of every Highland Gathering and Games that emerged between about 1850 and 1920, it is important in the first instance to establish that such a process did in fact occur.

Highland Gatherings and Games 1850-1910

<u>Highland Gathering/Games</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Pitlochry Highland Games	1852
Glenisla Highland Gathering	1856
Dunbeath Highland Games	1856
Alva Highland Games	1858
Ballater Highland Games	1864
Aboyne Highland Games	1867
Nairn Highland Games	1867
Argyllshire Highland Gathering	1871
Cowal Highland Gathering	1871
Airth Highland Games	1871
Luss Highland Gathering	1875
Abernethy Highland Games	1880
Halkirk Highland Games	1884
Brodick Highland Games	(1884-1886)

Invercharron Highland Games	1888
Assynt Highland Games	1904

Source: Compiled from interviews, minute books, newspapers.

Established in 1856, the Glenisla Highland Gathering is the annual Gathering of the Glenisla Highland and Friendly Society (Glenisla, Interview: 18/8/1986). The early minutes of the Glenisla Highland and Friendly Society (1895) specifically state that the principal objectives of the Society are "the preservation of Highland Garb and as far as possible the preservation of celtic customs and language". Furthermore, the Glenisla minutes (1895) go on to express patriarchal, loyalistic and civilizing concerns in that the Society and Gathering also purported to promote "loyal, peacable, upright and manly conduct" while at the same time promoting "social and friendly feelings amongst the inhabitants of the district". Such traditional sporting events as hill-racing, putting the stone, tossing the caber and the playing of the piobaireachd were all major features of the inaugural Glenisla Highland Gathering. According to the Secretary of the Society, the first Glenisla Highland Gathering resulted from the inhabitants and crofters of the north and south end of the Glens wanting to compete against each other in traditional Highland sports (Glenisla, Interview: 18/8/1986). As such, a Gathering was organised by the Glenisla Highland and Friendly Society under the patronage of the Earl of Airlie, the major landowner in the glen at that time. His patronage also gave him a large measure of control over the proceedings. Not that the Earl of Airlie confined his sporting and land ownership interests solely to this glen. He also owned the sporting estate of

Caenlochan which amounted to some 10,272 acres of Highland land (McConnachie, 1923: p55). It is interesting to note that the Secretary of the Glenisla Highland Gathering considered Lonach, Braemar, Aboyne and Glenisla to be the most authentic of all the Highland Gatherings and Games (Glenisla, Interview: 18/8/1986). While the origins of the Lonach and Braemar Gatherings were considered in the last chapter, as yet the Aboyne Highland Gathering and Games have not been discussed.

While the Aberdeen Free Press and the Buchan News of September 6th 1867 make no mention of the Aboyne Games of 1867, they do mention the fact that Fife, Farquharson, Duff and Aboyne Highlanders were present at the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering of that year. However, the Aberdeen Free Press of September 3rd comments upon the "unalloyed success of the 3rd Annual Gathering and Games at Aboyne". The paper goes on to comment that the Aboyne Games "in fact, bids fair, with the exception that it has not yet been graced by the presence of royalty, to become the chief Gathering on Deeside". Royal patronage was not long in coming, though, with the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1873.

According to the Secretary of the Aboyne Highland Gathering and Games, the first Highland Games there were fixed for the 31st August 1867 (Aboyne, Interview: 2/4/1986). Events at these inaugural Aboyne Games included light and heavy hammer throwing, putting the stone, caber tossing, Highland music and running and jumping. While the competitors had by 1870 to pay on entry, admission to the first Aboyne Highland Games was free. An annual ball was organised, with the price of tickets initially fixed at five shillings for ladies and gentlemen

(Aboyne, Interview: 2/4/1986). The association with tartanry, clans, Highland chiefs and sporting landlords was produced and reproduced in the person of the Marquess of Huntly. As Highland chieftain to the Clan Gordon, the standard of the Marquess of Huntly was raised in the arena each year. To the Clan Gordon, the banners stood not only for a link with the past but also for a form of bonding in the sense that the flag symbolised both a form of loyalty to the Highland chief and also a form of unity and solidarity within the clan itself (Arbroath Herald: 9/9/1962). In much the same way, the raising of the national cross of St Andrew on the central flag-staff at the Aboyne Games was also a symbolic form of bonding and loyalty to the monarchy of that time. It should not be forgotten that, by 1874, the Marquess of Huntly owned over 8,000 acres of land which included Huntly and Aboyne Castles, the hereditary seats of the Clan Gordon (McEwan, 1981: p33).

In short, what is being illustrated here is that, like many Highland Gatherings and Games, the Aboyne Highland Gathering and Games produced and reproduced cultural images of tartanry, loyalty, royalty and clan life divorced from their original social context. The double role of sporting landlord and Highland Chief was in this instance dependent upon the patronage of the Marquess of Huntley.

Highland Games at Ballater also date back to the 1860s. By the time the railway had reached Deeside in 1886 Ballater had already emerged as a Highland retreat for what can be described using Veblen's term as the 'leisure class' (McConnachie, 1895: p109). The Farquharsons of Invercauld were the major landowners that were associated with the Ballater Highland Games, although the Mackenzies of

Glenmuick should also be mentioned. By 1874, the Invercauld estate stretched over 87,000 acres of Highland land (McEwan, 1981). As a past president of the Ballater Games commented, as feudal superiors in the parish of Ballater, the Farquharsons of Invercauld have historically performed the role of Highland chieftain to the Ballater Highland Games (Ballater, Interview: 7/8/1986). The following extracts taken from the minute book of the Ballater Athletic Club (1894: ppl-2) provide some insights into the early beginnings of the Ballater Highland Games:

- (1) At Ballater on the 16th July 1864 a meeting of the inhabitants of this parish was called by public notice. Mr Reid in the chair, it was prepared and unanimously agreed to that annual athletic games (open only to the parish) be established, and that Lieut. Col. Farquharson of Invercauld be president of the Society.
- (2) It was also agreed to hold the said games on Wednesday the 27th July, but at 12.00 noon on the church square, where the following Games, be competed for; putting the stone, throwing the hammer, tossing the caber, dancing, running, vaulting, jumping, sack and barrow races ... A ball in connection with the Society to be held in the Mason's Hall at 9.00 pm.

As many of the subsequent programmes indicate, Ballater has always attracted a great number of prominent athletes, dancers and pipers. In 1868, Donald Dinnie of Aboyne set new records in the heavy events. The famous Balmoral pipers also held a close connection with Ballater. Indeed much of the Balmorality which in part structured the sporting practices at Braemar also structured in part the sporting practices at

Ballater. It is also interesting to note that several of the rules and regulations which governed the nineteenth century Ballater Highland games might be said to be indicative of a wider "civilizing process" whereby the Highlanders became less violent over a period of time. For instance, any member or person becoming quarrelsome or the "worst for liquor" was immediately expelled from the Games Arena (Ballater, Programme 1985: p4). Any member deemed to be "unreasonably disagreeing or insulting to the judge or the Committee" was, as a result of their behaviour, fined by those people in positions of power (Ballater, Programme 1985: p4).

Finally as Webster (1973: p18) points out, a common rule applied to these early Gatherings and Games was the immediate disqualification of any competitor found to be wilfully tripping, knocking down or taking hold of any competitors, for example in the hill race. Such practices, so far as can be told, were all acceptable forms of behaviour during the eleventh century hill race to the summit of Craeg Choinnich. All that is being commented upon here is that, in comparison with the early Gatherings and their antecedent forms, a degree of control was imposed upon the sporting practices of the Victorian period which resulted in less violent forms of behaviour. That is to say in Eliasian terms a 'civilizing process' was occurring.

Like many other Highland Gatherings and Games, the Argyllshire Gathering developed out of a milieu of social relations that were essentially patriarchal and controlled by the sporting landlord class. Founded in 1871, the current Secretary commented that, the purpose of the inaugural, and subsequent, Argyllshire Gathering(s) was to provide

a social event for the landowners of the County of Argyll (Argyllshire, Interview: 9/7/1986). In 1874, the major landowners included the Duke of Argyll and his kinsman the Earl of Breadalbane (McConnachie 1923). Members of the Clan Campbell owned over 40,000 acres in Argyllshire (McConnachie, 1923: p50). Some of the sporting estates of that era included Benmore owned by the Duke of Argyll, Conaglen owned by the Earl of Morton, Blackorries and Glenlecknamuie owned by Lady Stratchcona, Jura, owned by Colin Campbell, Inversanda, owned by Major Maclean, and Glenforsa, owned by Col. Greenhill Gardyne (McConnachie, 1923: p57). All of these sporting landlords and many more would have been eligible to join the organising committee of the Argyllshire Gathering. The current Secretary commented that the minutes of the first meeting held on the 25th of August 1871 actually state that, in the first instance, not only that membership of the organising committee but also membership of the Argyllshire Gathering itself would be restricted to "landowners in the county and their sons" (Argyllshire, Interview: 9/7/1986). At the second annual general meeting of the Argyllshire Gathering held at Inveraray on the 30th April 1872, the following resolutions were adopted (Malcolm, 1971: p5):

1. The object of the Gathering, which was the promotion of a social meeting.
2. The qualification for membership which was restricted generally to landowners of Argyllshire, their sons and brothers, exceptional cases being referred to the Committee.
3. A committee to be appointed to manage the affairs of the Gathering.

4. A Ball to be held annually at such time and place as maybe determined upon at the spring General Meeting.

The Argyllshire Gathering, probably more than any other Gathering, reproduces an extensive list of connections with the past in terms of clans, loyalist landowners, tartanry and Highland chieftains. Some of these associations during the Victorian period included the Campbells of Succoth, Airds and Arduaine, the Macleans of Duart, Ardghair and Lochbuie, the Stewarts of Appin and Achnacone, Macdougall of Macdougall, the Earl of Breadalbane and the Duke of Argyll, all of whom have displayed coats of arms at the Argyllshire Gathering (Argyllshire Programme, 1983: p4). The forebearers of many of these families fought on both sides of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Again with particular reference to the "civilizing process" that appears to have been involved in these developments, the influence of the landlord class can be gleaned from the following (Argyllshire Programme, 1983: p3):

The Argyllshire Gathering and Games grew out of a much earlier tradition for more warlike competition between the clans and you will be able to see the descendants of these clans both as spectators and competitors and even some of their chieftains within the members enclosure. We are happy to say that our Gathering today is of an entirely peaceable nature and spectators are unlikely to see any rivalry or feuds carried to violent remedies.

The discussion to date concerning the development of the Highland Gatherings and Games during the latter half of the nineteenth century

has highlighted a number of important concerns which perhaps should briefly be summarised at this point. It has been suggested: (i) that a popularization process in fact occurred between about 1850 and 1920 and that, while this was closely connected to the Balmoralization process, this fact alone cannot be viewed as the sole causal factor; (ii) it has also been demonstrated that there was in many cases an inter-locking connection between the emerging sporting landlords of the Victorian period and positions of influence and power within the social composition of Highland Gatherings and Games; (iii) the traditions and practices associated with these Highland Gatherings and Games continued to be selective and divorced from their original social context; (iv) at one level the power of the landlord class to select, reproduce and transform many of the cultural meanings associated with this Highland sporting phenomenon may seem insignificant but at another level such changes were further indications of a continuing process of cultural dependency and marginalization. The sporting landlords were the new cultural gatekeepers of Highland culture, a point which is essentially missing within the conventional wisdom on this topic; and (v) that the popularization process of the Highland Gatherings and Games was inextricably linked to a broader popularization process whereby the Highlands in general became a sporting playground for an amalgam of major and minor members of the capitalist figuration. In drawing this chapter to a close it is necessary to return to the question of the ownership and control of land and the fluctuation of contrasting crofting experiences.

By the 1880s, Highland Gatherings and Games had been established at Cowal, Airth, Luss, Abernethy, Halkirk and Brodick, to name but a

few. Yet the early 1880s were also an important period in the development of sporting estates in that many foreign investors began to acquire property and land in the Highlands (Orr, 1982: p38). By 1855, the American Bradley Martin had acquired ownership of the Balmacaan estate, while by 1890 the Austrian Baron Schroder, held the Attadale, Salriach and Ben Alder estates (Orr, 1982: p40). Blackmount Forest was sublet to the Austrian Ambassador, Count Karolyi for £2,000 in 1889 (Orr, 1982: p40). The American Winan brothers, having unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Sir James Mackenzie, the proprietor of Morvich and Inchroe, to evict the crofters from his land, eventually purchased no less than 200,000 acres of land between Kintail and Beaulx (Jarvie, 1986b: p51). William Louis Winan, on his own, held nine sporting estates in 1882, each estate being valued at around £10,845. By 1885 this land had increased to twelve estates with the property value of each rising to £11,855 (Orr, 1982: p32).

Yet it would be incorrect to argue that foreign ownership of land predominated within the sporting landlord figuration during this period. In 1863, the same year as Lord Dudley secured the lease of Dudley Forest, Lord Ashburton who already owned 15,000 acres in Hampshire bought the Kinlockluichart estate and converted it into a deer forest for sporting purposes (McConnachie, 1923: p54). Lord Galway occupied Langwell Forest from 1863-1875 (McConnachie, 1923: p55). The brewing industry was well represented through Sir Arthur Bass, Sir E. C. Guinness and S. Whitbread, all of whom had acquired substantial estates by 1885 (Jarvie, 1986b: p51). In 1869, Sir William Brooks leased the Glentanar estate from the Marquess of Huntly before purchasing it in 1890. By the 1900s, large tracts of land were still

held by members of the British aristocracy such as the Duke of Westminster who owned the Reay estate, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon who owned the Glenfiddich, Glenavan and Glenmore estates, and the Duke of Atholl who owned Atholl lodge, together with the Dalnacaradock, Dalnamein, Dalnaspidal and Fealar estates. Finally the Duke of Sutherland owned 1,180,000 acres of Highland land in 1920 which brought in an annual sum of £56,400 from sporting rent alone (Orr, 1982: p43).

But what of the crofters during the latter half of the nineteenth century? The popularization process was not popular with all members of the Highland social formation, and the crofters in particular resisted the actions of the sporting landlords.

If the 1850s and 1860s were times of relatively passive agitation by the crofters, the same cannot be said of the latter part of the nineteenth century. As was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the passing of the Crofters Act of 1886 marked not only an important milestone in Highland social development but also the end of a period of relative overt and intense tension, conflict and struggle between landlords and the crofter within the overall Highland figuration. While the Act did not solve all or even most of the problems facing the Highland social formation, it did guarantee the crofters security of land tenure. It also set up a Crofters Commission with the power to fix fair rents. It allowed tenants to bequeath their crofts to members of their families and it provided a degree of compensation to crofters who had previously relinquished their holding on the land (Napier Commission, 1884: S/R/O). It is important to consider the Crofters Act against a background of relative poverty, threat of eviction, and the

emigration process. The Crofters Act was freely given by a dominant class fraction of the time but secured in part by the actions of the crofters themselves (Hunter, 1976: p9). They were present in the making of their own history.

As the sporting landlords continued to develop their sporting estates and to push the crofters onto the edges of the Highlands, the crofters, flockmasters and many other less powerful class fractions developed numerous strategies to try and advance their struggle for land reform (Burnett, 1985: p11). Scarcely a decade went by during the nineteenth century without various forms of popular protest against the actions of the landlords, whether they be Highland or sporting or both. In many cases, the forms of protest were similar in each instance: the destruction of sheep farms, the destruction of fences which surrounded the deer forest, mass demonstrations against eviction orders and the refusal to pay rent to the factors or landlord. The initial agitation which led to the security of tenure and fair rent provisions enshrined in the Crofters Act of 1886 was the rent strike of 1882. The refusal of the Braes crofters on Skye to pay rent to Lord Macdonald until they had been returned their grazing rights culminated in a clash between crofters and police at Braes in April 1882 (McPherson, 1985). At one level, the resistance of a small group of crofters might seem insignificant. Yet at another level the actions of the Braes crofters acted as a catalyst for a series of rent strikes which, in totality, widely publicised the experiences of the Highland crofters during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

As an alternative to granting repressive assistance, the Gladstone Government took other political steps to counter the growing unrest which, by 1886, had spread far beyond Skye to all corners of the crofters' counties (McPherson, 1985). The Queen's speech promised a Bill to mitigate the distressed conditions experienced by the Highlanders in general and the crofters in particular. Indeed, the pressure for legislation had become virtually irresistible following the report of the Napier Commission in 1884. To this day, the evidence accumulated by the commission during its tour of the Highland and Islands constitutes one of the most revealing insights into the conditions that were experienced by the crofters during the nineteenth century. Elected spokespersons for each village poured out the stories of how they had been dispossessed of land for sheep farms and deer forests. The people of cleared villages had been forced either to emigrate or to live on the edges of the Highlands, areas of land which could not adequately support those who were dependent upon the actions of the sporting landlords. The response of the Glenforsa crofters to the Napier Commission's enquiries was typical of the many estates visited. Meeting in the Temperance Hall in Salen, the Glenforsa crofters were asked a series of questions (Napier Commission, 1884: Q46, pp200-201):

'How many of you present have enough land?'

Not a hand was raised.

'How many are there who have not enough land?'

All hands went up.

'How many on the estate of Glenforsa have enough land to live on?'

'Two'

'How has it come about that there are so few holding land enough and so many having so little?'

'The people have been cleared off excellent and extensive land and sent hither and thither, some settling in Salen, some in Tobermory, some in Glasgow and some in foreign lands'.

The Napier Commission's report was sympathetic to the crofters' cause, although its specific proposals for reform were, in the view of the crofters, unacceptably modest. The crofters wanted legislation along the lines of the 1881 Irish Land Act (4). As the government stalled, further unrest developed. Rent strikes, attacks on sheriff's officers and land raids by crofters became increasingly commonplace. By May 1885, Gladstone introduced a Crofters Bill but it fell with the government. However, by the New Year a third liberal administration was in power and the Crofters Act of 1886 was the only major piece of legislation to be successfully enacted by Gladstone's short lived third administration. Like practically every other piece of reforming legislation, this Act resulted from a long period of struggle during which time landlords tried to evict crofting community leaders. The same leaders were frequently arrested and jailed, while crofters themselves frequently battled with police in places such as Skye, Tiree, Lewis and Sutherland.

Yet the 1886 Act is worth remembering for its shortcomings as well as its virtues. While the passing of its statutes was probably the

(4) For a discussion of the contemporary significance of the Crofters War see Glasgow Herald Supplement 22.2.1986.

most important legislative event to shape the course of the Highland social formation after the defeat at Culloden which symbolised the end of the clan figuration, the Act fell well short of some of the crofters' demands for the total liquidation of landlord power. Crucially, it failed to return the land taken from the descendants of the crofters in preceding centuries. Indeed, many would argue that the Act, in not restoring the lost lands to the dispossessed, did not resolve the Highland land question (Burnett, 1984: pp11-15). From the late 1880s right on into the 1920s, there was a continuing but intermittent series of land raids. There were certain significant periods such as the immediate post-war outbreak of 1919-1923. There were also certain key locations notably Barra, the Uists, Lewis and Skye, but there were raids in other parts of the Highlands around the same time, notably in Argyll, Caithness and Perthshire (Burnett, 1984: p11). However, although there were isolated incidents in the thirties and even in the post-Second World War years, raiding had effectively ceased by the early 1920s. The land question, while it remained an important issue after the 1920s, tended to be viewed more within the wider context of Scottish political culture than as a specific issue deserving attention in its own right. In particular the land question contributed to the emergence of a distinctive socialist force whose location tended to be industrial Clydeside as opposed to small town Highland kailyards or isolated Highland bens and glens. The politicization of Scottish culture after the 1920s drew heavily upon the memory of Highland rural struggles against the relative privilege, power and wealth of the landlords, and the poverty, eviction and lesser degree of power of the crofters in particular.

While the importance of the crofters' struggle should not be under-estimated, its contribution to the discussion at hand should not detract from the major focus of the analysis, namely the development of the Highland Gatherings and Games. Implicit in the analysis presented in this chapter has been the belief that the Victorian period marked a distinctive stage in the development of this Highland phenomenon. It was a stage which lasted from about 1840 until about 1920 during which time the Highland Gatherings and Games became respectable and popular sporting events. The Balmoralization process attracted a tremendous interest to the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering in particular. The event has since become synonymous with loyalism, royalism and Balmorality. In the wake of this development, the Highlands became a sporting playground for the emergent sporting landlords. The popularization processes referred to here relate not only to the popularization of the Highland Gatherings and Games, but also to the process by which sporting estates became a popular acquisition of many major and minor aristocrats during the nineteenth century. With specific reference to the Highland Gatherings, it is important to remember that the selection of traditions which contributed to this set of social practices helped to re-write and re-define the traditions of the past. In stark contrast to the life of leisure associated with the sporting landlords during this period, large fractions of the Highland social formation continued to experience poverty, eviction from the land and possible forced emigration. The popularization process was not uncontested nor indeed popular with all the complex set of inter-dependent class fractions which contributed to Highland society between about 1840 and 1920.

CHAPTER SIXPROBLEMS OF MODERNITY

For these Highland Games are for the most part, merely fancy dress shows, got up for the entertainment of visitors who don't know the difference between a philabeg and a pibroch. These meetings, as at present constituted, do nothing to encourage the youth of the district in Highland Games, indeed they do not touch the life of the district any more intimately than does a travelling circus. For the games, as at present constituted, are for the most part notoriously a draw for pot hunters and not even these are all Highlanders. When there is a reversion to the old form of Games, there will go, with much else, that which emulates the burlesque of the pantomime and music hall (Donaldson, 1926: p.xxi).

Introduction

To write developmentally about the modern Scottish social formation is extremely difficult. Not only does this period of development merge with what many writers refer to as contemporary society but there is also a relative lack of sociological material and research which specifically looks at the problems which emanate from the unique patterns of tension and struggle experienced by the social formation within which this study is located. Anthropologists in particular have posed the question of when are sociologists in Scotland going to wake up to the possibilities of their unique situation? (Carter, 1976: pl2). With specific reference to the analysis of Scottish and Highland forms of sporting culture there is relatively little evidence on such important features as ownership and control or

any concrete analysis of the complex way in which forms of sport are mediated by relatively complex and specific forms of dependency and cultural domination.

Yet despite this complexity there can be no denying, I believe, that the dominant expression of today's Highland Gatherings and Games is in itself characteristically modern. While the assumption should not be made that modernization or indeed dependency proceeds in a uni-directional and simply progressive manner, one of the constant themes in what is an under-developed literature on the sociology of Scotland is that the dynamic relationships which are the very essence of this complex social formation are in fact mediated at both a national level and a Highland level by problems of dependency and cultural domination (1). More specifically, this refers to the centralizing forces which exist between a dominant metropole and a subordinate periphery and result in the economic and cultural life of the periphery tending to become increasingly orientated towards the core and consequently the values, tastes, and lifestyles of a dominant metropolitan elite. Any discussion on the modern Highland Gatherings and Games must be located within this changing nexus and pattern of social arrangements and tensions which specifically developed after about 1920.

The first part of this chapter highlights the way in which the modern Highland Gatherings and Games have developed in a number of

(1) See for example Robert Mears (1986) p.110.

multi-faceted ways. The second part considers in a broader sense the problems of modernity experienced by fractions of the Scottish social formation, while the third part refers to the notions of dominant and residual forms in drawing the strands of this analysis together.

The Modern Highland Gatherings and Games

When sociologists, among others, have sought to examine the nature of modern sport and the way in which various social fractions experience it, they have directed their attention to an analysis of a number of factors and processes which have mediated and transformed sporting practices within industrial capitalist, primarily western, social formations (2). While some writers have limited themselves to forms of factor analysis one of the strengths of both Gruneau's (1983) work and that of Dunning and Sheard (1979) is that these sociologists have located their discussion on respective sporting practices within the much broader context of social development. The past, as they quite rightly see it, is not insignificant to the present. While the Highland Gatherings and Games have developed as a result of a number of complex mediations between and within the figural patterns characteristic of the Scottish social formation, residual glimpses of the past still partially penetrate the modern dominant expression of this set of cultural practices. Modern Highland Gatherings and Games, while they have developed in a number of multi-faceted ways from their folk origins, are still, in part, constituted from those earlier social practices and traditions.

(2) See for example Bruce Kidd (1979).

Before highlighting some of these many developments, I should like to consider at a more concrete level some of the many individual Highland Gatherings and Games. It is important to realise that what follows is not meant to be a complete developmental discussion of all the modern Highland Gatherings and Games. Just as discussions on modern sport have drawn on evidence from a variety of particular sports such as rugby, cricket, football and tennis so too can a discussion on the modern Highland Gatherings emanate from an initial discussion on a number of particular Gatherings and Games. The social practices and sporting traditions at Cowal, Airth, Argyllshire, Halkirk and Braemar certainly provide representative cross-section of present-day traditions.

In 1910, 51,000 spectators attended the Cowal Highland Gathering with prize money amounting to over £160. Professional wrestlers were given £10 if the weather was wet and £20 if it was fine (Cowal Committee Papers: p4). The committee agreed that the rule relating to the compulsory wearing of the kilt should be enforced. Between 1914 and 1918 the events were abandoned. They were resumed after the First World War and after 1932, the total prize money exceeded over £2,000 (Oban Times: 2/7/1932). By the autumn of 1938 the tartan tradition was symbolised further with tartan flags of various clans decorating the main street of Dunoon. Like many other Highland Gatherings and Games, many local rules were rationalised after the Second World War with the advent of the Scottish Games Association which was formed in 1946 (Scottish Games Association Handbook, 1986). While many of the Victorian landlords had died by the end of the Second World War, a residual fraction of this social class continued to patronise the Cowal

Gathering with titled landowners such as the Duke of Argyll, Sir Ivar Colquhoun of Luss and Lord Maclean of Duart who had been regular senior stewards since the 1930s (Cowal Programme: 1984). To this day the march of a thousand pipers is one of the Highland events which continues to be associated with Cowal.

Held on the last Friday and Saturday of August, the Cowal Highland Gathering and Games continued through to the present day to be the home of the world adult and junior Highland dance competitions. In 1985 over 300 men and women dancers from Dunoon, Helensburgh, Canada, Australia, America and many other nations where Scottish emigres had gone, competed not only for the Cowal Gold medals but also for cash prizes ranging from £25 for first to £7 for fourth position (Cowal Programme, 1985: p10). Over 94 events continue to come under the auspices and control of various officials from the Scottish Amateur Athletic Association, the Scottish Pipe Band Association and the Scottish Games Association. A fusion of traditional and modern sporting practices includes piping, dancing, throwing events, cycling, handicap events and metric running races from 100 metres to 5,000 metres (Cowal Programme, 1985: p10). Commenting on the history of the Cowal Gathering, a committee member stated "that while popularity probably reached its heights during the 1930s, the Gathering can still pay out over £3,000 in cash prizes and draw a sizeable crowd depending on the weather" (Cowal, Interview: 11/6/1986).

Like those of Cowal, the Airth Highland Games were founded in 1871. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the wife and daughter of the Earl of Dunmore presented prizes for the best dressed

Highlander in attendance (Airth Papers, Unpublished). Although no games were held during the First World War, 1500 people attended the Airth Games of 1918, and by 1922 bookmakers set up betting stalls to take money from popular working class lowland sports like whippet racing and pony trotting (Airth Programme, 1922: p7). Traditional Highland sporting practices such as dancing and heavy events still formed the core of the programme. By the 1930s, the Airth Games had become part of a week-long local Highland Games circuit in which contests were held at Bannockburn on the Monday, at Airth on the Tuesday, at Torreyburn on the Wednesday, at Culross on the Thursday and at Kirkaldy on the Friday (Airth, Interview: 12/4/1986). During the 'golden years' of the 1920s and 1930s, record crowds of over 10,000 regularly watched competitors compete for prize money of up to £200 in some events (Airth, Interview: 12/4/1986). Like the Cowal Games, after 1946 the Airth Games continued to be rationalised and recorded by incipient bureaucracies such as the Scottish Games Association.

After the Second World War, the Airth Games, like many other games, had to compete with many other popular developments such as wireless parties. The Falkirk Herald of 10th July 1961 underlined the commercial mass media development as being one of the modern problems which intruded into all aspects of local peoples lives. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Airth Highland Games survived although attendances and finances dropped for a number of complex reasons. By the 1980s, however, largely due to the efforts of local people and a certain degree of sponsorship from an amalgam of major and minor petit bourgeois organisations the Airth Highland Games had come to be able to offer prize money in excess of £2,550 (Airth Papers, Unpublished). The

programmes and marketing brochures of the modern Airth Highland Games not only illustrate tartan kilted men tossing the caber but also the fact that the heavy events at Airth contribute to qualification for the Tamnavulin Glenlivet Scotch Whisky Trophy (Airth Programme, 1985). Tartan dancers from overseas continue to compete. One member of the Committee enthusiastically remarked "that the tourists come along to see the swing of the kilt, and the tossing of the caber" (Airth, Interview: 12/4/1986). "Come to Airth", another remarked, "and you will see a full programme of events, something going on all the time, never a break in the programme" (Airth, Interview: 12/4/1986).

Like Cowal and Airth, The Argyllshire Gathering was also formed in 1871. During the early years of the twentieth century, gate-money was raised at the level of 1s3d for children and 3s for adults (Oban Times: 20/8/1930). The Gathering, particularly up to the Second World War, continued to attract large numbers of landed gentry who spent their summer season in the Highlands. The Oban Times from the 1930s onwards continued to print large lists of those who attended the Gathering which was held over two days in September. For instance, the Argyllshire Gathering of 1938 was attended by the Duke and Duchess of Montrose, Sir Charles Maclean of Duart, Lady Margaret McCrae, Sir Colin McCrae and Maclachlan of Maclachlan to name but a few (Oban Times: 17/9/1938). Traditional events, as now, predominated in the programme of the Argyllshire Gathering with the playing of the piobaireachd being of a notably high standard. Compared to the £50 prize money awarded as first prize in the open piobaireachd event in 1985, £3 was awarded in 1932 (Oban Times: 16/7/1932). Like other Highland Gatherings and

Games, the Argyllshire was suspended during the two world wars and came under the auspices of various incipient bureaucracies after about 1945.

Admission rates during the 1980s have been increased to 60p for children under 14 and £1.80 for adults. Prize money which amounts to over £3,000 is acquired through sponsorship from a number of local entrepreneurs such as Half Way House Enterprises and the Economic Forestry Limited (Argyllshire Programme, 1983). Like Airth, the heavy events at the Argyllshire Gathering contribute to the Tamnavulin-Glenlivet Scottish Whisky circuit. Most of the Games records in heavy events are currently held by the English, former Olympic gold medalist in the shot-put, Geoff Capes, who like other competitors has to compete in the kilt (Argyllshire Programme, 1983: p4). The present chieftain to the Argyllshire Gathering is the current Duke of Argyll, and, as the current secretary pointed out, "The Argyllshire Gathering Ball", commented the Secretary of the Argyllshire Society, "continues to be one of the top Balls in the country, just a social gathering for the members and their parties, regularly attended by nobility and royalty" (Argyllshire Interview: 9/7/1986). Indeed while Gatherings in general may have changed in a number of ways, the Argyllshire Gathering continues to be a social club consisting of the landed proprietors of Argyll and their sons and daughters (Argyllshire Interview: 9/7/1986). It is interesting to note at this point that some sixty-seven individuals or companies between them own 47% of the land in Argyllshire (McEwan, 1975: p201).

The Halkirk Highland Games, stated the Halkirk Secretary, date back to at least 1884 (Halkirk, Interview: 4/8/1986). The modern Halkirk Highland Games have experienced various phases of decline and

renewal. While crowds of around 1,000 were considered large in the early 1920s, these have gradually increased to around 6,000 during the 1980s (Minutes, Halkirk: 1984). Chieftain of the Halkirk Highland Games during the first part of the twentieth century was traditionally Viscount Thurso of Ulbster, with the present Lord Thurso, owner of Thurso Castle, continuing to be chieftain to the games during the 1980s (Caithness Courier: 3/8/1983). The Halkirk Highland Games did not take place during the 1914-1918 war or between the period 1939-1952. A minute of May 6th 1925, noted that the balance in hand after the games was £13 and 7s. In 1927 the secretary was asked to obtain 1,000 tickets at 1s3d and 350 tickets at 3d. By 1928, novelty events had included a ladies football match, a baby show, and clay pigeon shooting events (John O'Groats Journal: 26/8/1938). However, traditional Highland events such as piping, dancing, heavy events and foot races continue to be the main attractions. During the 1950s traditional events continued to be judged by an army of stewards and judges from various associations, gate-money remained steady at around £3000.

One of the major changes, commented a past committee member, is that the "crowds have got bigger as the better professional athletes have come to Halkirk" (Halkirk, Interview: 4/8/1986). Transport was difficult during the early days but, today, a competitor can take away as much as £200 in prize money from the Halkirk games and then move on to another Highland Games and so on. "The cash prizes have had to increase", adds the secretary, "if we wanted to attract the best athletes such as Capes" (Halkirk, Interview: 4/8/1986). While prize money was at the £100 level during the 1920s, the cash money on offer in 1976 was £1,700, and in 1986, £3,000 (Halkirk, Interview: 4/8/1986). First prize in the open piobaireachd carried a cash award of £50. Yet

it is important to note that residual glimpses of the agrarian folk-origins of the Highland Gatherings can also be found at Halkirk in such events as tossing the sheaf, a tightly bound bail of hay. The Clan Gunn are closely associated with the Halkirk Highland Games in the same sense that the Wallace, Forbes and Duff Clans are closely associated with the Lonach Highland Gathering and Games (Lonach, Interview: 20/8/1986). It is also interesting to note that, in the view of one of the organising members, the Highland Games of the Lowlands tend to be different from those in the Highlands. "More piping, more dancing, more heavies, and no bookies or betting give the Highland Games of the Highlands a more Highland flavour" (Halkirk, Interview: 4/8/1986).

The Gathering of the Braemar Royal Highland Society has also developed in a number of ways, although in terms of cultural production, the dominant images of Balmorality, loyalty and royalty still remain. The Queen remains the chieftain to the Braemar Gathering, although close associations also remain between Braemar and the Duke and Duchess of Fife, Captain Farquharson of Invercauld and Captain Alexander Ramsay of Mar (Braemar Programme, 1983). Tartan programmes can be bought at the price of 25p, while the entrance charge during the 1980s stands at £1.50p. Sponsorship from an amalgam of major and minor consortiums such as British Petroleum, Grant's Scotch Whisky, the Glenfiddich Pure Malt Whisky Group, and the Taylor Woodrow Group enables Braemar to offer cash prizes of between £75 and £5 in over sixty-two events (Braemar Programme, 1983). Rule 4 states that all competitors must be dressed in Highland Costume except for running and jumping competitions in which competitors must wear University

running dress, a comment which perhaps reflects the social class associations which continue to mediate the Games (Braemar Programme, 1983).

Seen in isolation, the differences between the many different Highland Gatherings and Games of today may be viewed by many as being insignificant. Yet viewed in the context of long term development, it is possible to distinguish between earlier forms of this set of Highland sporting practices and those which are characteristically modern (Elias, 1978a: p12). For instance, in comparison with the folk origins of the Highland Gatherings, few people would argue with the fact that the modern Highland Gatherings and Games have developed in a number of multi-faceted ways. Increasing rates of commodification, professionalization, incipient bureaucratization and rationalization are but a few of these developments. Particular Highland Gatherings and Games such as Aboyne, Luss, Lonach, Mull, and Assynt have also continued to develop in complex ways. As a particular form of culture, Highland Gatherings continue to produce and reproduce romantic cultural images of social patterns and arrangements that are no longer dominant within the social formation. Many, if not all, have been affected by the equalizing process referred to by Elias as functional democratization, yet residual groups of powerful landlords and descendants of the Victorian bourgeoisie still contribute to this modern expression of these sporting practices. While I do not intend to provide an in-depth discussion of all the multi-faceted developments that have taken place, this initial concrete base allows several points to be made.

I want to refer to four phenomena indicated in these descriptions before moving on to a broader discussion of the problems of modernity experienced by the Scottish social formation. Firstly, in comparison to the folk origins of the modern Highland Gatherings in which there were no codified rules, no standard format or no apparatus for recording times, records and contests, the present Highland Gatherings and Games have become considerably more formal. Elaborate written rules are worked out pragmatically and legitimated by rational bureaucratic means (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: p33). It is less than a hundred years since the Highland Gatherings and Games began to be regulated by judges, stewards, written rules and records in relatively standardised and rationalised forms. That is to say the dominant interpretation of the modern Highland Gatherings is no longer one of casual, spontaneous and loosely organised contests but rather one of rationalization and bureaucratization. Control has increasingly been exercised through the medium of a bureaucratic chain involving members of the Scottish Games Association, the Scottish Amateur Athletic Association, the Scottish Pipe Band Association and the local community organising committees to name but a few of the multi-polar points of control. Such developments are indicative of a characteristically modern trend towards rationalization and bureaucratization.

Secondly, the Highland Gatherings have become increasingly subject to processes of commodification and professionalization. It is important to distinguish between the different facets of these processes (3). Some Highland Gatherings are organised on a profit

(3) This discussion on commercialization has drawn heavily upon the work of Hargreaves (1986: pp.114-137).

maximizing basis in which investment is orientated towards the accumulation of capital. A great number of Highland Gatherings and Games, though, whilst highly commercialized, do not operate on this basis. The objective is rather to break even or operate at a low cost in order to maintain financial viability. Yet these sporting practices can also stimulate the accumulation of capital indirectly by providing a market for goods and services such as whisky, tartan rugs, tourism services and catering services. As in the case of sport in general, this may also indirectly aid capital accumulation through the medium of sponsorship and advertising such as that involved in the association between Tamnavulin, Glenlivet Scotch Whisky and Chevron Petroleum UK Limited. It is important, of course, to understand that individuals, companies and capital in general may invest in sport for non-economic purposes such as gaining prestige from being associated with a popular cultural activity, prestige which may or may not ultimately enhance the image of the investor. All of these complex developments have contributed to the dominant interpretation of today's Highland Gatherings and Games as being one of increased commodification and professionalization.

Thirdly, there is the issue of cultural domination which is accomplished in part when homegrown cultural forms such as traditional regional music, dance and games are seen by local people to be less attractive and less meaningful than the tastes, sports and pastimes of the economic and cultural capitals of the metropolis (Whitson, 1983). Modern Highland Gatherings and Games continually have to struggle for popularity with numerous cultural products and alternative sporting forms such as football, rugby, cricket, snooker, and American football,

all of which are disseminated through the communications network of radio, cinema and television. It is not out of context here to refer to the problems facing modern shinty as discussed by Innes (1978: p11) who argues that every effort is required "to keep the game alive in the face of the glamour which television coverage confers on the sports of the South". While the question of youth wearing the football shirts of Rangers, Celtic, Manchester United, Liverpool and Argentina might at one level seem insignificant at another level it is indicative of the challenges and in-roads that are made by a more dominant metropolitan culture. These examples and many more raise the questions of dependency and cultural domination that are experienced by Highland Gatherings and Games as a result of modernizing and centralizing forces.

Finally, there is the issue of social class and the continuing association, albeit residual, with the sporting landlords. As Gruneau (1979: p2) indicates, a failure of much of the writing on sport and social class is the lack of an adequate distinction between levels of athletic participation and levels of organizational leadership. In the first instance it is important to highlight the fact that the term 'democratization' as it is used in this study should not be taken as implying that equality has been achieved. Following Elias, it refers to a process of growing equalization over time and is consistent with the continued existences of degrees of ever significant inequality. As indicated earlier, the fact that the Highland Gatherings now have a greater participation rate in terms of gender, social class or racial fractions does not by any stretch of the imagination mean that the resources that the people involved have at their disposal are equal.

It is also necessary not to overstate the degree of democratization that has occurred at the level of organisational control. Yet it is also important to appreciate the fact that the social transformation towards both industrial capitalism and the modern Highland Gatherings and Games have occurred as a part of a total social transformation (4). The power differentials between groups are still vast within industrial capitalist social formations but when placed within the context of long term social-development the power differentials between different groups can be said to have diminished relatively (Elias, 1978a: p67). Landlords such as those mentioned already plus others like Sir William Gladstone of Frisque and Glendyer or Viscount Cowdray still exert a cultural and structural influence upon the modern Highland Gatherings. Yet when placed against nineteenth century social practices in this regard, a degree of democratization has clearly developed in the sense that community control is greater today than it was in the nineteenth century. This should not be taken to imply that the problem of landlord control over the land in the Highlands is no longer a problem to-day but simply that, at the level of organizational control, the modern Highland Gatherings have experienced a degree of democratization.

Problems of Modernity

Such developments as have been mentioned so far have not taken place outside the context of developments experienced by the Scottish

(4) See N. Elias on total social transformation (1978a: pp.63-64).

social formation as a whole. While different regional fractions may have developed at different rates, the general social relationship between the British state and the Scottish social formation has become increasingly problematic, a development which has been expressed, in part, in terms of nationalist and socialist aspirations by national and social class fractions alike. Industrial decline and renewal both within "Modern Scotland" as a whole and the Highlands in particular have prompted the British state to become more closely embroiled within the social fabric of the Scottish way of life. The growing influence of a dominant metropolitan elite and the degree to which such a dominant class fraction has the power to regulate and control traditional ways of life is certainly one of the problems of modernity facing the Highland social formation in particular. While the figural patterns which characterise the present social fabric of Scotland have themselves developed in a number of ways, it is precisely the forces of relative domination and dependency and a concern over cultural identity which have, in part, shaped many of the social struggles and tensions within what James Kellas (1968) has referred to as a "Modern Scotland" which emerged after about 1920. It is against this changing nexus and pattern of social arrangements and tensions that a discussion on the development of the modern Highland Gatherings and Games must be located.

While congestion, poverty and land hunger may have been some of the common experiences of the Highland way of life during the nineteenth century, depopulation and a relatively low standard of living have been recognised as but two of the key developments which have affected the social structure of the Highlands during the

twentieth century (5). Sporadic oil-related developments during the 1970s may have brought a short term respite for some but, in terms of control of resources by local people, decisions tended to be external to the local communities affected by these developments, if not external to the British state apparatus itself. Oil-related developments certainly contributed, in some areas, to changing expectations, aspirations and improved rates of communication, factors which were all experienced at various rates by those Highland communities affected by oil. These and many other developments, such as expanding educational opportunities, have contributed to bringing both the Highlander and the Lowlander, at different rates, more completely into the mainstream of British, social, economic, and cultural life.

Yet what is particularly significant about modern Scotland as a whole is the fact that while fractions of the Highland social formation had experienced problems of dependency in the past, such problems had not been experienced by the Scottish social formation as a whole. More specifically, the dominant causal factor affecting the development of the Scottish social formation after about 1920 was the changing patterns of cultural domination and dependency brought about by the centralising forces that existed between an English metropole and a Scottish hinterland (6). The activities of the British state apparatus and a southern metropolitan class continued to mediate the social

(5) See for example James Hunter (1975) and Tony Dickson (1982).

(6) See both Tony Dickson (1982) and Tom Nairn (1981).

fabric of the Highlands. Problems of modernity were simultaneously experienced differently and yet similarly by the Highlands and the rest of the Scottish social formation. A total social transformation involving increasing rates of dependency developed after about 1920.

It is important at this point briefly to return to the analysis put forward by Nairn (1981) as outlined in chapter two of this study. Briefly, Nairn's thesis is that, up until about the 1920s, Scotland never developed a national political culture. Having never been faced with the dilemma of dependency and underdevelopment, until this period the Scottish middle classes were never compelled to mobilise the Scottish people in a developmental struggle. In the absence of any nationalist political culture, what evolved instead was a romantic cultural sub-nationalism which had to be romantic in the sense that it could not be political in the oppositional sense of the term (Nairn, 1981: p156). This cultural sub-nationalism consisted of three prominent strands: the view of the emigre, kailyardism, and tartanry all of which have been mentioned in previous chapters. For Nairn, the real objective logic of nationalism was that which it was closely connected with the unevenness of capitalist development and the relationship that arose between two cultures at different stages of economic advancement. According to Nairn, it was a distinctly modern Scottish problem.

A proper sociological examination of nationalism would entail the development of a thorough historical grounding of nationalist movements in Scottish history. The development of Scottish nationalism however is not the central focus of analysis here. The idea that global

processes of centralization might engender a reaction and that nation states could become the vehicle for expressing opposition to such trends is relatively unexplored (Mears, 1986: p310). Drawing on the work of Elias, Mears (1986) suggests that it might be more accurate to think of waves of centralization that in turn trigger off centrifugal forces. National unification and mobilisation of national sentiments have often been viewed as a prerequisite for stable political development which in itself is often seen as a precondition for modernisation and economic development. Furthermore, the development of nationalism in the Scottish sense is not the same as saying that a politicization of Scottish culture emerged after about 1920. Nationalist forces certainly played a part in this but so did a number of other political developments.

While several flaws may be found in Nairn's theory of nationalism, there are several useful contributions that his thesis makes to the discussion at hand. Firstly, it highlights the fact that the period after about 1920 was marked by an increasing rate of politicization of Scottish culture which resulted, in part, from a reaction against increased British state intervention in Scottish affairs. Such interventions did not go uncontested by a number of social fractions. Secondly, Nairn's theory of romantic cultural sub-nationalism continues to relate to a problem of modernity in the sense that romanticism amongst various class fractions continues to mediate the reality of dependency and slower rates of development experienced by fractions of the Scottish social formation. Such an experience is often lived out

at the level of the Caledonian antisyzygy (7). The term 'caledonian antisyzygy' is often used to refer to the problem of those voters who feel and talk romantically about devolution but when given the opportunity to vote for an independent Scotland tend to vote otherwise.

It is entirely appropriate to apply Nairn's concept of cultural sub-nationalism to an analysis of the modern Highland Gatherings, both at the level of theory and that of concrete data. Firstly, there is the image of Scotland as expressed through the eyes of the emigre. The Highland Gatherings, golf at St Andrews, tartan armies, whether it be Ally's or Jock's, and Hampden Park all contribute to a broad strand of cultural identity which also includes the view of Scotland as a country of small crofts, bens, and glens and stags at rest on mist enshrouded slopes - not to forget granny's "Highland Home" which always tends to gain appeal and credibility with distance. Many of these images are portrayed on the Highland Games' programmes and lived out in practice by the emigre at the level of spectator participation. The important point to remember is that it is the emotional and romantic significance bestowed on these and many other symbols which has not only given rise to a romantic distortion of history but also guaranteed a world market for all of what Nairn refers to as the 'standard kitsch symbols of Scottish cultural identity'.

Secondly, there is a legacy of the kailyard strain not only in literature but also in TV and film. The origins of this romantic

(7) The term is often used to refer to a union of opposites, more specifically the problem of many voters who romantically talk of an independent Scotland but vote otherwise when given the opportunity to form self-determination.

literature have already been briefly mentioned in chapter five. It is a body of literature in which harmonious class relations are portrayed and no conflict of material interest ever mediates the social relations which are existing between landlord and crofter or clan chief and clansfolk. Furthermore, kailyard fiction tended to portray Scottish life as seen through the windows of the Free Kirk manse which stood for Presbyterian fundamentalism and a rejection of state interference in church matters (Jarvie, 1986). The kailyard strain eventually gave rise to the modern cultural definition of Scotland as consisting wholly of small towns, churches, and harmonious class relations. The central figures within this social formation were ministers, schoolteachers, doctors, housekeepers, and a continual supply of clansfolk and Highland chiefs. Modern examples might include media presentations of 'Dr Finlay's Casebook', 'Whisky Galore', 'Brigadoon', 'The White Heather Club', 'Rob Roy Macgregor' and many more. While 'Chariots of Fire' and 'Local Hero' provided a boost to the Scottish film industry, the images of Scotland they portrayed were again selective, predominantly Highland, romantic and illustrative of strains typical of the kailyard literature.

The third factor which, in a multitude of different forms, continues not only to define a Scottish cultural identity but also Scottish sporting identity, is tartanry. Both the view of the emigre and modern kailyardism have relied heavily upon tartanry as the dominant expression of Scottish culture. Tartan football armies and Highland Gatherings and Games immediately spring to mind. Highland Games programmes and marketing brochures, both at the level of local games and the level of the Scottish Tourist Board, are heavily

dependent upon tartan factors. Another example would be the tradition found at the Cowal Highland Gathering of lining the main street of Dunoon with tartan banners including those of the Mackintosh, Gunn, Macduff and Stewart clans (Cowal Programme, 1984). "With the hills in the background and the sounds and sights of the pipe bands, it is a moving sight for tourists and regulars alike" argued one of the organisers (Cowal, Interview: 11/6/1986). It is important not to divorce such romantic symbols, upon which Scotland has become culturally and to a degree economically dependent, from historically lived experience. It is doubtful if the Highlanders of the pre-1745 epoch envisaged their ultimate inheritance as being that of pictures on whisky bottles, shortbread tins, Highland Games' programmes, Scottish tourist brochures or even plaited socks. What is essential to remember is that, as an aspect of Scottish culture in general and Highland culture in particular, tartanry in its original context was virtually destroyed towards the end of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, at the level of modern popular culture it should be mentioned that, not even on Highland Games' day, do you see the bulk of the Highland people walking around in kilts, scarfs and other tartan fabrics.

As Elias (1983: p222) points out, such romanticising impulses can usually be located in particular elevated classes whose own claims to power are essentially unfulfilled despite their social rank. This type of compulsion may have characterized the romantics of the Victorian bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century, but the process of romanticization may also be prevalent at the level of industrial urbanization. An industrialization process, experienced in terms of constraint and rationalization, often led to a situation in which rural

workers who migrated to the metropolis were often idealized by industrial working class fractions as symbols of a better past or of a relatively free and natural life (Eliás, 1983: p214). These statements should not be taken out of context in the sense that, what Eliás specifically refers to in his discussion on this point is the contrasting constraints between rural and industrial environments.

While Scottish culture continued to be dependent upon a romantic cultural sub-nationalism after 1920, it would be misleading and incorrect to argue that a political culture did not evolve in reaction to the centralizing forces of dependency and cultural domination. While Scottish culture experienced a higher degree of politicization after about 1920, a number of inter-related factors, and not just nationalist concerns, gave rise to what Young (1979) refers to as the rousing of the Scottish working class. It is not necessary to provide a lengthy discussion on the politicization of Scottish culture to illustrate that such a development did in fact take place. A great deal of flux, tension and struggle did emerge after 1920 and yet the relative failure, particularly of the radical working class movements, might also be explained in part by the relative centralizing forces of dependency and cultural domination.

Immediately after the 1914-1918 war, Scots formed numerous groups of the political, cultural and trades union varieties, to try and advance their struggle for class and national emancipation. Scarcely a decade went by without continuing tensions and strains ebbing and flowing. For instance: (1) by 1900 the Crofters' Party of 1886 had been reabsorbed into the Liberal Party and yet land raids continued

into the 1920s. While the popular challenge to landlord power was effectively reduced after about 1920, sporadic land raids by crofters materialised in the 1930s and 1940s; (ii) a key feature of the inter-war years was the emergence of labourism in Scotland under the leadership of such people as John McLean, John Wheatly, and Ramsay Macdonald. The inter-war years were characterised in Glasgow by work stoppages, rent strikes and massive labour unrest against the conditions experienced in post 1918 modern industrial Scotland; (iii) the development of Scottish renaissance literature and in particular the writings of MacDiarmid, Edwin Muirhead and Neil Gunn, all gave strength to the Scottish nationalist politics which developed after 1920 and which possibly reached its height of activity during the period leading up to the 1979 referendum on devolution. A nationalist movement, although having various degrees of success, has never had a strong basis of electoral support in Scotland (8); and (iv) while the popular myth about Red Clydesdale was that the socialist revolution was imminent, the chances of it occurring were probably small because, despite the emergence of a number of charismatic leaders such as John Wheatley, David Kirkwood, William Gallacher, James Maxton and many others, the only leader with any theoretical notion of how a revolution might be constructed was John Maclean (Smout, 1986: p272).

More fundamentally, the relationship between the Scottish social formation and the British State apparatus changed during this period of

- (8) In voting terms the SNP up until 1964 were generally less successful than the communist party. Even after 1964 the vote for SNP was relatively marginal, 24 per cent of the vote in 1964, 5 per cent of the vote in 1966, 12.8 per cent of the vote in 1970, and 22.7 per cent in 1974.

crisis. While Scotland had been a nominally equal partner within the Act of Union between 1707 and 1920, after this period the Scottish relationship with the British state apparatus was one of a client or dependent formation (Dickson and Clarke, 1982). However, the crisis on Clydesdale was a very real crisis for the British state. As Smout (1986: p268) suggests, the "citizens of Glasgow woke on January 20th 1919 to find six tanks in the cattle market, a howitzer at the city chambers and machine-gun nests at the hotels and the post-office". Even the most liberal of social-historians has agreed that the Scottish working class has always been further to the left of the political spectrum than its English equivalent (Lenman, 1977). Why, then, given the high degree of politicization, did the popular movements of the 1920s fail in their challenge against the British state? The two most common answers given to this question are, firstly, that the events of the 1920s have been mythologised and romanticised and that a socialist revolution was not what the working class culture was struggling for (Smout, 1986: p268). This may or may not have been the case. Analysis should leave open the possibility that the romantic factor was a real factor but the evidence does suggest that post-war Scottish working class movements were further to the left of the political spectrum than their English counter-parts.

The second explanation given is illustrative of the problems of dependency and relative cultural domination experienced by the wider Scottish social formation after this period. This answer suggests that, in response to the radical challenges of the post-war years, the leaders of the Scottish working class were effectively absorbed and constrained by English based trade unionism and British parliamentary

action (Dickson and Clarke, 1982). Of the Clydesdale Labour MPs elected to Westminster immediately after the war only Maxton returned to the ILP. The majority of Labour socialists appear to have fallen into a Parliamentary environment that was totally out of sympathy with their ideology and, as Smout (1986: p272) argues, they allowed themselves to be absorbed into the more metropolitan and less radical environment of London society. Furthermore, while Scotland up until 1920 existed as an equal partner within British industrial capitalism, dependency after this period resulted in part from the tendency to relocate capital south of the border. Thus control on an increasing number of levels was located outside of Scotland. This point has been emphasised recently by the 1980s Report of the General Assembly's Church and Nation Committee (Church and Nation Committee Report, 1985: N/L/S).

In addition to these two explanations, it could be suggested that British state intervention in the Highlands is also indicative of how centralizing forces gave rise to problems of modernity, dependency and continued cultural domination. State policies in the Highlands have had various rates of success and failure but many of the problems of modernity experienced by the Highland social formation have been exacerbated by the fact that whole communities and ways of life were, and continue to be, relatively dependent upon decisions taken by groups or social class fractions who are influential and yet peripheral to the majority of people who live out their lives within the periphery. Some examples of this state intervention in the Highlands during the twentieth century may serve to draw attention to some of the specific

problems of modernity and dependency experienced by the Highland social formation.

By 1912, the Congested District Boards and the Crofters Commission had come under the control of the Department of Agriculture. The Hilleary Committee of 1930 suggested that the government should invest more money in the Highlands (Adams, 1976: p425). The Taylor Commission of 1951 contributed to the re-establishment of the Crofters Commission but concluded that the crofters were losing a battle against the social and economic forces of the day (Adams, 1976: p426). Popular critiques of these development points out that existing legislation tended not only to promote agricultural inefficiency and slow rates of development but that, even if the recommendations were sound economically, they totally ignored the social and political relationships that had historically developed in the Highlands (9). The establishment of the Highland and Islands Development Board (HIDB) in 1965 was specifically aimed at improving economic and social conditions and facilitating the playing of a more effective role by the Highland people in the development of British industrial capitalism. More recently, a series of oil-related developments have resulted in certain fractions and regions of the Highlands, notably the North-East, experiencing declining and rising rates of employment and an increased allocation of resources.

A number of sociological issues present themselves for resolution as a result of these increased resource implications for the Highlands.

(9) See for example D. Campbell (1985).

Although many of the projects embarked upon by these externally controlled agencies have been relatively successful over short periods of time, the problems of external control, dependency, cultural domination and fluctuating depopulation rates continue to be key problems of modernity experienced by the Highland social formation. For instance, with regard to oil-related developments, McCrone (1982: p47) questions the extent to which dependency upon foreign capital and resources removes the power of decision making beyond the Highlands?. In his discussion on the influence of the HIDB, Grassie (1983: p4) indicates that the problems of the relatively autonomous Board are associated with the degree of control exercised at one level by the Scottish Office and at another level by Westminster. The failure of development projects such as the fishing programme, the pulp and paper mill at Fort William and the aluminium works at Inver Gordon, are examples of the fact that, while the projects met the needs of the British state, they were not congruent with the needs and aspirations of the Highland people, many of whom had already been drawn away from the Highlands into a wider urban metropolitan culture. This was not simply a one way process.

At least one other facet of the dependency problem needs to be raised in its specific Highland context. As I indicated earlier, the continuing influence of private landlord power is what many social commentators believe to be the key to the continuing social structure of the Highlands (Evans and Hendry, 1985). The precise nature of Highland land ownership patterns remains relatively uncertain because successive British governments have refused to establish a comprehensive system of land registration. At least two recent studies

have indicated that one of the unique features of Highland modernity is the continuing influence of a small group of powerful people who, irrespective of their involvement with land as a productive resource, continue to influence local communities. In a residual sense, landlords have a continuing influence upon many Highland Gatherings and Games. Yet it is important not to divorce current developments from the past, a past which casts a long shadow in the Highlands in that current land ownership problems are but a reflection of social transformations which took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Hunter's (1979) account demonstrates a lack of detachment when he asserts that the current Highland landlord class are associated with two centuries of exploitation, depopulation and decay. It is a class, the writer goes on to claim, that deserves to be removed from the land not least because the destruction of Highland landlordism would more than any other single development demonstrate that a new and better era had begun in the Highlands (Hunter, 1979: p60). In his discussion on the failure of the 'HIDB' to tackle the landlord issue, Grassie (1983: p92) asserts that, by 1980, fifteen years after its inception, it had made no progress on the issue that both "friends and foes alike saw as central to its work". In deciding to leave the power of the landowner much as it had been for over two hundred years, the Board ultimately ensured, writes Grassie (1983: p94), that the status quo remained. The "injustices", to use Grassie's (1983: p95) words, inflicted by some landowners on the communities dependent upon them, and which had been identified by the HIDB, would be allowed to continue.

The more detached study by Houston and Bryden (1976) concluded that some 35 families or companies possess no less than one third of the Highland 7.39 million acres of privately owned land. Scotland itself consists of 19.5 million acres of which, according to McEwan (1981: p9), 16.5 million acres are privately owned by landlords and multi-national companies. Some indication of the extent of this dependency is illustrated by McEwan's 1975 figures: 17 individuals or companies own 69% of the land of Caithness; 38 individuals or companies own 84% of the land in Scotland; 79 individuals or companies own 57% of the land in Inverness-shire; 67 individuals or companies own 80% of the land of Ross and Cromarty; and 63 individuals or companies own 62% of the land of Perthshire (McEwan, 1975). Some of the biggest estate owners include the Willis family with 193,700 acres in Ross and Cromarty and Perthshire, the Duke of Atholl, chieftain to the Atholl Highland Games, with 130,000 acres, the Duke of Sutherland chieftain to various Highland Games, with 123,000 acres, the Duke of Buccleuch with 277,000 acres and the Duke of Westminster with 120,800 acres (McEwan, 1981: p11).

As indicated, multi-national companies are also well represented in the 1970s and 1980s. Figures from the Scottish Government Yearbook (1979) indicate that the biggest investors in Highland land included the Enessey Company Limited of Lausanne, Switzerland with its 61,000 acre Mar Lodge Estate, its 15,000 acre Tulchan Estate in Moray and its 62,500 acre estate on the Isle of Harris, and the Dubai-based Mohammed Al Fayed whose company Borcado Société Anonyme of Lichtenstein, recently bought 3,463 acres in Aberdeenshire (Hunter, 1979). In 1972, James Theodore Cremer, a company director of Nove Zembla Holland, sold

land to Cremer Oil Texas for £182,000. In June 1977, the Keir estate in Perthshire was sold to Park Tower Holdings Establishment for £1,900,000, while the Eagle Star Insurance Company bought 18,000 acres in Moray (McEwan, 1981).

The question of the Highland landlords has been raised in this instance as illustrative of the fact that dependency upon a relatively powerful group or social class fraction continues to be one of the key problems of modernity experienced by the Highland social formation. As illustrated earlier it is entirely appropriate to see this discussion on the Highland landlords as relevant to the development of the modern Highland Gatherings. While a certain degree of democratization has developed, in a residual sense sporting landlords continue to influence the Highland Gatherings and Games in a number of ways: (i) they still make a significant contribution to the social structure of many modern Highland Gatherings; (ii) they help to produce and re-produce cultural images of a way of life which effectively ended after about 1745. The part played by the Victorian landlords in transforming the social structure of the Highlands is often forgotten amongst romantic narratives of the past; (iii) the sporting and land management policies of the sporting landlords continue to take relatively little cognisance of the needs of the community; (iv) they contribute to a process of cultural domination by reflecting in part the values of a metropolitan elite; and (v) they contribute to a depopulation process which draws Highlanders into the core centres of the industrial metropolis.

This discussion on the problems of modernity has been somewhat lengthy and yet important. In drawing this chapter together I wish to

highlight the core of the analysis presented in this chapter and locate this phase of development within the broader developmental process. The notion of dominant and residual forms helps to accomplish this task, although it is important to stress that such forms of culture are not independent of the figural arrangements which are the very essence and fabric of these social and sporting forms of practice.

Dominant and Residual Concerns

I have argued throughout this chapter that any discussion on the modern Highland Gatherings and Games must take account of the problems of modernity experienced at different levels by social fractions of the modern Scottish social formation which emerged after about 1920. Although Highland fractions within Scotland may have experienced and resisted problems of dependency in the past, it was not until this period that such problems were experienced by the Scottish social formation as a whole. While it would be inaccurate to assume that the influence of a relatively more powerful metropolitan elite did not give rise to a great deal of tension, struggle and flux, no longer were the centripetal forces of the south as relatively ineffective as they had been during the reign of the Canmore kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Regardless of whether the focus of analysis is at the level of the Highland regional formation or that of the Scottish national formation as a whole, a common problem of modernity is the dependency which has risen out of the power of a metropolitan elite to control the flow of resources both in and out of the Scottish hinterland or periphery.

This dynamic dependency relationship has led to the traffic of people, materials and ideas, all of which help to reinforce and resist changing patterns of economic, cultural and political domination and development. Various class, national, Highland and Lowland social fractions have all, at various times, contested an emergent modern yet dominant metropolitan hegemony. While various British state policies have attempted to solve many of the problems of modernity, such policies themselves are political and cultural manifestations of the fact that whole communities and ways of life have become relatively dependent upon the decisions taken by various social class fractions who themselves are influential and yet peripheral to those people who live out their lives within the Scottish periphery.

The pressure and tensions of modernity have contributed to a modern expression of the Highland Gatherings and Games. It is an expression which itself is nothing more than a contemporary expression of those groups of people who construct, control and negotiate the values, meanings and practices associated with to-day's Highland Gatherings and Games. It is important to understand that such a dominant expression has not merely evolved but has developed out of a number of complex processes and mediations within and between a complete set of dynamic figurational arrangements. Nonetheless, for all this complexity, I have tried to illustrate that a dominant interpretation of today's Highland Gatherings and Games is essentially different and yet constituted from many of those earlier traditions and practices of previous inter-developmental stages. Residual glimpses of earlier social arrangements and practices still partially penetrate the dominant interpretation of the modern Highland Gatherings and Games.

More specifically, increasing commodification, professionalization, rationalization, incipient bureaucratization and democratization are but a few of the many multi-faceted developments which have emerged since about 1910. The modern Highland Gatherings and Games continue to experience problems of cultural domination and the production and re-production of a romantic cultural identity. This in itself contributes to the broader problems of modernity. Expressions of these developments are numerous with the following being some of the more clear-cut modern facets of today's Highland Gatherings and Games: advertising, sponsorship and the expansion of a comprehensive consumer culture which exploits many of the kitsch symbols of cultural identity; the relative acceptance of uniform rules, regulations and records under the control of such bureaucracies as the Scottish Games Association; changing class relationships as expressed, for example, at the level of organizational control have led to a degree of democratization although this should not be confused with equality or even social progress; and the continuing influence and dependency upon a romantic cultural identity, including images of Balmorality. All these facets contribute to a dominant interpretation of the modern Highland Gatherings and Games which itself has been mediated by a number of the broader problems of modernity.

Yet I would concede that a broad set of residual definitions and interpretations also contribute to the modern Highland Gatherings and Games. The continuing influence of the sporting landlords and vestiges of the Highland clan figuration continue to contribute to the modern Highland Gatherings and Games in a residual sense. That is to say they may have been part of a dominant set of social arrangements which

contributed to Highland Gatherings and Games in the past but are no longer dominant today. These expressions are most prominent at the more traditional Highland Gatherings such as Lonach, Braemar, Aboyne and Glenisla. The Earl of Huntley, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Atholl, as respective clan chieftains, and the continuing clan associations, such as the Wallaces, Forbes, Farquharsons, Gunns, McPhersons and Gordons, all continue to reflect a pre-1745 way of life which, although violent at times, materially impoverished, and dependent upon a patriarchal-feudal set of social relations, was essentially egalitarian in that the power of the Highland chief was subject to a degree of control by the clan. For instance, the land was essentially owned by the clan and not the Highland chief.

Finally, on a more oppositional note, while such residual cultural practices may link the modern Highland Gatherings with a pre-1745 stage of development, the very same residual images also link the modern Highland Gatherings and Games with subsequent developmental stages from about 1740 to about 1850 and from about 1840 to 1920. In the first instance, the Highland way of life was to a large extent destroyed and marginalised and in the second instance, Highland culture was romanticised and incorporated into mainstream British culture. As I have repeatedly indicated throughout this study, the dominant interpretation of the Highland Gatherings and Games includes a romantic cultural identity in which Highland chiefs, clansfolk, landlords and crofters all experienced life in terms of harmonious social relations. There is a very real danger of basking in the crofting clannish image of the past, the implication being that the political, social and economic climate has not changed and that the old tactics and demands

used in the past would work today. There are many lessons to be learned from the past but not if the lessons are divorced from the social reality and social context within which they were originally experienced. As a destroyer of myths, the sociologist should strive to achieve a tighter fit between facts and reality. If history and social development were remembered, it would not be a romantic cultural identity which would be perpetuated through such cultural forms as the Highland Gatherings. Indeed, in an oppositional sense, just as Highland culture has been capable of providing the basis of a romantic Scottish cultural identity, it is also capable of providing a basis of counter-hegemonic struggle against the problems of modernity. What is required is not an identity based on a Highland fairytale but one that engages social reality and understands the harsh realities of the clearances, the development of Scotland as a sporting playground and the problems of dependency and underdevelopment experienced within a modern social formation. If history is remembered, then little romantic satisfaction would be gained from such an experience.

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that in the late 1980s, the British Sociological Association should have decided to draw together an international field of academics and practitioners to focus upon the relationship between history and sociology is testament to a resurgent interest in the problems generated by researchers and academics who place some or all of the concerns of historical sociology at the very core of their work. This resurgence, however, should not obscure several points. Firstly, that in a basic sense, there are many sociologists who would argue that sociology has always been a historically grounded enterprise with developmental concerns being the essence of the work of many influential modern and classical writers. C. Wright-Mills, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx, Norbert Elias, Immanuel Wallerstein, Philip Abrams, Perry Anderson and many more have all offered concepts and explanations and tackled questions which have necessitated the historical analysis of social structures. Secondly, that a particularly fruitful contribution to historical sociology has emanated from the dependency and under-development paradigm and yet one of the key criticisms and subsequent problems which has plagued this multi-paradigmatic debate has been the failure to provide an adequate theory of development. It has been argued in this study, that such a problem or imbalance may be redressed if the dependency perspective uses the concepts of culture and figural development as axial principles for analysing, in this case, Scottish and Highland development. Finally, that many of the historical sociology debates have in fact been expressed themselves within an ever-increasing body

of literature concerned with situating the analysis of sport within the broader context of history and social development.

The manifestations of this literature on sport and historical sociology can be seen in the work of Charles Critcher, John Hargreaves, Allan Guttman and many other writers who have used historical sociological points of departure as a basis for developing an analysis of sporting and leisure development. In particular, the work of Rick Gruneau and of Eric Dunning, despite core problematic differences, continue to be exceptional within the morass of sociological contributions to the analysis of sport. Both writers provide serious historical sociological accounts of sport as opposed to descriptive atheoretical modes of analysis. Both writers are sensitive to questions about social patterns and social arrangements. Both writers treat historical or developmental concerns as central and not peripheral to the divergent and yet similar epistemologies used in each case. It is unfortunate that critiques and paradigmatic rivalry within the sociology of sport area have tended to highlight the differences between such approaches as opposed to a more complete synthesis which would highlight not only the key differences but also the considerable expanse of common ground that exists between the cultural materialism of Gruneau and the figurational sociology of Dunning. In many cases a failure to comprehend fully the explanatory power of a concept such as figuration has resulted in a polarization of positions rather than an acknowledgement of the similarities. It is hoped that this study, at both an abstract and a concrete level, may contribute to a depolarization of some of the paradigmatic rivalry that pervades the

sociology of sport. It is important that adherents to potentially divergent epistemologies should talk to each other as opposed to against and around one another.

The types of questions and problems that have been posed in the context of this study on the Highland Gatherings would be compatible both within the classical tradition of Gruneau and the developmental approach of Dunning. The Highland Gatherings did not develop and do not now exist within some sort of social vacuum. Rather, as I have attempted to illustrate throughout this study, the development of this Highland tradition has paralleled much broader transformations within the Highland and Scottish social formations. This analysis certainly encompasses some of the most basic questions that might be asked concerning Scottish cultural identity, dependency and social structure. What is the relationship between the Highland Gatherings and various social figurations such as the clan, the landlord and the emigre? What is the relationship between the Highland Gatherings and the prevailing social structure? How have the Highland Gatherings been affected by the historical epoch in which they move? In what ways do the modern Highland Gatherings differ from the traditional Highland Gatherings? Why did the Gatherings suddenly become popular after about 1840? What social forces have shaped this Highland tradition? Who have been the most powerful people within the complex web of inter-dependent (con) figurations associated with the Highland Gatherings? In what complex ways has this power been expressed in practice? In what ways do these Highland Gatherings reflect Scottish cultural identity?

These questions are indicative of the potential richness that may be found in a sociological analysis which takes as its main focus the development of the Scottish Highland Gatherings. In addressing these problems I have presented an analysis of this Highland tradition which has revolved around four connected but independent developmental stages. Within each of the four historical epochs discussed, certain causal factors and significant figurations at various levels have mediated not only Highland and Scottish development but also the development of the Scottish Highland Games.

I have suggested that any discussion on sport and social development in the Highlands must attempt to locate the notion of the structuring of, in this instance, the Scottish Highland Gatherings, within the unique contexts and patterns of Highland and Scottish figuration development. Most of the work on Highland social development acknowledges that at least two factors are essential to any understanding of the basic nature and character of the Highland way of life: (i) the unique fusion of patriarchal and feudal forces which formed a continual axis of tension between feudalism as a destabilizing force and an antagonistic force of patriarchal/feudal origin; and (ii) the idea that the Highland way of life is influenced and mediated by a complex set of dependency relationships which revolve around, in part, the question of land ownership. More specifically, one of the constant themes within Highland social history is that of community instability and the effect which a tenurial relationship of land control has had on past and present social structures. Dramatically, many have argued that feudalism rather than democracy remains the dominant characteristic of Highland modernity.

What I have argued is that it is important to realise that such processes, developments, tensions and conflicts do not exist independently of the people who constitute the very social fabric of these social formations. Society does not exist outside of the individual people who form it. At the same time individual behaviour is only relatively autonomous in that such behaviour responds to constraints and tensions which have mediated Highland and Scottish development. The term figuration, it has been argued, provides not only an extremely powerful explanatory concept but its relative open-endedness makes it a more powerful analytical tool than that of social class, or culture while still remaining inclusive of such categories and formations at any particular point in time. At least three crucial advantages are to be gained by any problematic which has the notion of figuration as one of the axial principles around which it revolves: (i) it provides an open-ended framework capable of explaining multi-faceted forms of inter-dependence, domination and subordination without necessarily reproducing class reductionist or accounts of social structure based on false dichotomies such as individual and society or structure and agency; (ii) it is a concept which has, at its core, not at its periphery, a relational concept of power; and (iii) it is a concept which, as this study has shown, lends itself to redressing the developmental inadequacies of dependency theory and cultural development. By this, I do not mean that the explanatory power of dependency and cultural theory is not central to this analysis but rather that the strengths of these approaches are complementary to the notion of figurational development.

Such concerns have provided a basis for developing an analysis of the Scottish Highland Gatherings which has revolved around four inter-related stage of development. Firstly, a stage of development which lasted from at least the eleventh century until about 1750. Many of the folk-origins of to-day's modern Highland Gatherings such as hill-racing, playing the piobaireachd, highland dancing and the wearing of tartan dress are all examples of cultural practices which may be originally located within the development of a patriarchal-feudal set of social relations in which the Highland clan proved to be a particularly important figuration. A Highland way of life existed which was essentially relatively violent, materially impoverished and based on a kinship or patriarchal set of social relations modified by feudalism. An essential feature of this Highland way of life was that the Highland clan figuration was relatively dependent upon land being laid out to ensure the continued existence of the clan. The land of the Highland clan was not the private property of the chief but the public property of the clansfolk.

A second stage of development emerged between about 1740 and about 1850. A vast number of factors gave rise to the reorganisation and social upheaval experienced by the Highland people during this period of cultural marginalisation and transformation. These processes were accelerated in the first instance by the post-Culloden policies of the British state which were designed to destroy the social and political fabric of a way of life that had revolved around the Highland clan figuration. The Act of Proscription of 1747 was particularly significant, not just in the sense that it prevented the wearing of Highland dress, the meeting together of Highland people and the

participation in traditional forms of entertainment, but also in the sense that it removed the judicial powers of the Highland chief over his own people. A number of Highland cultural practices, including sporting traditions, developed, particularly in North America, largely in conjunction with the emigration process, a process which resulted from the relatively less powerful, but not powerless, people within the Highland social formation being evicted from the land. Those who remained became increasingly dependent upon the emerging landlord class. By the early part of the nineteenth century, the paradoxical situation had emerged whereby many of the descendants of those Highland landlords and Highland chiefs who had contributed to the demise of the old way of life became responsible for its survival. Divorced from their original social context, the Highland Gatherings experienced problems of cultural marginalisation and subsequent transformation during this period.

From about 1840 until about 1920 a third stage of development evolved. One cannot claim that there was a direct causal link between the financial difficulties in letting and stalking sheep walks but, in association with the glorification of the Highlands as a sporting playground for a specific social elite, it can certainly be argued that the Victorian period led to different forms of resource exploitation that contributed to both the advance of a metropolitan culture and the continuing tension and conflict between the landowners and the Highland tenantry or crofters. The relative power of the sporting landlord class led not only to the popularization of the Highland Gatherings and Games, but also to a process of relative cultural dependency whereby many of the images, practices and traditions that have come to be

associated with this particular sporting form continued to be selected, romanticised and attributed different meanings. In particular, two crucial inter-connected developments took place between about 1840 and about 1920. In the first place, the Highland Gatherings became inextricably linked with processes of Balmoralization and popularization. In this connection Highland dress again became a statutory mode of attire at the Games. Accessories that would have struck the old Highland clansfolk as amazing were incorporated into the outfit. What was particularly significant about the sporting landlord phenomenon was the emergence of various social class fractions, each with a relative degree of economic and social power, alongside the traditional aristocracy. While the Highland Gatherings were experiencing Balmoralization and popularization influences, these developments were taking place against a background of tension and struggle between two broad inter-dependent social fractions each with a greater or lesser degree of power. Again questions of dependency and land ownership lay at the heart of this tension, a tension which, in part, led to the passing of the Crofters Act of 1886.

There is no doubt that, since about 1920 to the present day, the modern Highland Gatherings and Games have continued to develop at various rates and in a number of multifaceted ways. Some of the many facets which have contributed to this modern expression are: the fact that the emergence of the professional Highland Gatherings helped to integrate this Highland tradition into the market place and legitimate the phenomenon as an area of open competition and commercial activity; a move towards an incipient bureaucratization of procedures; the production and reproduction of a romantic cultural identity; various

rates of rationalization; and a general standardisation of rules. Seen in isolation, the differences between the multitude of Highland Gatherings and Games of to-day may be viewed by many as being insignificant. Yet viewed in the context of long term development, it is possible to differentiate clearly between the folk origins of this Highland tradition, subsequent phases of development and that which is characteristically modern. In particular, it has been argued within the context of this study that any discussion on the modern Highland Gatherings and Games must be located within the changing nexus and patterns of social arrangements which have resulted from a broader modernisation process in which problems of dependency and cultural domination have given rise to varying rates of flux and tension within the Scottish social formation. What is particularly significant about modern Scotland is the fact that while fractions of the Highland social formation had experienced problems of dependency in the past, such problems were not experienced by the Scottish social formation as a whole until after about 1920. The social fabric of the modern Highland Gatherings and Games was influenced by and contributed to this broader modernization process.

While the central focus of analysis in this study has been the development of the Scottish Highland Gatherings and Games, implicit in the analysis is the belief that, while such a study is a worthy focus of sociological study in its own right, it may also provide insights into at least two further problem areas. The first problem concerns the construction of Scottish cultural identity itself. The struggle to maintain an identity has long been an important feature mediating the development of political, economic and cultural life within the

Scottish social formation. Such an identity has often been socially constructed and had become dependent upon distorted romantic notions of the past. Yet, as I have argued throughout this study it is important to differentiate between romantic notions of Scottish culture and Scottish culture as it is lived or experienced by Scottish people themselves. The second problem area concerns the nature and development of Scottish dependency in general and Highland dependency in particular. Despite the inception of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1965 and the emergence of an offshore oil industry the Highlands remain one of the most relatively undeveloped, remote and sparsely populated regions within the British social formation. In such a context a landowner today can still make fundamental changes without having to consult local or national opinion. In essence, the power of those who own and control the land is as great as ever and although statutory groups with a specific Highland remit have been brought into being, centralist control and landlord power still lie at the heart of many of the contemporary problems facing the Highland social formation.

This study does not claim to provide a comprehensive theoretical discussion or a complete analysis of Highland social development. At a much more modest level, perhaps the strengths of this work are that: (i) it provides a theoretically informed sociological analysis of a particular sporting practice; (ii) it situates the analysis of sport within the broader context of history and social development; and (iii) it makes a contribution to the sociology of sport by filling part of the void created by the lack of sociologically informed analysis of Scottish sport and Scottish social development. Perhaps the relative

strength of this work is that it has attempted to address the inter-related nature of all of these concerns.

APPENDIX (I)Observation at a select number of Highland Gatherings

<u>Gathering</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>
Blair Atholl Highland Games	24.5.1985	Blair Atholl
Ceres Highland Games	27.6.1985	Ceres, Fife
Elgin Highland Games	1.7.1985	Elgin, Moray
Dufftown Highland Games	25.7.1985	Dufftown
Taynult Highland Games	26.7.1986	Taynult
Assynt Highland Games	8.8.1986	Lochinver
Ballater Highland Games	14.8.1986	Ballater
Argyllshire Highland Gathering	27.8.1986	Oban
Cowal Highland Gathering	30.8.1986	Dunoon
Blackford Highland Games	31.8.1986	Blackford, Perthshire
Braemar Highland Gathering	6.9.1986	Braemar
Pitlochry Highland Games	13.9.1986	Pitlochry

APPENDIX (II)

<u>Interview</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
Trossachs Highland Games, Committee,	15.2.1985	Perth
Airth Highland Games, Committee (1),	12.4.1986	Airth
Airth Highland Games, Secretary (2),	12.12.1986	Airth
Cowal Highland Gathering, Secretary,	11.6.1986	Dunoon
Braemar Highland Gathering, President,	4.7.1986	Braemar
Argyllshire Highland Gathering, Secretary,	9.7.1986	Oban
Halkirk Highland Games, Secretary,	6.8.1986	Halkirk
Caol Highland Games, Secretary,	6.8.1986	Aberdeen
Ballater Highland Games, President,	7.8.1986	Ballater
Glenisla Highland Gathering, Secretary,	18.8.1986	Kirriemuir
Lochaber Highland Games, Secretary,	18.8.1986	Fort William
Lonach Highland Gathering, Secretary,	20.8.1986	Strathdon
Aberlour & Strathspey Highland Games, Secretary,	20.8.1987	Aberlour
Crieff Highland Games, Secretary,	17.8.1987	Perth
Grantown-on-Spey Highland Games, Committee	19.8.1987	Moray

APPENDIX (III)Interview Check ListDevelopment of the Highland Gatherings

1. Is there a difference between Highland Games and Highland Gatherings?
2.
 - a) How did the tradition start?
 - b) What are the origins of this Highland Gathering/Games?
 - c) Who was involved in these early days?
 - d) Who organised the early Gatherings/Games?
3. What are your own earliest recollections?
 - a) Traditions
 - b) People involved
 - c) Memorable occasions
4. How do these early Gatherings/Games differ from to-day's?
 - a) How have the Gatherings/Games changed over time?
 - b) Why did these changes take place?
 - c) Was anybody in particular responsible for these changes?
5. Is your Gathering/Games a traditional Gathering/Games?
 - a) What are the requirements of a traditional Gathering?
 - b) What are the major traditional Gatherings/Games?
 - c) Do all these traditional Gatherings/Games have chieftains?
 - d) How do you become a chieftain?

6. What do Highlanders themselves think of these Gathering/Games?
 Is it a link with the past? If so in what way?
 Is there always a great local support?
 Are the guests of honour usually local?

7. When did the Gatherings/Games suddenly become popular?
 What caused this spread of popularity?

8. Throughout the history of your Gathering/Games has there always been a local landlord involvement?
 - a) In what way have these people supported the Gatherings/Games?
 - b) Who are the local landlords, if any?
 - c) Are these people on the organising committee?

9. What major groups of people constitute a Highland Gathering/Games?

10. Has there always been a strong tourist involvement?
 Why are tourists attracted to your Highland Gathering/Games?
 Is there anything in particular they come to see?

11. Is there a difference between the Highland Gatherings/Games and the Lowland Highland Gatherings/Games?
 Is there a rivalry?

12. Where could I find out more information on your Highland Gathering/Games?

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Dundee Highland Games.

Halkirk Highland Games.

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