Rethinking the revival and evolution of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games: Antimodernism, commercialization, and cultural (re)production in rural eastern Ontario.

Courtney W. Mason

*University of Windsor*

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Rethinking the Revival and Evolution of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games: Antimodernism, Commercialization, and Cultural (Re)production in Rural Eastern Ontario

By

Courtney W. Mason

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Faculty of Human Kinetics
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
2004

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Rethinking the Revival and Evaluation of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games: Antimodernism, Commercialization, and Cultural (Re)production in Rural Eastern Ontario

by

Courtney Mason

APPROVED BY:

S. Wenn
Kinesiology,
Wilfrid Laurier University

L. Kuliszek
History

A. McCalfe
Kinesiology

R. MacEachern, Advisor
Kinesiology

R. Dodier, Chair of Defense
Kinesiology

July 23, 2004
Abstract

In 1784, after a prolonged and weary struggle to settle in North America, almost fifty families established a homogenous Scottish community in what is currently Glengarry County, Ontario. In 1840, the residents of Glengarry County established a Scottish Highland Games, but a lack of commitment and funding led to their discontinuation after only a few years.

In 1948, following an absence of almost a century, the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games tradition was revived. This thesis examines the revival and evolution of the Glengarry Highland Games, including commercial, ideological, and cultural impacts. When rethinking the revival of the games in Glengarry, one cannot help but speculate why the summer of 1948 was chosen as the apposite date. An investigation, including archival resources, newspapers, and personal interviews, has illuminated several social developments that contributed to the revival. The rise of Franco-Ontarian influence in the county's economic, political, and cultural way-of-life was a significant factor. Moreover, the impact of a prospective tourism industry and ideological changes also precipitated the revitalization.

Beginning in the late 1940s, Scottish culture was proliferated throughout the county. Although initiated by the Highland Games, several influential factors contributed to the expansion of Scottish cultural tradition in Glengarry. The development of a buttressing network of Scottish cultural institutions, supported and maintained by key cultural agents, extended the influence of Scottish culture. The growth of a burgeoning
tourism industry and antimodernist sentiment also contributed to the cultivation of
nostalgia and the subsequent promotion of Scottish tradition within the county.

Glengarry residents celebrate the traditional dress, Celtic music, athletic pursuits,
and history of the county by participating in the annual games and associating with the
organizations that relentlessly maintain and perpetuate Scottish cultural traditions. From
1948 to 2004, the Glengarry Games have become an integral feature of the county’s
social life. Consequently, the games have helped socially construct an ethnic/regional
identity and have become a powerful symbol of cultural (re)production. The Glengarry
Games ensure that Scottish Highland cultural traditions remain a vital component of the
county’s heritage and active way-of-life.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated in part to the past, present, and future residents of the Three United Counties. My hope is that this research contributes to the working body of knowledge in celebration of our people, our history, and our culture.

To my parents: Morgan and Judy Mason. Your encouragement of and commitment to all that is enlightening has driven me to explore, discover, and pursue all that life has to offer. Thank you!

To the memory of Heather Lynne Swift: You continue to be an inspiration to me and the many others who were fortunate enough to know you. You will be sorely missed!
Acknowledgements

There are many individuals that have in various ways contributed to the completion of this research initiative and my graduate erudition experience at the University of Windsor. Their academic and/or personal support throughout the previous two years is greatly appreciated.

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Scott Martyn. Your understanding, attention to detail, and passion for learning, are valuable attributes that I hope to further develop as an educator. I look forward to continuing both a professional and personal relationship with you in the forthcoming years.

I would also like to thank the committee members: Dr. Alan Metcalfe, Dr. Stephen Wenn, Dr. Larry Kulisek, and Dr. Bob Boucher. Your commitment to my academic development has been significant in the completion of this thesis. I appreciate your guidance and individual contributions.

Also worthy of acknowledgement are the staff and faculty of the Human Kinetics Department at the University of Windsor. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Vicky Paraschak, Dr. Jim Weese, Dr. Marijke Taks, Diane Dupuis, and Pat Amlin. Your contribution to my research and personal growth is held in high regard.

A special thanks to all the individuals that have donated their time throughout this research project. Your active participation in my research represents the very essence of this thesis. The residents of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry that shared their lives and stories in support of my research are especially worthy of acknowledgement: David Anderson, Jim Brownell, Edward St. John, Clive Marin, Frances Marin, Emma Menard,
Arthur Chalette, Rae MacCulloch, Joan MacSweyn, Myles MacMillan, Norman MacDonald, Carolyn Smith, Larry Harrison, and Connie Blaney.

To my family, thank you for your constant love and encouragement. Your interest in and support for all of my life’s endeavours is deeply cherished.

To Robyn Brandt, your pursuit of personal and educational fulfillment has always inspired me to learn, to love, and achieve. For that I thank you!

Sincerely,

Courtney W. Mason.
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Glossary of Abbreviations

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>The British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHS</td>
<td>The Glengarry Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHGC</td>
<td>The Glengarry Highland Games Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSHG</td>
<td>The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L.A.</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD&amp;G</td>
<td>Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEL</td>
<td>The United Empire Loyalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>The United States of America</td>
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Chapter I

The Antecedents of Glengarry County's Scottish Cultural Tradition

Introduction

In July of the sweltering summer of 1998, a research team representing the Gaelic service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) arrived in Glengarry, Canada. The small county on Ontario's easternmost tip, played host to the five-person crew for just over a week. The purpose of their trip was to film a multi-part documentary series on Scottish Highland culture in Canada focusing on Glengarry County and Cape Breton Island. The crew, which consisted of a producer, a narrator, two camera technicians, and a sound specialist, all were first language Gaelic and had each originated from the Western Isles of Scotland. In pursuit of any trace or residue of Highland culture and way-of-life, the crew visited Lochiel, Dunvegan, Fassifern, Glen Nevis, Glen Roy, Laggan (see Appendix A), and other small rural towns within the county with names reminiscent of the Highland regions from which the county's earlier residents once emigrated. Following a visit to numerous historic sites, and interviewing some of Glengarry's authorities on Highland culture, the crew filmed what was no doubt the highlight of their trip and what initially attracted them to the region — the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games (GSHG). After experiencing all that the games had to offer, the Scottish crew, like so many of their countrymen who had been to the Glengarry festival before, were "impressed by the spirit of the games."1 After almost a week, the five researchers left Glengarry with the

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unanimous sentiment that the games were the “most authentic presentation of Highland culture that they had ever witnessed,” and nowhere else on any of their travels had they ever felt so much at home as in Glengarry County, Canada.

The BBC crew’s positive experience in the county and at the GSHG may indicate that the trip and the Scottish television documentary, which originally aired in Gaelic and was entitled *The Immigrants*, was a success. Whatever it was that they sought out to discover and document in Glengarry is not entirely clear, but it is clear that their findings exceeded their original expectations. The very presence of the BBC Gaelic Service in a small rural county of central Canada may seem extraordinary to most, but to those that have visited Glengarry and have experienced what many authors have referred to as the ‘Glengarry Mystique,’ peripheral interest in the county’s unique cultural heritage seems appropriate.

For most of the residents of Glengarry County the hosting of one of the world’s largest celebrations of Scottish Highland culture has instilled a strong sense of community pride. Few locals would be surprised by the cordial comments of the BBC crew, as hundreds of international visitors attend the Glengarry festival on an annual basis and articulate similar thoughts. Although the antecedents of this cultural festival lie deep in the roots of an eighteenth century Highland settlement in Upper Canada, the Highland Games are an active component of the local culture in Glengarry County. The games in Glengarry actively celebrate Scottish tradition and the historical origins of a unique Highland culture and society.
As early as 1840, a Highland Games festival emerged within Glengarry County. The political leaders of this newly settled region created an annual Highland Games in order to preserve the Scottish culture that these immigrants left behind. The county's inhabitants celebrated the Highland traditions characteristic of the distant Scottish Glen from which many of the residents once made their home. Despite the laudable intent, the Highland Games in Glengarry were only celebrated for a few years before the practice was discontinued.

In 1948, following a century of absence, the GSHG were once again revived and have over time formed an important part of the county's cultural heritage. Over the last fifty-five years, the Glengarry Highland Games have experienced a cultural and commercial revival that has influenced the community in numerous ways. When examining the genesis and evolution of the modern games in Glengarry, one cannot help but speculate why the games were revived during this period and what cultural conditions contributed to the continued success of this festival? An evaluation of the social conditions of Glengarry County in the 1940s prompts the supposition that the expanding Franco-Ontarian population may have had a significant role in the revival of the Glengarry Games. The origins of this eminent tradition in Glengarry may partly lie in the Scottish population's anxiety regarding the emerging Franco-Ontarian presence within the county. Moreover, the influence of a promising tourism industry and antimodernist attitudes cannot be discounted as other significant factors in the revival. Resulting mainly from a rapid urbanization movement, which contributed to changing social, political, and economic conditions, the early part of the
twentieth century became the most dynamic period of transformation in the county's history. Although a number of motives will be discussed, it is evident that the Highland Games in Glengarry were created, or at least partly created, as a means of celebrating and protecting Highland cultural traditions.

Today, the games in Glengarry become one of the most successful cultural events in the province of Ontario. The small communities of Glengarry County host the GSHG and share in the celebration of Scottish Highland customs, music, and athletic pursuits. The games have preserved the county's history and have contributed to the social construction of a local ethnic identity. Partly resulting from the success of the community's Scottish cultural festival, the ethnic identity of Glengarry County has been perpetuated by its residents throughout the twentieth century and remains quite distinct from the other regions of Canada.

The Highland Games in Glengarry clearly represent something more than an annual celebration of Scottish Highland culture. Every year, after the closing ceremonies, the people of Glengarry are influenced by the spectacle that has captivated them over the previous days. The cultural remnants that linger within the communities that comprise Glengarry County throughout the remainder of the year, in the form of a buttressing network of supportive cultural institutions, have significance far beyond the three-day celebration.

The games provide exposure to Scottish cultural traditions. This exposure to elements of Scottish Highland traditional dress, Celtic music, athletics, and history ensure that they remain prevalent in the social life of the county. The lasting impression of the games is visible in the reflection of these elements
within the county. The games in Glengarry represent a powerful symbol of cultural (re)production as they influence residents from diverse non-Scottish backgrounds as Scottish cultural tradition is often appropriated.\textsuperscript{10}

In the middle of the twentieth century, this event was revived as a response to modernism,\textsuperscript{11} to generate tourism, and to protect and celebrate Highland culture among Glengarry Scots. Over fifty years later, it has been extended to influence the ethnicity of all Glengarry residents regardless of their cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{12} The Highland Games in Scotland resisted the influence of a dominant British culture and were extended to form an identity for all Scots - not exclusively those of Highland lineage. In much the same manner, the games in Glengarry, although revived in resistance to an emerging Franco-Ontarian population, have been extended to form a local identity inclusive of all Glengarry residents. In order to evaluate the culture of Glengarry County and the festival that remains a significant component of its residents' identity, it is necessary to acknowledge the antecedents of this distinctive community.

The History of Glengarry County: Scottish Highland Immigration

In 1784, after a prolonged and weary struggle to settle in North America, almost fifty families established one of Canada's first Scottish settlements in what is now Eastern Ontario. Glengarry County, as it was christened upon arrival, became a haven for the disillusioned Scots who journeyed from their highland dwellings over eleven years earlier.\textsuperscript{13} The county became one of the first European settlements of Upper Canada and its 425 Scottish Highland residents formed a unique community.\textsuperscript{14} Most of the settlers were from Glengarry,
Scotland; consequently, the area was named after the lovely glen in Inverness-shire, Scotland, through which the River Garry flows (see Appendix B). Upon leaving Scotland in 1773, the Highlanders were originally destined for the colony of New York. Upon leaving Scotland in 1773, the Highlanders were originally destined for the colony of New York. Only a few years after arriving in New York in 1775, a major dispute arose between the British colonists and the American patriots that changed the face of North American history.

Scottish settlement of Ontario was characterized by the attainment of independence of the thirteen colonies that became the United States of America (USA). The British who settled within the colonies and did not support the American patriot cause during the Revolutionary War were forced to migrate following the end of hostilities. Those loyal subjects who sided with Britain in the Revolutionary War, including the Highlanders from Glengarry, were referred to as the United Empire Loyalists (UEL). The UEL who had made their homes in the Mohawk Valley in New York were forced to migrate north along another arduous journey in search of refuge. Although at first colonial authorities rejected the idea of allowing the UEL to settle west of the Montréal area because it was classified as native territory, in 1784 the pressure of the mounting numbers of UEL obligated authorities to make a land exchange with the St. Regis band of Mohawk natives to establish new settlements encompassing quality agricultural land. An area on the banks of the St. Lawrence River was selected for settlement of the majority of the Highland Scottish Loyalists. This first wave of immigration to the newly settled region accounted for over a thousand of Glengarry County’s early residents and formed the nucleus of the developing
Scottish Highland community. The following eighteen years witnessed two successive waves of immigration to Glengarry County from the fabled Scottish Glen.

In 1786, another group of almost 500 Highlanders came to Glengarry on a ship that arrived in Montréal via the St. Lawrence. These immigrants were entirely formed of Catholic Highlanders from Knoydart, Scotland, a coastal area twenty-five kilometers west of Glengarry, Scotland. Although these families intended to settle west of what now is Brockville, most were convinced to stay in Glengarry because of its proximity to Montréal and the established Highland Scottish population in the southern section of the county.

The presence of the Highland Scottish population in Glengarry acted as a powerful influence to encourage other Highland Scots to settle in the vicinity. The magnetism of the early Highland settlers of Upper Canada and the appeal to settle in an established Highland Scottish region is exemplified by the fact that over 40% of all Highland Scottish immigration to British North America between 1784-1793, settled in Glengarry County. Scots in the region of Montréal, east of Glengarry, also attracted many new immigrants to settle in the city. With a significant Scottish population, Montréal quickly became Canada’s largest metropolitan area. The ability of the established population of Highland Scots in Glengarry to entice many of their countrymen to also settle in the area was an important developmental feature of the region. “Over 90% of the Glengarry County settlers traveled in family groups.” Family and community ties were directly responsible for the second wave of immigration in the early 1790s. Over
150 Highlanders from Knoydart and Glenelg arrived in Glengarry in 1792. The MacLeod and MacGillivray families that were already established in Glengarry organized this group of immigrants. Several other smaller groups of émigré arrived in Glengarry County in the early 1790s, but little information concerning these groups has survived. However, historical records indicate that these groups were related to Alexander Macdonell and also originated from western Inverness-shire.25

The last significant group, and third wave of emigration to arrive in Glengarry, appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Regarding family connections, much the same can be said for the 400 Highlanders linked to the MacMillan family who arrived in Glengarry in 1802. In the same year, an entire group of discharged Scottish soldiers known as the Glengarry Fencibles represented the last influx of Scottish Highlanders into Glengarry County.26 Although no significant group of Scottish Highland immigrants were recorded later than 1802, they continued to migrate to Glengarry until the 1880s.27 The number of Scots interested in emigration was drastically reduced by the Crofters Act, which significantly improved conditions in the Highlands of Scotland.28

By 1806, the Highland Scottish population of Glengarry had reached a significant level. A personal letter from Rev. Alexander Macdonell acknowledges this inherent growth. “The Scottish Highland population has exceeded 10,000 and is growing in a wonderful manner by the uncommon increase of its own people and by the annual addition of emigrants from Scotland.”29 As previously established, foremost among the various motivations driving this pattern of
immigration was the opportunity to acquire and own land. It was during this time period that Scottish Highland immigrants began to overpopulate Glengarry County. Many of the Highland immigrants that arrived after the Glengarry Fencibles in 1802 were compelled to settle west of Glengarry in the neighbouring counties of Stormont and Dundas in order to obtain a sizeable plot of arable land. Although the core of the Highland population remained in Glengarry, by 1816 the ‘Glengarry Scotch’ had populated the townships of Cornwall, Finch, and Roxborough. So eminent was the domination of the Highland Scots in Glengarry that the author of an emigration guide published in 1829 cautioned perspective emigrants in its declaration, “Go not to Glengarry if you be not a Highlander.”

By 1832, the settlement of Glengarry and its adjacent townships were dominated by the arrival of over 3,500 Highlanders. Just twenty years later in an 1852 population census of Glengarry’s 17,596 residents, 13,197 (75%) were of Scottish origin. Furthermore, one out of every six people possessed the surname Macdonell or Macdonald.

As Scottish Highlanders spilled over the borders of Glengarry and began to populate the neighbouring counties, they established a Highland Scottish heritage that would surround Glengarry in the decades to come. As in Glengarry, the Scottish Highlanders who settled Stormont and Dundas became instrumental in the development of these communities. Highland Scots contributed to the expansion of government, industry, and recreation in Glengarry and its surrounding area. In many cases, the political, economic, and social growth of these communities became the achievement of the local Highland
Scots. The ambition of the Highlanders served the community and themselves well. Glengarry and the surrounding area offered promise and subsistence to a people who had been deprived of both for centuries. Today, Glengarry is populated by the many descendants of these early Highland Scots.

The Highlanders who settled Glengarry between 1784 and 1802 represented an extremely homogeneous group. They shared the same language, had close family ties, and came from a similar area of western Inverness-shire. The cohesiveness of these early settlers greatly contrasted those that settled in other areas of Upper Canada where mixed cultural distributions were common. "The Glengarry Scots formed a settlement that was more homogeneous in character than any other of the Loyalist communities." The distinct culture formed in Glengarry during settlement would create a Highland character that would endure long after the cessation of Scottish dominance within the county.

Prior to assessing the antecedents of the county’s Scottish tradition in the form of Scottish societies and Highland Games festivals, it is important to define the modern community of Glengarry County.

**Glengarry County: The Modern Era**

Glengarry is a rural county with a population of just over 20,987 residents. Its existing population is less than it was a century earlier in 1891. According to the last census report recording ethnicity, the majority of its current population is Franco-Ontarian - 10,020 (52.9%). The Scottish population represents a distant second within Glengarry's ethnic makeup - 4,817 (25%). The remainder of the
population is a mixture of individuals from mainly Irish, English, German, and Dutch backgrounds.\textsuperscript{37}

Glengarry County has a rather unique location at Ontario’s easternmost tip (see Appendix C). This hinterland exists between the County of Vaudreuil-Soulange and the province of Quebec in the east and southeast, the St. Lawrence River and the USA in the south, Prescott County in the north, and Stormont County in the west, Glengarry represents a land area of 768 square kilometers (see Appendix A).\textsuperscript{38} Situated between two of Canada’s most populous provinces, on a transnational border, and amid the two metropolitan centres of Ottawa and Montréal, Glengarry has been characterized as an atypical borderland region. Resulting from the growth of the globalization movement, the mobility of people, ideas, and capital, and the impermanence of existing nation states, interest in the reproduction of cultural identity in borderland regions has grown considerably.\textsuperscript{39} Part of the interest generated about borderlands such as Glengarry County is resulting from the fluid, ambiguous, and indeterminate nature of culture within these regions. Moreover, the shifting currents of social, cultural, and economic interaction provide a unique environment to evaluate people and cultural exchange.\textsuperscript{40} Nation states, including borderland regions within them, are imagined or invented communities.\textsuperscript{41} According to Colin D. Howell, this suggests that borderlands can be re-invented or re-imagined in a manner that reflects the changing cultural environment of which they are a component.\textsuperscript{42} Much of the subsequent analysis of Glengarry County as a unique borderland community
traces this process of cultural evolution including the influence of change and the re-imagining of culture in this community.

**Early Scottish Societies**

In Glengarry County, as in many North American regions where Scottish immigrants settled, the development of Scottish societies, in juxtaposition with other cultural institutions, helped preserve the distinct character of Scottish communities. The importance of preserving Scottish Highland tradition was emphasized by the émigré as many of them had experienced the prejudice of the British hegemonic government and its efforts to marginalize Highland culture (see Appendix D). The Disarming Act marginalized the Highland way-of-life by prohibiting the wearing of Highland dress among other aspects of Highland culture. Scottish Highland societies materialized as a result of rising opposition to this act. The first Scottish Highland society was established in London, England in 1778. The Highland Society was formed of mainly Highland noblemen and officers. The encouragement of ancient Highland customs was first and foremost on its agenda. The society's second objective was to repeal the Disarming Act, which was successfully accomplished in 1782. Throughout the end of the eighteenth century, the Scottish society became instrumental in the promotion of Scottish culture, including Gaelic literature and language. The Highland facade dominated the Scottish society's early promotion of Scottish culture. An effective image easily endorsed by Scottish societies was the Highland martyr, victimized by mainstream culture and capitalist ambition. The society's promotion of the Highland cause in Britain and the Lowlands did much to amalgamate the two
distinct cultures in Scotland. In reality, many aspects of the Highland culture began to be perceived as simply Scottish.44

Similar to the function of Scottish societies in Britain, in Canada the societies were designed to help preserve the Scottish way-of-life. In 1819, the same year the St. Fillians Highland Society organized one of the first Scottish Highland Gatherings after the repeal of the Disarming Act, the first Scottish Highland Society of Canada was formed in Glengarry County under Reverend Alexander Macdonell and William MacGillivray.45 "Scotsmen in Canada were certainly not that far behind their countrymen at home in fostering this element of their heritage, observed Gerald Redmond."46 The Highland Society of Glengarry was the first of its kind in North America. After only a few successful gatherings the Highland Society of Glengarry was allowed to lapse, but other Scottish Societies would follow Glengarry’s lead. Although Glengarry may claim the first Highland Society, the first Scottish society was formed in Halifax on 26 March 1768. Scottish societies can be credited as the major proponent of the perpetuation of Scottish culture in North America. The extensive network of Scottish societies that developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflects the settlement patterns and distribution of Scots within the Dominion.47 The intent of the Scottish societies was to welcome new Scots to the area, provide a venue for Scots to convene and socialize, and most importantly to help perpetuate the Scottish traditions they left behind.48 The creation of Highland Scottish society’s in North America, had as a central objective, the promotion of traditional Highland life - the Highland Gathering was initiated for this purpose.
The Origins of the Scottish Highland Games

As far back as the eleventh century, the staging of Scottish Highland Games has been monumental in building and expressing a cultural identity for all Scots. From woodsmen and farm labourers to skilled artisans and landlords, the games provided an equal opportunity for all men to display their strength and talent. Highland Scots competed for the honour of their family in athletics and music.49

Although an Irish festival known as the Tailteann Games preceded any in the Scottish Highlands, the Highland Games have become a recognized symbol of Scottish culture.50 While the Tailteann Games remained rooted in Ireland, the Scottish Highland Games have been internationally dispersed, particularly throughout the nineteenth century. The most famous Scottish Highland Games festival is the Braemar Gathering which began in the eleventh century. The gathering originated as a hill race on the Braes of Mar organized by King Malcolm Canmore. Despite numerous misconceptions, royal patronage and interest has been a feature of Scottish athletic festivals from their genesis.51

Athletic and cultural festivals similar to the Tailteann Games arose throughout the Highlands after the eleventh century. The games became commonplace in many Highland districts until the Disarming Act of 1747. After the act was repealed, Scottish societies ensured the survival of the games. In 1800, a provident society was formed that later became the Braemar Royal Highland Society. From its formation onward, the Highland Society controlled the direction of Highland Gatherings. By the 1820s, Highland Gatherings and festivals were regularly
celebrated in many communities of Scotland: Aboyne; Banff; Cowal; Inverness; Lonach; Oban; and Tobermory. Prince Albert attended the Braemar Gathering in 1847 and the following year he accompanied Queen Victoria. The endorsement of Royalty influenced the games as they continued to gain in popularity and prestige as a result of the Royal patronage.52

Although historically associated with the Highlands, other geographic areas, including the Lowlands and England, developed similar festivals: Much Wenlock (1850); and London (1872).53 The Highland festivals held a general program that consisted of indigenous Highland sports, dancing, and music. Even though several other events were often incorporated, and no two festivals remained the same, the general program of the Highland Games distinguished them from other cultural festivals in Britain. While the rise of similar festivals throughout Britain led to the decline in popularity of the Highland Games, they remained distinct – this may have ensured their survival. The Highland Games played a major role in restoring pride in Highland culture after it had been eroded by the aftermath of the Highland Clearances.54 The Caledonian Games would also prove to be significant to the Highland Scottish émigré who departed Scotland for the New World.

The Caledonian Games: North America’s Version of the Scottish Tradition

The Scottish society’s efforts in fostering links to the old country were very successful in North America. Even though some controversy exists concerning where the first Highland Games were celebrated on the North American continent, Scottish societies were well established in many
communities by the 1820s. In North America the games of the Highlands became known as the Caledonian Games. Although the Caledonian Games may have first appeared in the Canadian Maritimes, after the nineteenth century development of the railway and the subsequent expansion of several towns, the large and influential Highland Scottish population in western Quebec and Ontario became the main proponents of the development of the Caledonian Games in Canada. Sponsored by Scottish societies, successful Caledonian Games also emerged in larger metropolitan areas throughout North America in the nineteenth century: New York (1836); Toronto (1847); Boston (1853); Montréal (1855); and Ottawa (1863).

The mid-nineteenth century Caledonian Games in North America attracted large crowds and professional athletes from around the globe, including athletes from the mother country. As large monetary awards began to be offered, professional athletes embarked on lucrative tours of the Caledonian Games circuit. A number of influential factors may have led to the enormous success experienced by the early Caledonian Games in North America. The industrialization process and subsequent urbanization combined with the transportation advances allowed athletes and spectators to attend festivals throughout the eastern United States and Canada.

Despite the popularity of the Caledonian Games in the mid-nineteenth century, by the 1880s the games had started to decline in the United States and some areas of Canada. The North American Caledonian Association was formed in the 1870s to address the lack of financial success of many of the games, but
inevitably by the 1890s the Caledonian Games had disappeared from the majority of areas that hosted the lavish festivals only thirty years earlier. It is the contention of Gerald Redmond that a critical development led to the demise of the games within the United States. The rise of amateur and intercollegiate track and field in North America competed with the Caledonian Games for spectators and competitors. By 1883, as Canada was forming its Amateur Athletic Union, over 650 amateur athletic clubs were already in existence in the United States.

Amateur athletics and the modern track and field events evolved directly from the Caledonian Games. Paradoxically, the Caledonian Games were the predecessor of the very events that would make them obsolete. While the rise of track and field would lead to the demise of the Caledonian Games in the United States, in Canada, they only served as a temporary distraction. The deeply rooted Scottish lineage in areas such as Glengarry County ensured that the games would prevail with time. In the twentieth century Canada would become famous for successfully preserving the Highland Games tradition. “Outside of Scotland,” commented Gerald Redmond, “nowhere else in the world (was) the tradition of Highland Games maintained so dutifully and or successfully as in Canada.”

The Origins of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games

As aforementioned, the Highland Games in Glengarry were created as a means of protecting and celebrating Scottish cultural heritage in the county. Local individuals created a Highland festival similar to those seen in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The earliest official record of Caledonian Games being held in Glengarry dates from July 1840 in Lancaster, a town located
in the southern section of the county.\textsuperscript{65} It is unclear how often the games were held in Lancaster, but it is known that Highland events were staged at the Williamston Fair in September 1858, a town located eight kilometers northwest of Lancaster. The event was sponsored by the Caledonian Society of Glengarry, and was held in conjunction with an agricultural fair designed to help farmers in the area compare crops, cattle, equipment, and ideas in order to improve agricultural standards and techniques. Pipers played and dancers performed the Highland fling and sword dance, while individuals contested the heavyweight events. Similar to today's games, the fair attracted people from all over the region. Residents annually celebrated Scottish Highland tradition, but a lack of commitment and funding led to the discontinuation of the Caledonian component of the fair after only a few years.\textsuperscript{66} However, the traditions they established endured. Despite the cessation of the Caledonian Games, Highland Scottish music, traditional dress, and athletics began to form important components of Glengarry's social life.\textsuperscript{67}

Although official records indicate that the Highland Games in Glengarry disappeared for almost eight decades, Scottish Highland tradition remained a part of the county and its culture mostly in the form of barn dances and Ceilidhs.\textsuperscript{68} Highland culture has always remained a part of Glengarry County since the inception of the Scotch settlers in the late eighteenth century. From 1784 to the modern era, albeit in different forms, formal and informal social opportunities provided the basis of the preservation of Highland folk culture in Glengarry. To a researcher performing a peripheral analysis of Glengarry culture from the 1860s to the 1940s, it may appear that Scottish Highland culture became latent for
several decades, but the ubiquitous nature of Highland tradition in Glengarry County is a testament to the persistence and dedication of several generations of Scots. Highland traditional dance, music, folk tales, and athletics, have formed a component of the social gatherings involving residents of Scottish lineage in Glengarry for over two centuries.\(^69\)

It was the researcher’s intention for Chapter I to provide some contextual information concerning the antecedents of Glengarry County, Canada as a distinct cultural community and the presence of Scottish culture (inclusive of the Highland Games tradition) in this unique region of Eastern Ontario. Chapter II will focus on the methodological direction and basis for this study. In Chapter III the researcher attempts to evaluate the dynamic period of change that characterized Glengarry County from the mid-nineteenth century until 1948 in an effort to assess the conditions from which the successful revival of the GSHG emerged. In Chapter IV, the researcher focuses on the growth and expansion of the GSHG that occurred in tandem with the proliferation of Scottish culture and tradition within the county. Lastly, Chapter V will examine the (re)production of ethnic identity in Glengarry County.
Endnotes

1 David Anderson, (personal interview, 22 December 2003).

2 Ibid.


4 Bonnie Laing, Fifty Years of the Glengarry Highland Games (Ottawa: Tyrell Press, 1997).


6 The term Highlands refers to a mountainous region in northern Scotland. Partly resulting from the isolation of the region, the inhabitants of the Highlands (or Highlanders) established a unique Gaelic culture.

7 Bonnie Laing, Fifty Years of the Glengarry Highland Games (Ottawa: Tyrell Press, 1997).


11 David M. Rayside, A Small Town in Modern Times (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991). Modernism is a complicated term, or set of ideas, that appears in variety of disciplines with varying definitions. It is also difficult to locate historically as discrepancies are common over when the period begins and ends. Modernism is a cultural formation which accompanies particular stages of capitalism. Modernism encompasses both market capitalism (eighteenth century to late nineteenth century – associated with industrialization in Western Europe and the United States, including the creation of the steam engine) and monopoly capitalism (late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century – associated with electrical progressions, such as the combustion motor). For the purposes of this study, modernism is a cultural formation shaped by a diverse unity of socio-economic changes generated by scientific and technological discoveries throughout the stages of industrialization.


14 Ibid., p. 84. The original group of Highlanders that settled Glengarry in 1784 consisted of 425 individuals: 125 men; 100 women; and 200 children. Three brothers led the group. John, Allen, and Alexander Macdonell organized the journey and convinced other associate families to come: the MacMillan; McDougall; MacIntosh; McGillis; and Kennedy families were among those that departed from the Glens of Garry and Moriston on the ship named “Pearl” in 1773.

Quarrels over taxation rates in the thirteen colonies deepened rifts between the British government and the American settlers in 1760s. The Boston Tea Party (protested against the taxation of tea by dumping a shipment of tea into the harbour) of December 1773, provoked the British to create strict legislation in 1774. The American patriots objected and the Revolutionary War began in Lexington, Massachusetts, on 19 April 1775. The colonists that sided with the British became known as the United Empire Loyalists (UEL). The UEL fought against the American patriots during the war. After the patriots' victory, which was signified by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, the UEL were no longer welcome nor did they want to stay in American territory. Most of the UEL that inhabited the Mohawk Valley in New York before the war were forced to migrate north to Upper Canada. Many of the Highlanders in the valley found their way to Glengarry.

During the Winter of 1775-1776, the UEL were forced to leave their homes in the Mohawk Valley in New York as orders went out to arrest all Loyalist leaders. Fearing that the Lake Champlain route would be occupied by rebels, the Loyalists under the guidance of Sir John Johnson headed north up the valley of the Sacandaga. The group followed the valley of the Raquette River and crossed the St. Lawrence at St. Regis and made their way to Montréal. For the next seven years the Loyalists did garrison duty and made several raids into the Mohawk Valley. After the war ended in 1783, over 1000 Loyalists settled just west of Montréal in Glengarry County.

In the 1780s, the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes district was classified as 'Indian Land.' Although barely settled, the area that is currently referred to as the Three United Counties (which encompasses Glengarry County), was traditionally under the territory of the Mohawk tribe. Resulting from a French Canadian alliance to northern native tribes, the Iroquois tribe confederacy, which included the Mohawks of St. Regis, were deadly enemies to the French Canadians. This explains why the French Canadians had no initial interest in inhabiting the region currently encompassing the Three United Counties.

Upon leaving the Mohawk Valley the UEL could not have predicted that they would be fighting the newly formed American nation in 1812-13. The Napoleonic Wars fought between Britain and France was partly waged within the colonies. The Americans resented British interference in American trade with the French and used the opportunity to attempt a takeover of British North America. The Glengarry men became vital to the defense of British North America. The Glengarry Militia and the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles helped successfully defeat the Americans at Ogdensburg and Lundy's Lane. Their victory not only ensured the protection of their new home, but also proliferated the legend of the fearless Highland warrior.

The intent of this paper is not to establish all the members of Glengarry's early Highland community, but to identify the general

25 Ibid., pp. 116-123.


28 Grant Jarvie, *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth* (New York: Edinburgh University Press), p. 63. The Crofter’s Act of 1866 marked an important milestone in Scottish Highland social development. The Act brought an end to an intensive period of eviction, oppression, and exploitation against Highland farmers. Although the Act failed to return the ownership of land to the direct descendants of clansfolk, it managed to bring a degree of power to the farmers in relation to the sporting landlords of the nineteenth century. The Act improved conditions in the Highlands and reduced the number of Highlanders interested in emigration.

29 Ibid., p. 29. A personal letter sent in 1806 by Rev. Alexander Macdonell (1762-1840) acknowledges the overwhelmingly Scottish atmosphere within Glengarry County. Rev. Macdonell became the first Bishop of Upper Canada and one of the most influential men in early Glengarry life.


32 Ibid., p. 215.


38 Ibid.


40 Ibid., p. 252.


Ibid., pp. 25-28.

Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada* (New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1982), pp. 161-164. By the 1820's Highland Games were in full swing throughout many regions of Scotland.

Ibid., p. 160.

Ibid., p. 67.

Ibid., p. 79. Scottish societies were created under a variety of names: Highland Societies; St. Andrew's Societies; The Sons of Scotland; Caledonian Clubs; The Royal Order of Scottish Clans; and Robbie Burns Clubs. All were designed to perpetuate Scottish tradition and culture.


Ibid., p. 31.

Ibid., p. 31.

Ibid., p. 32.

Ibid., pp. 164-167. Caledonian Games were held at Charlottetown, PEI (1838), Halifax, NS (1845), and Sydney, NS (1848). It is another festival that I wish to draw attention to during this early phase of Caledonian development. It was not until 1861 that the Highland Society of the County of Sydney was formed at the Courthouse in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Although later than some other maritime regions, the Antigonish Highland Games have probably been the most genuine counterpart to any Highland festival held in Scotland. In relative isolation, Antigonish is the most Gaelic speaking part of North America and is renowned for its retention of the Highland way of life - which predominated throughout the nineteenth century. Still in existence today, the Antigonish Highland Games present an authentic version that has remained relatively impervious to external forces since its creation. The isolation of the Nova Scotian Coast has surely protected the community from the influence of the mainstream of Scottish Highland culture in mid-nineteenth century Canada – Western Quebec and Ontario.

Ibid., p. 166.
Canadian Scottish Associations and Highland festivals preceded their American counterparts. It was actually the Scottish Canadian from Montréal, George Goldie, that helped develop the American Caledonian Games. Goldie was initiated the New York Caledonian Games as the New York Athletic Club director and also developed the games at the college-university level.

Ibid., p. 36.


Ibid., pp. 196-199.

Ibid., p. 198. Intercollegiate competition led by Princeton and Yale in the USA, and the University of Toronto and McGill University in Canada, acted as a strong counterattraction to the Caledonian Games. Although the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada was formed in 1883, the union was dominated by major metropolitan centers, most notable Montréal. Canada as a whole was more aptly represented by the creation of the Athletic Union of Canada in 1909.

Ibid., pp. 195-200. In the mid and late nineteenth century amateur (including intercollegiate) track and field was composed of many of the same events as the early North American Caledonian Games. Most of the throwing, running, and jumping events were competed in at Caledonian festivals prior to their appearance in any North American track and field competition. Along with event similarities, the organization and scheduling format of track and field events were also modeled after the early Caledonian Games.

Ibid., p. 200.


Ibid., p. 164. The games in Lancaster were a great success. Prizes were given for the following events: twenty-four pound shot; twenty-five pound hammer; and the best leaper (long jump). As with many of the Caledonian Games held in Ontario and Quebec in this early period, Glengarry men claimed the first and second prizes in all the events.

Welcome to the 54th Glengarry Highland Games, 2001. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Souvenir Program. (Glengarry, p. 53). Although the fair has changed names and sponsors several times, the Williamstown Fair is Canada’s oldest continuous fair. Dating back to 1812, the Williamstown Fair is a testament to the history and heritage of Glengarry County. The fair continues to be held on land donated to the people of Williamstown by Sir John Johnson an UEL who founded the village and named it after his father Sir William Johnson of the Mohawk Valley in New York. The fair has played host to many dignitaries and great athletes over its illustrious history. Along with Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King who opened the fair in 1945, famous heavyweight event champion Roderick R. McLennan competed in Williamstown along with renowned runner Tom Longboat.


Ceilidhs can be defined as traditional Scottish Highland social gatherings. The literal Gaelic translation means a gathering of people. Highland dancing, music, and athletics would often be incorporated.

Chapter II

Methodology and Review of Literature

Problem Statement

This research outlines a new investigative path, one that examines and extends the previous work on the Glengarry Highland Games. Despite the national and international stature of the GSHG, most of the scholarly works that have evaluated the Glengarry gathering have focused on the details regarding the history of the games’ various events and participants. In order to redress this state of affairs, a comprehensive examination of the GSHG will be endeavoured, including the games’ origins, development, and significance to the people of Glengarry and the surrounding region. Particular attention will be given to the underlying reasons behind the 1948 revival of the cultural event in Glengarry and the role and function of the Glengarry festival in a modern context.

Thesis and Sub-thesis Statements

Upon analyzing the history of Glengarry County and its people, it is clear that the county’s Highland Games were revived at a period when Scottish culture and way-of-life were under considerable duress. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games were revived in response to an emerging Franco-Ontarian presence within the county, the development of the tourism industry, and rising antimodernist sentiment.\(^1\) The emerging Franco-Ontarian population, which began to assert itself within the county’s economy, political system, and culture, was changing the traditional hegemony of the region. As well as being utilized to gain the much-needed support from the local community, tourism was also
considered in the planning and organizing of the event. Furthermore, as the county was transformed from an almost entirely agricultural society to one facing the perils of modernity and urbanization following WWII, antimodernists appealed for the return to simple rural ways and looked to tradition and the past for a response to the modernism movement.

The GSHG have perpetuated and extended the influence of Scottish culture in the county. Since 1948, the games in Glengarry are fundamentally responsible for the perpetuation of Scottish culture. The games, in affiliation with a buttressing network of cultural producers and institutions, have ensured the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in the region.

In order to put the thesis and sub-thesis questions into context, it is imperative that an overview of relevant literature is reviewed. This review is divided into three distinct sections of analysis: (1) sources concerning Scottish history, culture, and tradition; (2) sources regarding Glengarry County, Ontario, Canada; and (3) sources providing theoretical foundation to the argument. These components are necessary for the development of a sound argument in support of this thesis. The sources will be covered in the sequence listed above to provide the appropriate background for the reader in advance of analyzing the theoretical basis for this thesis.

Introduction to Scottish Highland Games Research

The Scottish Highland Games have played a major role in the revival and dispersal of Scottish culture throughout the world. In many regions where Scots have immigrated, the Highland Games have become an integral part of the social and
recreational lives of the residents. It is for this reason that this diverse cultural festival has been preserved in many nations around the world. Albeit in different forms, Scottish Highland Games are staged on five continents and in dozens of countries worldwide. The fascination with the Highland Games can be extended to indicate one of Scottish culture in general. The unique symbols of Scottish culture, including all authentic and inauthentic perceptions of Scottish culture, have become internationally renowned. Many individuals from diverse ethnic lineage may be able to identify a number of aspects of Scottish culture including traditional dress (the kilt), music (the bagpipes), and athletics (the caber). The international familiarity of Scottish culture may account for the abundance of literature that is available on the topic. A solid fundamental knowledge of Scottish culture, including its traditions, folklore, and history is imperative for this study.

Scottish History

In order to assess and evaluate one of Scotland’s greatest cultural traditions, an in-depth historical background is a necessary prerequisite. As highlighted in Appendix D, the region currently known as Scotland has a diverse and storied history. Although there is a substantial volume of available research dedicated to the general topic of Scottish history, a number of works have proved to be especially informative. Even though Scottish cultural history is peripheral to this thesis, the literature investigated for contextual purposes include the following subject matters: the cultural origins of the Scottish people; the Lowland and Highland cultural schism; the marginalization of Highland culture; and the social, political, and economical factors influencing emigration. An extensive review of each individual topic has assisted the researcher in historically
evaluating the importance of the creation of the Highland Gathering, including its purpose, role, and function.

Henry Gray Graham's work entitled *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* is a solid overview of Scottish history including social and political reform. This work effectively develops the social conditions of Scotland during this dynamic period of change. Graham focuses on the devastating influence of the Anglicization process on the Highland people and culture. It is his thesis that the schism of Scottish culture entirely isolated Highland people both economically and socially. The isolation soon left Highland culture marginalized from British mainstream culture and condemned it to a desperate fate. Although Graham's work covers a wealth of material, it does not discuss the emergence and rise of Scottish nationalism. However, H.J. Hanham's book entitled *Scottish Nationalism* is entirely dedicated to this very subject. Hanham's work describes the rise of Scottish nationalism, including its influence on the modern identity of all Scots and the struggle for independence. Although briefly addressed in Graham's work, the Highland clearances are more appropriately evaluated in J.M. Bumstead's book entitled *The Peoples' Clearances*. This significant event in Scottish history forever altered the fate of Scots. An understanding of the clearances, including origins and outcomes, is significant to this study only for contextual information. A major component of this work also concentrates on emigration. This section is of particular interest because it not only outlines the details regarding emigration (who, where, and when), but it also attempts to analyze the state of mind of the émigrés before leaving their communities and embarking abroad. A fundamental knowledge of the Highland clearances and the successive
emigration, as well as other key events in Scottish history, although peripheral to the thesis of this study, are important to attain some insight into the lives of the people that would eventually settle in Canada and other destinations.

Scottish Culture and Tradition

In 1997, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger released a controversial book entitled *The Invention of Tradition*. The work offers some interesting hypotheses regarding the origins of Scottish culture. The book explores Scottish history and the process of invention. Although the work’s content may aggravate or delight depending upon your perspective, it certainly raises a number of questions regarding the role of ritual and symbolism in contemporary history. The authors argue that the many symbols that represent Scottish culture, contrary to popular belief, are relatively recent inventions. At times their arguments appear less than solid, but this book surely addresses the intricate relationship between the past and present. Understanding the content of this work, including the creation of Scottish traditions and counter-traditions, provides the researcher with an alternative perspective from which to evaluate Scottish culture and the reproduction thereof.

Grant Jarvie is among the list of Scottish historians who has published work that directly refutes much of the content of *The Invention of Tradition*. Very few works provide a more comprehensive account of certain aspects of Scottish culture than Jarvie’s *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth*. This seminal work puts the Highland Games into a sociological, historical, and cultural context. The Highland Games, which have become such a significant factor in the construction of the modern Scottish identity, are
thoroughly examined in this work. From their cultural origins to their place in modern society, this book explores the nature of these cultural gatherings from a comprehensive perspective that leaves the reader with few questions unanswered. Although Jarvie effectively addresses many areas of Scottish culture and history, the work only briefly examines the development of Scottish Highland tradition outside of the mother country. With so many Scots and individuals of Scottish lineage around the globe, the celebration of Highland tradition is certainly not exclusive to bonnie Scotland. Although Jarvie’s article entitled “Sport, Parish Life, and the Émigré” addresses this issue, the significance of the Highland Gathering in North America is left unresolved. Jarvie’s attempt to examine the Scottish athletic legacy in Sport, Scotland and the Scots, however, does analyze the relationship between the Highlands and many of the regions where Scottish Highland Games are celebrated. In this brief analysis, Jarvie discusses Canada and especially Glengarry County. The section touches on the significance of the Highland festivals to the émigrés, the transplantation of Scottish culture, and even the identity of Canadians from Scottish descent.

A more in-depth analysis of Scottish culture in Canada can be found in Stanford W. Reid’s book entitled The Scottish Tradition in Canada. As one might expect from the title, this work focuses on Glengarry and other regions of early Scottish settlement. Moreover, Reid traces the presence of influential Scots from the Confederation of Canada to the modern era. Among several concepts of interest, Reid assesses the impact of early Scottish leaders on Canadian culture.
Somewhat similar to Jarvie's book addressing Scottish sporting heritage, Gerald Redmond has produced two significant works that focus on Scottish sporting exploits in North America. While Jarvie's research concentrates on Scottish sport, Redmond's works examine the influence of Scottish sport in North America. In *The Caledonian Games of Nineteenth-Century America*, Redmond principally assesses the cultural festival, including its origins, and the late nineteenth century upsurge in popularity the festivals experienced in North American culture. In *The Sporting Scots of the Nineteenth-Century*, Redmond extends his earlier efforts to include the emergence of track and field and its influence on North America's version of the Highland Games. Both works provide insight into how, where, and why the Highland festivals and gatherings developed in many communities in North America.

**Historical Perspectives: Glengarry County**

The history of Glengarry County, Ontario, is as diverse and storied as any in Canada. As briefly outlined in Chapter I, Glengarry played a significant role in the political and social development of Ontario throughout much of the nineteenth century. Perhaps resulting from its pivotal role in the early development of the province, there is a wealth of historical research published about the county and its surrounding area. John Harkness' publication, *A History of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry*, is a historical overview of the Three United Counties. This work highlights key events and influential political figures over the last two centuries. Similar to Harkness' publication, Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross have produced a very well researched book entitled *A History of Glengarry*. Along with treatment of the local history and geography, this work
seems to offer a different perspective. The two local historians both originate from the county and, as a result, they offer unique insight into the lives of the people of Glengarry. In particular, *A History of Glengarry* provides insight regarding the social conditions from which the GSHG emerged. MacGillivray and Ross precisely develop the economic, political, and cultural rise of Franco-Ontarians and other significant changes in Glengarry just prior to the revival of the modern Glengarry Games. The evidence that this book provides regarding the dynamic social conditions in Glengarry County prior to the games is essential to the thesis of this study.

Royce MacGillivray has also published several other significant works covering Glengarry history. *The Mind of Ontario*, published in 1985, traces the agricultural history of the province. MacGillivray also acknowledges the emergence of antimodernist sentiment as the province was rapidly transformed from a mainly rural to an urban setting. Although MacGillivray focuses on the entire province in this work, the majority of his examples are taken directly from Glengarry County. In 1990, MacGillivray published another book entitled *The Slopes of the Andes*. Despite the misleading title, the work documents the history of Glengarry County from the pioneer frontier to the modern urbanization era. As well as discussing all factors concerning the rise of the Franco-Ontarian population within the county, MacGillivray also alludes to the impact of urbanization and modernity on the folk tradition of the county.

Some of the more contemporary history of the Three United Counties has been written by local researchers Clive and Frances Marin. Their comprehensive book entitled *Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry 1945-1978*, directly aided this study. In particular, the
sections on the development of the tourism industry and on government politics contributed to this thesis.

In contrast to drawing attention to the history and geography of Glengarry County itself, *Sketches of Glengarry in Canada*, a book written by J.A. MacDonell, puts Glengarry into a national and international perspective. MacDonell refers to Glengarry's role in war and politics at a federal level. The book details the mass migration of young Glengarry men during the turn of the twentieth century and Glengarry's contribution to both the Boer War and WWI. This book also provides support for the thesis of this study by documenting the decline of the Scottish population in Glengarry.

David M. Rayside is another academic from the local region who has contributed to the working body of knowledge about Glengarry County and its residents. His book entitled *A Small Town in Modern Times*, is a comprehensive analysis of Alexandria, the largest town in the county. This book, which is based on extensive archival work and oral interviews, examines the power relations, community politics, and social life of Glengarry County. The work provides concrete support for the thesis presented in this study. Of particular importance, are Rayside's documentation of language and culture conflicts between French and English Glengarrians and his evaluation of the impact of modernity on the county's way-of-life.

Although not entirely germane to the thesis of this study, perhaps one of the most significant historical works written about Glengarry County is Marianne McLean's comprehensive book entitled *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*. This work traces the path of many Glengarry residents from their origins to their
eventual settlement in Canada. This 1991 publication, asks many questions regarding the identity of Glengarrians: what did the Highlanders preserve of their Scottish identity? How did the Glengarry Highlanders preserve their identity? When and how did the people of Glengarry come to associate themselves with Canadian culture? Although the author extensively covers the emigration experience of the Glengarry Scots, many of the questions she asks remain unanswered. The author’s research provides the foundation upon which many of the questions regarding the cultural identity of Glengarrians may be addressed. Although McLean only briefly mentions the Glengarry Highland Games in this work, she alludes to the overwhelming cultural influence but does not clearly draw any conclusions. McLean’s thorough research has provided a detailed account of the experiences of the Glengarry immigrants and has consequently chronicled an important part of the county’s cultural heritage.

Resulting from the renowned history of Glengarry County, several authors have written novels about this area of Eastern Ontario. The most famous of these authors is Ralph Connor, a Presbyterian Minister whose novels, *The Man from Glengarry* and *Glengarry School Days*, sold millions of copies across North America.² Perhaps not as well known, but worthy of mention, are the works of Dorothy Dumbrille. Her publications *All This Difference* (1945) and *Up and Down the Glens* (1954) focus on Glengarry history, specifically Franco-Ontarian and Scottish relations in the early period of the twentieth century. These novels, as well as perpetuating a great literary tradition, provide unique insight into the lives of Glengarry residents in this dynamic period of the county’s history.
Cultural Perspectives: Glengarry County

Glengarry County's cultural heritage has been well researched and recorded over the last century. Of these works, those dedicated to the description and exploration of Glengarry's cultural past have been of significance to the researcher. Not surprisingly, Scottish recreation and culture are the topic of many of these works. Bonnie Laing, the niece of Peter MacInnes, one of the Glengarry Games' revivalists, has published a booklet rich in detail entitled *Fifty Years of the Glengarry Highland Games*. Encompassing the modern period of the Glengarry Highland Games, this publication concentrates on the games from 1948 to the present. John Barett's, *The Glengarry Highland Games*, is a recent work covering the entire history of the Highland Games in Glengarry. This 2001 publication includes key figures that have influenced the Highland celebration in Glengarry since its inception.

As well as the literature pertaining directly to the games themselves, much has also been written about the events that form a major component of the games in Glengarry. The bagpipes have always been an integral part of the Glengarry Highland Games and subsequently Glengarry culture. Winona MacGregor and Rhonda MacInnes have produced a solid history of piping in the county and its surrounding area. The book, *The History of Piping in Glengarry*, delineates all of the county's piping organizations and celebrates its many champions. According to the authors, the Highland Games and the many piping organizations ensure that the musical influence of the Scots is alive and well in Glengarry. A newer book entitled *The Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming: A History*, is a useful adjunct to MacGregor and MacInnes' earlier efforts.
Kenneth McKinnan’s book entitled *Glengarry Highland Paths* is another work written about the Scottish heritage of the county. This book traces Glengarry’s history and folklore. Focusing on Glengarry’s Scottish tradition, the work discusses the history of traditional dress, the bagpipes, along with the prevalent family names in the county.

From the heavy events to soccer and rugby, Glengarrians take pride in their illustrious sporting heritage. Since the time when Highland heavy event athletes reigned supreme, until today, when soccer has become the sport of choice for many Glengarrians, athletic competition has always been an attraction for the residents. The early exploits of Glengarry’s famous heavy event champion Roderick McLennan, for example, have been well documented by a number of historians and sport enthusiasts alike. Greg Gillespie’s article entitled “Roderick McLennan, Professionalism, and the emergence of the athlete in Caledonian Games,” documents the life of McLennan including his athletic exploits and eventual role in local politics and community development. Joan MacSweyn’s 1999 publication entitled *Glengarry’s Game* is a comprehensive examination of the county’s soccer history. MacSweyn highlights all the organizations and individuals that have led to the successful development of the sport in the county. The detailed analysis of this aspect of Glengarry’s sporting history is indicative of the interest and pride Glengarrians have in their sporting legacy. A great deal of this sporting heritage is preserved in the Glengarry Sports Hall of Fame located in the town of Maxville, Ontario.

**Theoretical Foundation**

For the purpose of this analysis, the relevant theoretical works will be divided into three separate categories: (1) cultural production and reproduction; (2) identity; and (3)
ethnicity. Cultural theory is a field that is as diverse as it is vast. Depending upon the
body of knowledge being produced by various researchers, the theory of culture has, over
time, had different emphasis. The stress that had previously been placed on the
determination of culture has been displaced. The emphasis since the 1980s has been on
the action of culture. The perception of culture as a practice, which almost always
interacts with social, political, and economical influences, has become the focus. Culture
is shaping the influences as well as being shaped by them. Raymond Williams has
played an integral role in the development of culture as a theoretical concept. His
definition of culture is central to this study. Williams’ views culture as a “set of practices
through which men and women actively respond to the conditions of their social
existence, creatively fashioning experienced social relationships into diverse and
structured patterns of living, thinking, and feeling.” In this definition, culture is weaved
through all of society’s social practices and becomes the result of their interaction.
Williams’ 1981 book entitled The Sociology of Culture is a seminal work in cultural
theory. The work thoroughly discusses the production and reproduction of culture. H.K.
Bhabha’s The Location of Culture is another significant work that introduces a number of
interesting concepts of cultural production and reproduction. Bhabha’s ‘cultural chowder’
theory is germane to some aspects of the explanation of cultural production in Glengarry
County.

Along with the work of Williams and Bhabha, a number of other authors have
contributed to the theories of cultural production and reproduction. In 1973, the theory of
cultural reproduction was first established by Frenchman Pierre Bourdieu. His concepts
of ‘cultural capital’ and ‘habitus’ have become fundamental to the field and have been referenced by many authors. Chris Jenks is one of the authors that have supported, while at the same time refuted, much of Bourdieu’s work. Jenks has edited two significant works of cultural theory. The first one entitled *Cultural Reproduction* published in 1993, develops numerous theories of cultural reproduction and refers to consumption and the necessity of tradition. His second work, published a decade later, entitled *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, includes essays on the concepts of cultural reproduction, social reproduction, subcultures, and style. Dick Hebdige, Richard Jenkins, and Pierre Bourdieu all contributed to this 2003 work. Another collaborative work that has been significant in shaping the researcher’s perspective on cultural theory is entitled *The Cultural Studies Reader*. Published in 1993, this work edited by Simon During, surveys the history and development of cultural studies. The book also presents several influential and innovative essays on diverse aspects of cultural theory.

In 1993, Edward W. Said produced a significant work entitled *Culture and Imperialism*. Although the book focuses on the Western empire’s imperial conquests and their influence on world culture, the theories of conformity and resistance that mark most cultural struggles are a component of this work. The theory of culture, including cultural production and reproduction, is the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life. In order to critically examine the details regarding the reproduction of Highland Scottish culture in Canada, it is essential to have a strong foundation in cultural theory.
Although difficult to classify as a work of cultural reproduction, Anthony Giddens’ publication *The Constitution of Society*, has offered a new perspective on social thought. This book has partly shaped the researcher’s perspective of culture and contemporary social theory. In particular, Giddens’ explanation of his structuration theory, including structure, agency, and the duality of structure have all been helpful in interpreting the impact of the GSHG and affiliated cultural organizations on the region’s culture climate. Moreover, Giddens’ concept of the duality of structure has formed an important theoretical component of this study.

The concept of identity has been well developed by a number of key works. Benedict Anderson’s 1991 book entitled *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* emphasizes nationalism and its infinity. The work highlights the role of media in the spread of nationalism and identity. Edited by Emmanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, consists of numerous essays that refer to the role of race, nationalism, and class in constructing a social identity for all individuals. Perhaps more directly applicable to this project, Sharon MacDonald’s books entitled *Reimagining Culture: History, Identities, and the Gaelic Renaissance* and *Inside European Identities: ethnography in Western Europe*, explore Gaelic identity and the proliferation of Gaelic culture throughout the world. Of particular interest to the researcher is the development of the North American Gaelic identity.

Also relevant to this study of Glengarry County is the formation of Franco-Ontarian identities. Christine Dallaire’s 2002 article entitled “Minority Francophone Youth in Canada: Reproducing Francophoness as a Component of Hybrid Identities”
examines francophone identity in Canada. Her work with francophone youth has offered some insight into how Canadian identity is created and recreated. Hybridity is a concept that appropriately describes contemporary Canadian youth identities. Dallaire found that francophone youth identify with more than one ethnic label. Depending on the community examined, differing hybrid identities were produced. Along with evaluating how this age cohort perceives Canadian identity, this study is also relevant when analyzing the youth of Glengarry because of the strong Franco-Ontarian lineage within the county.

Raymond Williams’ 1973 publication *The Country and City* became a significant book examining identity as a social process in both rural and urban settings. This book provided insight into how the concept of identity may be influenced by modernism and other changing social conditions. Ian McKay’s book entitled *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia*, is also pertinent to the analysis of Glengarry County. McKay reveals how Nova Scotia’s tourism industry and cultural producers refashioned the cultural identity of the region. This intense process of cultural selection was partly motivated by antimodernist sentiment, which rejected urban values and lifestyle. This compelling book has been significant in forming the researcher’s perception of how modernity and tourism have impacted the culture, including the Highland Games in Glengarry County. Furthermore, Colin D. Howell’s article entitled “Borderlands, Baselines, and Bearhunters: Conceptualizing the Northeast as a Sporting Region in the Interwar Period,” has also aided the analysis of this thesis. Similar to several regions in the Maritimes, Glengarry County can be classified as
an atypical borderland region. Perhaps most germane to this study, Howell examines the impact of sporting events on regional identity and how identity can be shaped across borderland regions. Understanding the theoretical concept of identity is crucial to evaluating why and how the Highland Games in Glengarry are constructed and maintained.

Closely related to identity is the concept of ethnicity. Comprehending ethnicity as a theoretical construct is also significant for this study. Frederik Barth’s 1996 article in a book entitled *Ethnicity Anthropological Constructs*, develops the issue of ethnicity and boundaries. Barth discusses how ethnicity may continually evolve in individuals and communities overtime. Barth believes that ethnicity as a social construct is manufactured by experience and the influence of the environment. Supporting Barth’s ideas of ethnicity as an evolving concept that is often influenced and changed is Victoria Paraschak’s 2002 article entitled “Explorations of Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Sport.” Paraschak believes ethnicity includes all aspects of an individual’s identity, including behavioral characteristics as well as cultural heritage. Furthermore, she also explores the influence of class and social status on ethnicity.

Richard Jenkins 1997 book entitled *Rethinking Ethnicity* is a seminal work on the subject of ethnicity. Jenkins reassesses the concept of ethnicity by critically examining power relations and social categorization. Jenkins evaluates race, religion, class, and language in order to exhibit the fluidity of ethnic identification. Understanding his analysis is essential for the interpretation of any multicultural society, including Glengarry County. Kalbach and Kalbach’s book entitled *Perspectives on Ethnicity in*...
Canada is an excellent source that puts ethnicity as a theoretical construct into a multicultural Canadian perspective. This source is of particular use when investigating how and why ethnic identification differs from place to place in Canada. Comprehending ethnicity is important when evaluating the ethnic identification of people from a specific geographic region - as in Glengarry County.

A strong theoretical foundation in cultural production and reproduction, identity, and ethnicity is imperative to the critical examination of the people and culture of Glengarry County, Ontario. Although it may be adequate to relive history by relying on retrieved records, in order to critically investigate the people and the process, theoretical support is a necessity for this historical analysis.

Direction of the Study

In an effort to analyze the thesis and sub-thesis questions as outlined above, a number of research directions are addressed. An investigation of three specific areas: (1) In order to address the thesis, it is crucial to examine the antecedents of this cultural phenomenon, along with the origins of this distinct community, of particular significance are the social, political, and cultural conditions that led to the 1948 revival of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games; (2) An examination of the growth of the games in Glengarry and the corresponding expansion and proliferation of Scottish culture within the county, including the institutions or agents responsible for the perpetuation of Scottish culture; and (3) An analysis of the significance of this Scottish festival in a modern Glengarry context. This analysis has specifically assessed the games' influence in
shaping the cultural identity of Glengarry residents and the presence of the festival within a modern diverse community.

Various levels of investigation were utilized to effectively explore the delineated areas of research. This analysis was conducted from three specific levels: First, the key personalities and significant individuals involved in the production and reproduction of Scottish culture within the county were identified and their contributions assessed. Second, all agencies and institutions involved at any level with the Glengarry Games and the consequential promotion of the Scottish culture were also identified and examined, including the structure and process of interaction between agencies. Lastly, the forces outside of institutions, such as changes of opinion, ideology, and national or international circumstances were evaluated. Although it is often difficult to contend that these forces are of significance, they were appropriately considered and analyzed. The results stemming from a thorough examination of these three levels have identified the historically significant and currently active influences on the Glengarry Highland Games and the promotion of Scottish culture within the county.

Limitations

There are a few limitations that have affected this study. Although it is possible to examine Glengarry County census information up to 2002, the county’s census information regarding ethnicity has not been recorded since 1976. Even though all the current census information has documented the first language of all Glengarry residents, thus allowing some inferences to be made from this data, there is no conclusive evidence concerning Glengarry County’s current ethnic distribution. A terrible fire at St. Raphael's...
church has destroyed some of the county's early historic records and, as a result, limited what researchers may extract from the early period of settlement in Glengarry (1780-1810). As a result of deficient record keeping, it is undetermined when the first Highland celebration took place within the county. It is also difficult to establish what events actually took place at the county's early Scottish gatherings. It remains to be seen whether the small festivals directly resembled the highland gatherings in Scotland of the same period or whether the Caledonian version incorporated new events, as was seen in many American festivals at this time.

**Delimitations**

Although the origins, including immigration and settlement, of the Glengarry Scotch have been incorporated into the study to provide context for the argument, this study will focus on the revival and expansion of the modern Glengarry Highland Games. While some details surrounding the emergence of Highland tradition in Glengarry, including the early Highland Gatherings, will be discussed, the primary focus of the study is Glengarry County from 1870 until the beginning of the twentieth-first century.

Various archives and interviews with key individuals have been utilized to form the basis of the primary evidence for this study. The researcher has decided to exclude surveys and questionnaires as research tools - the results of the study have been considered accordingly. The residents of Glengarry County are a tightly knit group and the majority of the individuals interviewed were from the same age cohort (55 to 75 years of age). Surveys and questionnaires were not identified as the most appropriate or
effective research tool for extracting information from this unique group of Glengarry residents.

Data Collection

For the purposes of this scholarly initiative, there are numerous sources of primary information that were reviewed. These sources include: The National Archives of Canada; The Glengarry Visitor Centre; The Glengarry Sports Hall of Fame; The Sir John Johnson House, also known as the Glengarry Archives; The Bethune Thompson House; personal interviews; and various newspaper holdings. These sources will be further outlined in the forthcoming paragraphs.

The National Archives of Canada in Ottawa holds information pertaining to the political, social, and cultural conditions of Glengarry County prior to the turn of the twentieth century. This period of development was important to evaluate in order to assess the early to mid-twentieth century changes in Glengarry. The development and expansion of Franco-Ontarian organizations were of particular importance.

The Glengarry Visitor Centre in Invergarry, Scotland maintains a wealth of immigration records regarding the destinations of the majority of its past residents. Perhaps more germane to this study is the fact that the centre also provides the details of the social and political history of Inverness-shire, Scotland. This information indicates emigration patterns and links the fabled Glen to the eventual settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence River. This provided a unique insight into the lives of some of Glengarry, Canada's first settlers. Included in this information was the state of mind, ideology, and expectations of the early settlers. Although the information attained from
this archive was not germane to the thesis of this study, it provided some in-depth contextual information for this study.

The Glengarry Sports Hall of Fame is located in Maxville, Ontario. Along with hosting the modern rendition of the Glengarry Games, the town also features one of the county’s most significant archives. This archive contains information regarding Glengarry’s sporting legacy, including significant athletes, sport profiles, and records of the county’s most successful sporting event – the Glengarry Highland Games. Most importantly, this archive has provided some insight into the origins and development of the modern Glengarry Games.

The Sir John Johnson Manor House or the Glengarry Archives, which was declared a National Historic Site in 1961, is located in Williamstown, Ontario. This historic building was the residence of famous UEL Sir John Johnson from 1784-1792. Located on the banks of the Raison River, the Manor House holds all of the county’s land and church records from 1880 to the present. This building has become a popular destination for anyone interested in tracing his or her own genealogy within the region. The Manor House records include all of the county’s birth and death records for the same period. Among other research of value to this study, the transfer of land from Scottish to Franco-Ontarian proprietors has been traced from this archive.

The Bethune Thompson House is also located in the historic village of Williamstown. This archive holds all official records concerning the Glengarry Historic Society and also comprises some of the county’s earliest records, most of which are concerning the North West Company and the fur trade. This archive was mostly of use
when examining the Glengarry Historical Society – one of the county’s most important cultural institutions in support of Scottish tradition.

Oral histories form a crucial component of this study. As a result of interviewing key agents of past and present Glengarry Highland Games committees along with individuals representing other significant aspects of Glengarry culture and tradition, a number of areas have been investigated that do not exist in printed forms. This analysis has included a number of interviews focusing on the origins of the modern Highland Games in Glengarry, the expansion of organizations supporting the development of Scottish culture within the county, and the importance of the games to the community (see Appendix E).

Interviews, which undoubtedly represent the most common source of data in qualitative research, formed an integral aspect of this study. Both personal and telephone interviews were utilized within this study. All interviews consisted of both open-ended and structured questions. Structured questions were utilized as some questions were determined before the interview, but open-ended questions were also of importance as the type of follow-up questions varied considerable depending upon the individuals’ responses and their knowledge of a particular topic.9

Local newspapers were also of some importance to this study. The Glengarry News (archive located in Alexandria, Ontario), and The Standard Freeholder (archive located in Cornwall, Ontario), are local newspaper publications that have documented the games. Both newspapers annually dedicate special sections to the Glengarry Games. In the 1970s, larger metropolitan newspapers, including the Ottawa Sun (archive located in
Ottawa, Ontario), also began printing articles on the Glengarry Games. This newspaper was of use when analyzing the expansion of the cultural festival within the last twenty years. All newspaper archives were evaluated in a similar method. Articles examining the Glengarry Games during a two-week annual period surrounding the GSHG and also in the 'year in review' sections published at the end of December and the beginning of January of each respective year were focused on. Newspaper archives contributed an interesting element to this study.

**Data Analysis**

Upon completion of the data collection from the sources previously outlined, the data was grouped into a number of sections. The information was chronologically organized into three distinct time periods. The first period encompassed information providing background or a foundation to the argument. This includes any and all information leading up to the turn of the twentieth century. Incorporated in this section were sources pertaining to Scottish culture and historical background, immigration to Glengarry, and early Glengarry history. The second period of information included all sources concerning the origins of the modern Glengarry Highland Games. This section comprised sources defining the social, political, and cultural conditions of the early 1900s to the 1940s. The third chronological time period began in 1948 and progressed until the modern era. The information within this section included sources relating to the growth and expansion of Scottish culture and its current position within the county.

Following the chronological categorization of data, all information within each section was further divided in order to align with the corresponding levels of
methodological investigation. The first section consisted of sources concerning key cultural agents. Rae MacCulloch, who has taught Scottish Highland dancing in the county for over forty years, is an example of a key agent. The second section consisted of agencies or institutions involved with the games and the expansion of Scottish culture in Glengarry. This encompassed organizations such as the Glengarry Pipe Band and the Glengarry Historical Society. The third section included all sources referring to general trends and changes of ideology or opinion. This section included sources concerning issues such as antimodernism and the rise of Franco-Ontarian identity in Eastern Ontario.

The data collection and analysis of the proposed material has provided the researcher with sufficient evidence to address the thesis and sub-thesis previously outlined. A thorough review of the primary and secondary sources summarized, which include relevant literature, archives, newspapers, and interviews, has helped illuminate some of the finer details regarding the genesis and evolution of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games.

Endnotes

1 Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). Antimodernism, for the purposes of this study, can be defined as a rejection of not only the ideals of
modernism, but also the changes associated with the modernism movement. In particular, technological developments and social changes correlated with urbanization and industrialization.

2 Charles Gordon published under the pen name of Ralph Connor for the majority of his career.


4 Ibid., p. 10.

5 H.K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 219. The cultural theory of the 'melting pot' has been debunked by Bhabha’s theory of a ‘cultural chowder.’ Unlike the melting pot where minority cultures are assimilated into the mainstream, the ‘cultural chowder’ theory suggests that although most of the ingredients melt (assimilation does occur), some stubborn chunks (or some cultural practices) are condemned to float. These stubborn chunks remain intact and form the basis from which some minority groups reproduce their culture outside of the mainstream.


8 Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross, *A History of Glengarry* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), p. 209. St. Raphaels Roman Catholic church was finished in 1802. It was the only Catholic congregation in Glengarry from 1786-1833. After a terrible fire in 1970, little remains of the historical church at St. Raphaels. The fire not only claimed one of Glengarry’s earliest religious monuments, but the fire also took some of Glengarry County’s early historical records.

Chapter III

The 1948 Revival of the Glengarry Scottish Highland Games

As outlined, this chapter is intended to acknowledge and examine the dynamic period of change that characterized Glengarry County from the mid-nineteenth century until 1948. This analysis will assess the conditions from which the revival of the GSHG materialized. In the summer of 1948, the Glengarry Games were successfully revived and began to form an integral component of the county’s cultural life. This chapter addresses two main questions: (1) What factors contributed to the revival of the GSHG?; and (2) why was 1948 chosen as the apposite date to initiate the revival of this cultural festival? Any attempt to pursue the outlined questions would certainly require a multifaceted response. This chapter will encompass an analysis of the changes in Glengarry County’s population distribution, economic and political environment, cultural expression, and perhaps most importantly ideology, from the mid-nineteenth century leading up to and including the 1948 revival of the Glengarry Games. In the previous sections, selected contextual information was provided regarding the origins and early formation of a unique community in Glengarry County until the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter will begin from this point and chronologically progress until the revival period.

The Transformation of the Old Order: Changes in Population Distribution

As previously established, the Highland presence in Glengarry culture became an inherent feature resulting from the early European settlement of the county. This Highland character persisted throughout the nineteenth century. In 1871, the year British
Columbia joined Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in the Confederation of Canada, 15,899 (77%) out of the 20,524 Glengarrians were of Scottish descent. Along with the high percentage of individuals of Scottish lineage, over 2,100 (10%) of the Scottish population in Glengarry were born in the mother country.¹

Although French Canadians did inhabit some parts of Glengarry County as early as 1806, their numbers were considerably low in comparison to the dominant population of the Scots.²

Following the Confederation of Canada on 1 July 1867, the cultural distribution in Glengarry began to change. Most notably, the Franco-Ontarian population in Glengarry started to steadily rise and, correspondingly, the traditional Scottish population began to decline.³ Historians have identified a number of contributory factors to the change in Glengarry’s population distribution. As well as being fundamental to the revival of the modern Glengarry Highland Games, the decline of the Scottish population and the rise of Glengarry’s Franco-Ontarian community are some of the most significant cultural transformations in the history of the county.⁴

Although the urbanization movement touched Glengarry with the arrival of the Grand Trunk Railway in the town of Lancaster in 1855, Glengarry remained almost entirely an agricultural community until the early part of the twentieth century. In 1871, the only evidence of small business in the county is in the form of twenty-one carriage-making establishments, eighteen saw mills, fourteen tanneries, eight flour and grist mills, two cheese factories, and one brickyard. Only a relatively minute percentage of the county’s residents were employed by any of these industries. In 1884, a local newspaper
was probably accurate in stating that “the people of Glengarry are almost exclusively farmers, with just so many of the other trades and professions as are necessary to minister to the necessities of those farmers.” It is clear that very few businesses existed outside of the realm of the local agriculture and related services.

Resulting mainly from the lack of employment opportunity within the county, commencing in 1880, particularly the young male population began to pursue employment in other more prosperous regions of the continent. During this period Western Canada became a popular destination. Many Glengarry residents from 1870-1900 left the county for the developing city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Saskatchewan and Alberta also were popular destinations. In addition, a number of localities within the United States attracted Glengarry residents. In particular, a plethora of opportunities in Michigan, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and California, encouraged the migration of Glengarry’s youth. Much to the chagrin to the county’s elder residents, some of the youth within the region ironically returned to the nation that their forefathers had been exiled from just over a century earlier. Many Glengarrians, especially those from UEL ancestry, still held deep resentment of all things American well into the twentieth century. The stories of the UEL settlers’ banishment from the Mohawk Valley, in what is currently New York State, and the many battles that had been fought in resistance to American aggression resonated for several generations. Although the pursuit of employment may have initiated the migration of many of the traditional Scottish families, the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the perpetuation of the paradigm of a significant migration trend.
At the turn of the twentieth century, another development resulted in the decline of the county’s young male residents. Both the Boer War (1899-1902) and WWI (1914-1918) saw many young Glengarry men depart their homes for battle in a foreign land. In particular, young male residents of Scottish descent represented Glengarry in these conflicts. Highland Scottish men were sought from the prominent Glengarry Fencibles to fight abroad. Resulting from their participation in the 1812-1813 mêlée against the Americans, the Glengarry Fencibles had become renowned for their loyalty and courage on the battlefield. Between 1901 and 1911, forty percent of the young male population between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine left Glengarry.8 As a result of their Scottish lineage, many of these young men were excited at the opportunity to renew their family’s connection with the British Empire. Hundreds of young Glengarry men enlisted in the British-Canadian forces and traveled overseas to fight for the crown.

As in Quebec, the young male Franco-Ontarian population remained somewhat apprehensive about joining the British ranks in the war effort.9 Although it appears that earlier historical accounts have underestimated the role that Franco-Ontarian men played in these international conflicts, it is clear that a much higher percentage of the Glengarry men that participated were of Scottish lineage.10

The death toll resulting from WWI partly explained the decline of the Scottish population in Glengarry. The young men from Glengarry’s villages played their part in WWI and subsequently paid their share for the price of victory. Over one percent of Glengarry’s population was lost in the war. The majority of the casualties were young Glengarry men of Scottish descent.11 Just prior to the beginning of WWI, a major shift in
population distribution had already occurred in Glengarry County. The Franco-Ontarian population of the county had experienced considerable growth. In 1901, the Franco-Ontarian population had grown to 7,219 (33%). By 1911, the Franco-Ontarian population again rose to 8,710 (41%). In direct contrast, the Scottish population of the county had deteriorated from a high of 15,899 (77%) in 1871, to 10,484 (49.5%) in 1911. From the Confederation of Canada until WWI the Franco-Ontarian population “rose from a small minority to a large one.” The conditions after WWI would do little to retard the drastic changes in the county’s population distribution. The decline of the Glengarry Scotch would persist and transformation would continue to mark the county in the forthcoming decades.

Upon the return from the world’s conflicts, the fortunate Glengarry soldiers had few employment options within the county. During the peaceful interlude that marked the period between WWI and the depression, many Glengarrians continued to migrate to Western Canada and the United States when work became scarce. Also during this period, Glengarry residents began to migrate to the large metropolitan center of Montréal and the smaller local developing city of Cornwall. In the 1920s, Glengarry was mainly a stagnate agricultural community. Its grist, flour, and sawmills offered little to the young man and woman for alternative employment. The only realistic option to farming was to migrate to more developed or industrialized regions. As such, much of the younger generation in Glengarry moved to more prosperous communities between 1920 and 1930.
The depression, which surfaced in Glengarry in 1929, did little to encourage the youth of the county to remain on the farms. In the early 1930s, unemployment rates within the county drastically increased and the industrial center that had materialized in Alexandria (the county's largest town) in the first two decades of the twentieth century had disappeared. Any hope of opportunity among Glengarry youth had surely dwindled prior to 1940. By the time the news of WWII arrived in Glengarry, the county had already been battered by a decade of severe depression. Again the county's young men and some young women enthusiastically enlisted in support of the allied forces. As a consequence of the war's casualties and the lack of opportunity that subsisted in Glengarry following the war, few of these soldiers ever returned to the county.

In the county census of 1941, the traditionally dominant Scottish population had plummeted to 6,298 (33.5%). Just prior to WWII, the Scots that seventy years earlier had formed 15,899 (77%) of the population, had become a minority in all seven municipalities of Glengarry County. Not only did the world wars and migration diminish the Scottish population, but lower birth rates were also a factor in the decline of the Scot in Glengarry. "By the 1940s, any young Scot could congratulate himself that he had performed an improbable feat by getting born at all," concluded Royce MacGillivray.

Occurring in tandem with the decline of the Scotch in Glengarry County was the rise of the Franco-Ontarian population. By 1941, the last census to be taken prior to the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games in 1948, the Franco-Ontarian population had risen to 10,069 (53%) residents, a clear majority in the county. As one might expect,
the sweeping changes in the county’s cultural distribution from the Confederation of Canada until WWII were accompanied by several other transformations in Glengarry way-of-life. The dramatic shift in cultural distribution became a catalyst for change in many aspects of Glengarry culture.

Population distribution based on ethnicity in Glengarry County, Ontario (1852-1976)

Perhaps more compelling than the rise of the Franco-Ontarian population in Glengarry after the turn of the twentieth century, is the apparent growth of the Franco-Ontarian influence within the county. In increasing numbers, Franco-Ontarians began to appear in many of the county’s positions of influence. The traditional hegemony of the
county began to shift in a manner that more accurately reflected the population
distribution. As Franco-Ontarians began to occupy influential positions, the traditional
power relations were altered. This transference of power within Glengarry County
signified the presence of the new emerging dominant majority.\(^{19}\)

**The Economy of Glengarry County 1880-1948: Industry and Agriculture**

In few other components of society is the transfer of power more evident than in the county's economies. The economic achievements of the Franco-Ontarian population in the first three decades of the twentieth century were especially impressive. Although the Scottish population had almost complete control of the limited manufacturing that did exist in the nineteenth century, the emergence of the Franco-Ontarian population was also prevalent in business and industry sectors. As previously mentioned, few industries prospered in Glengarry during this early period, but of those that did survive the depression, almost all were owned by Franco-Ontarians. In a 1928 speech, just prior to the onset of the depression, it was declared that "the industries and trade of the county belong in large part to the French Canadians."\(^{20}\) Throughout the duration of the depression and the prosperous years that ensued in the 1940s and 1950s, the overwhelming majority of the county's industry and trade were controlled by the francophone population.\(^{21}\) A growing influential community of Franco-Ontarian businessmen had emerged during this period and this cohort would have significant implications later in the century as several of the county's towns developed into modern urbanized centers.
Similar to the industry and trade of the county, Franco-Ontarians also impacted the agricultural community that had for generations been dominated by the Scots. Previously discussed was the impact of the world wars and the growing number of Scottish residents who migrated to more prosperous regions beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and progressing through to the 1940s. Many farms that had been for several generations in the same Highland family were jeopardized because of poor farming conditions, low crop sale prices, and most importantly, the lack of an heir to take on the responsibility. As young Scots left Glengarry, their relatives had few options but to eventually sell their traditional farms when they could no longer manage them. During this period old Scottish farms were most often sold to Franco-Ontarian families.  

The following quote in the 1939 *Dalhousie Review*, written by a Presbyterian minister from Glengarry, denotes the significant transfer of agrarian land to Franco-Ontarian proprietors within the county during this period. “...everyone will tell you, too, that when a farm is sold it passes to a French-Canadian family. The French-Canadian is industrious, thrifty, contented; and, what is of much importance, he has sons and daughters for help.” From 1880 to 1948, the Scottish agriculture community in Glengarry had relinquished its dominant position to the emerging Franco-Ontarian population. In Glengarry County, the Scottish farmer who had endured through generations of hardship appeared to be a dying breed. The world wars and the migration of the young Scots to other regions of the continent had left many farms in a desperate condition.

In Quebec, at the very same time, a different social pattern of migration was beginning to occur. Large Quebecois farming families had difficulty providing enough
land and subsistence to support their younger generations. As was often the case, the farms were passed on to the eldest son or in some cases divided between several heirs. Even with the partition of one large farm into several plots, sometimes many children were left without a claim. 25 The young men of the Western Quebec townships began to pursue land and farming opportunity just over the border in Glengarry County. Maurice Gauthier and thousands of other francophone Glengarrians can attribute their family’s migration to the county under these circumstances. 26

The transfer of farmland in Glengarry during the war years has remained a controversial topic throughout the history of the county. The Scottish community’s resentment of the transfer of farmland to Franco-Ontarians persisted within the county for many decades - there is evidence that it still exists in some forms even today.27 Although as previously discussed, there were several other economic and social contributory factors that were of some influence, the Scottish community resented Franco-Ontarian influence on Glengarry farmland during the war years because of the low participation rates among French Glengarrians, in comparison to their Scottish counterparts, in both the world wars. 28

Beginning in the 1920s and progressing through to the early 1950s, a schism between French and English Canadians had developed over the conscription debate that surfaced in WWI.29 The cognizance of such a broadening gap between Franco-Anglo relations was intensified in an atypical Ontario-Quebec borderland region like Glengarry County. The animosity between Anglo and Franco Canadians during this period adumbrated the emergence of the sovereignty movement in Quebec that would mark the
forthcoming decades. Dorothy Dumbrille’s 1945 novel entitled *All This Difference* offers some unique insight into French-English relations in Glengarry during this tumultuous time of dynamic change. Faced with despair and vulnerability, one of the leading Scottish characters from the novel, confides in his daughter about the possibility of losing his farm to French neighbours while his sons are away battling in WWI:

"Katie," he said, leaning forward in his seriousness, "There’s something I see coming, like rain across the field. We always thought we could keep this old Country for the Scots – a little Scotland here in Canada, but we’re losing out." She knew what he meant. Farm after farm had been bought by some French-Canadian people whose sons refused to go overseas and fight.30

By 1948, the year the GSHG were revived, the emerging Franco-Ontarian population had made significant gains in the county’s economy. The business and industry of Glengarry were almost entirely controlled by Franco-Ontarians and agriculture was being slowly transformed to include a significant French presence with the sale of each Scottish farm. The inevitable transfer of the control of land and industry to the emerging Franco-Ontarian population significantly impacted the economy of Glengarry County. The Franco-Ontarian control of the county’s economics would extend the French presence in Glengarry and further transpose the county’s traditional power relations as the Franco-Ontarian community attained a dominant position within the local society.31

**The Politics of Glengarry County 1880-1948: A Shifting Political Hegemony**

The change in the political direction of the county was as notable as the escalating Franco-Ontarian influence in Glengarry’s economy. Throughout the history of Glengarry,
the Scots proved to be effective politicians, as many of them continued their political aspirations at the provincial and national level. Some Glengarry natives held critical roles in the development of Canadian government. Included on the list of significant politicians from Glengarry is John Sandfield Macdonald, the first Premier of Ontario. The first two decades following the Confederation of Canada, Glengarry remained a Liberal stronghold under the successful leadership of John Sandfield Macdonald, and then later under his brother Donald Sandfield Macdonald. In 1878, John McLennan became the first Conservative representative Member of Parliament (M.P.) from the county. As early as 1882, four hundred Franco-Ontarian voters in Glengarry began to have an impact in the local elections for M.P. and Member of Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.). There is evidence that Glengarry's political organizers began to take notice of the French presence within the county's politics. Both Conservative representatives Donald Macmaster in 1893 and Rory McLennan in 1900 expressed their concern over the Franco-Ontarian vote prior to their election. While the Franco-Ontarian community in Glengarry was beginning to have an impact on the local political environment, no francophone would be a candidate in a Glengarry federal election until 1921, or in a Glengarry provincial election until 1934. Although the Franco-Ontarian community became an influential factor in the county's political environment prior to the turn of the twentieth century and francophone candidates appeared as early as 1921, the imbalance in political representation was not redressed until the 1940s. Scottish dominance of local politics proved to be resilient, as no francophone became a political representative of the county until after WWII.
As in most Canadian communities, the interim period directly following WWII brought many changes to Glengarry County. In the 1940s politics in Glengarry began to be transformed. The transfer of parliamentary representation of the county to the Franco-Ontarian community became one of the major political changes that characterized the late 1940s in Glengarry. In 1948, a Conservative named Osie Villeneuve, became the first Franco-Ontarian M.L.A. representative of Glengarry. One year later, William J. Major became the first francophone M.P. representative of the county as he succeeded the Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had retired from political life, including his seat in Glengarry. The late 1940s witnessed a distinct change in the political environment of Glengarry County as Franco-Ontarians began to utilize their newly established majority population to secure francophone political representation. Osie Villeneuve remained the M.L.A. representative for the provincial constituency of which Glengarry was a component of for almost thirty years. Although constantly shifting between the two major political parties within the region, since 1949 the M.P. position in Glengarry has been solely represented by Franco-Ontarians. When examining the municipal level of politics in the county’s largest town of Alexandria, Ontario, which at this time also held the highest percentage of francophone residents, a similar paradigm of Franco-Ontarian dominance is established beginning in 1916, the first time the mayoralty of the town was won by a Franco-Ontarian. From this victory onwards, most incumbent Heads of Alexandria Council have been from Franco-Ontarian lineage. Although occurring in Alexandria earlier because of the high concentration of Franco-Ontarian residents, the constituency of Glengarry County from 1948 onwards became dominated
by representation from the Franco-Ontarian community. In the very same year that the GSHG were revived, the political control of the county had been relinquished from the Scottish population to the dominant majority represented by the Franco-Ontarian community.40

Cultural Expression in Glengarry County: 1881-1948

Although population distribution, economic, and political changes characterized Glengarry in the 1940s, the cultural transformation that would accompany them would have far more significant implications regarding the revival of Scottish tradition in the county. As the Franco-Ontarian community extended their influence as the majority population in the economy and politics of the county, they also sought cultural recognition.

The only sign of a Francophone cultural institution in Glengarry prior to the twentieth century appears in 1881, with the creation of a branch of the St. Jean-Baptiste Society. In 1916, after a difficult battle with much opposition, the first French language school of Glengarry was opened in Green Valley.41 The emergence of francophone schools in Glengarry was a fundamental aspect of cultural growth and expression. These schools almost immediately formed valuable transmission belts for French language and culture that became vital to Franco-Ontarians in Glengarry because of their subordinate position within the county and the province. Many Franco-Ontarians who migrated to Glengarry before the emergence of francophone education within the county were quickly assimilated into Anglo-Scot communities. This assimilation process occurred more frequently in communities outside of Alexandria, where a significant number of
Franco-Ontarians appeared in the later quarter of the century. Assimilation of early Franco-Ontarian residents occurred most frequently in the more Anglo dominated communities of Southwestern Glengarry.\textsuperscript{42} The early Scottish-Anglo hegemony within many of the county's small towns is perhaps best exemplified by the many Franco-Ontarians that were assimilated into Anglo culture and language. As Franco-Ontarians began to constitute a majority population within the county, the assimilation rate was dramatically decreased.\textsuperscript{43} The emergence of francophone education was fundamentally one of the most important developments in lowering assimilation rates and encouraging the growth of Franco-Ontarian culture.\textsuperscript{44}

Although created shortly after WWI, numerous francophone organizations also became integral in extending the French presence and influence in the local community in the late 1940s. Among the expanding francophone cultural institutions were the Fraternité Alexandria Inc. and the la Fédération des Femmes Canadiennes Francaises.\textsuperscript{45}

The post WWII years witnessed the conception of a significant cultural institution created to preserve the French language and culture. Formed in 1948, the Richelieu Club, which is still in existence today, was partly social in nature and partly a charitable organization. Founded by professionals and businessmen, this francophone club has become instrumental in the promotion of francophone culture and language.\textsuperscript{46} Beginning mainly with the arrival of francophone education within the county and encouraged by the creation of several francophone cultural organizations, the Franco-Ontarian community in Glengarry began to actively celebrate and express their cultural traditions. Under the direction of a few key cultural agents, the majority of the community began to
acknowledge and perpetuate their francophone heritage. The year the GSHG were revived, the majority of the francophone population had undertaken a cultural resurgence that would augment their economic and political achievements within the county and secure the community within a dominant position. Only a few decades earlier Francophones had embodied a subordinate position in Glengarry and had been characterized by acquiescence of inequitable power relations within the county. By the late 1940s, the established hegemony that had been perpetuated since the arrival of the early Scots in the late eighteenth century was being overturned.

As discussed in Chapter I, Scottish tradition and culture had been overtly celebrated and documented almost immediately following the arrival of the original Highland settlers. Over the course of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Scottish culture had survived mostly in the form of Ceilidhs and other social gatherings. Although Franco-Ontarian culture has not been well documented since the arrival of francophone migrants within the county, it is contended that French culture and tradition was actively celebrated in Glengarry in the same manner as it was within the Scottish community of the same period – through gatherings and other social functions. Even though historical records indicate that Franco-Ontarian culture may have appeared from the primordial to be actively celebrated in Glengarry by the second decade of the twentieth century, presumably Franco-Ontarian culture remained latent from the mainstream perception of Glengarry culture as Franco-Ontarians were marginalized as a minority population. Their cultural practices were maintained and Franco-Ontarian tradition existed within the society dominated by the Scottish
However, when the French population achieved majority dominant status as they secured power in the form of political and economic representation, Franco-Ontarian culture became overtly and actively celebrated.

By 1948, the Scottish population of Glengarry, which now represented a minority group, also pursued the basic development and proliferation of their cultural heritage as they revived a significant Highland cultural tradition. Would it be as successful and illustrious as the Franco-Ontarian endeavours - which established a few interconnected institutions for the celebration and expression of a culture that historically held a subordinate position within the county?

**Antimodernist Sentiment: A Crisis of Identity**

Although the impact of the emerging Franco-Ontarian population in economic, political, and cultural spheres may partly account for the revival of Scottish culture within Glengarry County, another factor may have also initiated the revival of Scottish tradition. Antimodernist attitudes were prevalent in Glengarry during the first few decades of the twentieth century. As in Nova Scotia, where the response to social change was met by a loose network of cultural producers who selectively created their own distinct variant of antimodernism, the residents of Glengarry expressed their antimodernist sentiment in a similar manner. In particular, the traditional Scottish community expressed antimodernist sentiment as a popular response to the changing cultural matrix of the county. Antimodernist sentiments indicate a change of ideology in Glengarry during these years. This ideological change, fueled by antimodenist attitudes, may have partly induced the revival of the GSHG.
In the years immediately following the Confederation of Canada urbanization first arrived in Glengarry. The impact of the Grand Trunk Railroad began to generate a considerable amount of growth in especially those Glengarry villages located on or near the railway line. However, the development was short-lived and no sustained growth was apparent, but a process had begun that would inevitably change the face of the county.\

From 1880 until the outbreak of WWI a series of sweeping changes in technology and culture created distinctive new modes of thinking throughout rural North America. This period at the beginning of the twentieth century brought numerous changes to Glengarry way-of-life that permeated the ideology of the rural county. Technological advances changed the face of Glengarry as a rural county. By 1910, the automobile first appeared in Glengarry and continued to steadily increase in popularity. The more traditional Glengarry residents expressed their concern over the impact of the automobile on traditional Glengarry life. “Staid elders wondered about the effects of the new mobility on the morality of the young.” Closely related to the arrival of the automobile, was the emphasis on improving the quality of roads within the county. As WWI ensued across the Atlantic Ocean, the rural road networks were enhanced and especially the youth of the county began to travel longer distances with less and less apprehension. In the same years, telephone and other electric infrastructure spread throughout Glengarry, but it was not until the late 1940s that all residents had full access to hydro and telephone services. As early as the 1920s, ingenuous residents were constructing their own radio sets and consequently were being exposed to the influence of the outside world in the form of radio from the urban centers within proximity to the county. The changes
brought on by urbanization and technological advances in combination with the decline in the county's traditional Scottish population witnessed throughout the first two decades of the century, created an identity crisis that has been acknowledged by at least one historian:

“A simple collapse of confidence.....the Glengarrians of Scottish descent lost much of that tremendous confidence that their Victorian fathers had. The world began to seem a more complex and baffling place than before.”

In Canada, the world wars forced many Canadians to develop a new, more distinctive vocabulary of identity. In many regions, this identity was selectively formed from the local heritage and history. The world wars did little to provide stability or subdue the identity crisis that conflicted the residents of Glengarry County. The world conflicts forced many Glengarry residents to evaluate their own lives and question their own self-identification including their allegiance and affiliations – the result was the rise of conflicting discourse over nationalism and sovereignty movements. The growing dissent in the province of Quebec over conscription issues and the indignation of Anglo-Canadians resulting from low francophone participation rates in the world wars contributed to a national identity crisis that was especially entrenched in bordering communities.

Discussed earlier was the number of Glengarry soldiers lost in the world’s conflicts from 1899-1948. Perhaps more significant than the soldiers that lost their lives, was the impact of the soldiers that returned from the war, but preferred to abandon Glengarry and rural life. Similar to many rural regions of Canada, the rural depopulation
of youth in Glengarry influenced the ideology of the county during this era. The world wars also unsettled people’s ideas in Glengarry about the value of rural life. The exposure and perspective that soldiers received as a result of traveling abroad, including the impact on rural Canadian life, is comprehensively expressed in the following quote – “How can you keep them down on the farm, now that they’ve seen Paree?” The soldiers and war-workers that experienced what the world had to offer began to critically evaluate Glengarry and rural life from a different perspective. Most of the young men and women returned home with more expectations of what life should offer them. As a result, the youth of Glengarry migrated to more prosperous regions and in the process altered a way-of-life that had been perpetuated within the county for generations, dating back to the arrival of the original UEL Highland settlers.

Dynamic change, marked by the influences of urbanization, technology, and the mass rural depopulation of youth, fostered the expression of antimodernist attitudes in Glengarry during the first four decades of the twentieth century. The prevalence of antimodernist sentiment during this period is a reaction to fundamental ideological change within the county. A crisis of identity encouraged many Glengarry residents, but especially those of Scottish lineage, to covet traditional aspects of their culture. Many residents revisited their past, including their cultural history, as a response to the modernism movement which was beginning to impact their community. Changes in ideology, primarily expressed in antimodernist sentiment, convinced some residents to invest in and support the revival of Scottish tradition within the county. The GSHG, which were revived during this period, became the first and the foremost of the
investments that the Scottish community undertook in an effort to revive Glengarry’s Scottish tradition, consequently forming a response to modernism and an escalating identity crisis.

The Inaugural Glengarry Highland Games: Cultural Revivalists and Tourism

In the summer of 1947, a Glengarry resident of Scottish lineage traveled with his daughter to the Southwestern Ontario town of Embro. A Scottish Highland dancing competition was the main purpose of their trip. After experiencing the Scottish Highland Games of this region, of which the Highland dancing competition was a component, Peter MacInnis, who has been acknowledged as the ‘brainchild’ of the GSHG, was impressed by the small Scottish festival he had witnessed in Embro. Upon reflecting on his experience, he felt that the people of Glengarry, with their traditional Scottish roots, would support such a festival if someone were able to organize the affair. It was his experience in Embro that would serve as the catalyst for the revival of the Highland Games tradition in Glengarry.

After returning to Glengarry County, MacInnis, who was one of a handful of surviving pipers from the 1930s and WWII, began the process of reviving the Glengarry Highland Games. MacInnis first enlisted the practical help and advice on organizational matters of William McPherson, the long-time organizer of the Highland Games in Embro, Ontario. MacInnis’ idea seemed to have some appeal with a small group of residents within the county. Unofficially the first Glengarry Highland Games Committee (GHGC) was formed from eminent Glengarry men of business and politics. Almost all of the committee members were from notable Scottish families from the local region. With
the exception of Osie Villeneuve, whose prominence in the local political environment has already been articulated, Franco-Ontarians were not incorporated into the committee. Of the ten members involved in the original GHGC, Villeneuve was the only individual of Franco-Ontarian descent.71

The Kenyon Agricultural Society and the Maxville Chamber of Commerce agreed to aid MacInnis and the determined group he had assembled with the organization of the first annual GSHG. The support of the Board of the Kenyon Agriculture society was of particular importance to MacInnis’ endeavour to revive the Highland Games tradition in Glengarry. The society donated a fifty-acre grounds area in the northwestern edge of the county in the town of Maxville for the staging of the cultural festival.72

In the early planning of the Glengarry Highland Games a number of propositions were utilized to gain the much-needed support from the Glengarry community. It was clear from the initial preparation that in order for the cultural festival to be a success, the GHGC would have to secure the support of numerous and diverse groups from within the county. It was critical to convince all significant individuals, whether they were financial supporters or eager volunteers, of the universality of the proposed community event and its worth in the form of time and financial resource investment.73

A number of influential arguments may have persuaded the support from the community. It is clear that tourism, or the potential thereof, was an important element in gaining the espousal from the community. As previously indicated, most of the 1940s was a difficult economic period in Glengarry marked by the residue of the depression and WWII.74 Very few local attractions brought any significant amount of tourism capital to
the area. It was projected that the cultural festival would attract some tourism to the area for at least the one-day event. This was an important and persuasive benefit for any potential volunteer or investor. Moreover, the GHGC initially indicated that the cultural festival would move in ambulatory fashion throughout the county on an annual basis, consequently allowing several towns to host and share in the cultural and financial benefits of staging the event. Three towns within Glengarry were selected as prospective hosting sites, but resulting from the size of the inaugural event, in the form of participants and spectators, Maxville was deemed the only location with the proper facilities and physical room required to host the event. By emphasizing both the cultural and financial rewards of hosting such a community event, the GHGC gained the support and assistance necessary from the local community and consequently continued to plan for the event that would take place the following summer.

MacInnis and the GHGC had initiated the move to revive the Highland Games in Glengarry and restore the Highland tradition that had been dormant for so many decades. After almost a year of planning and organization, the event seemed to come together with the unanimous support and collaboration of the community. In the following summer, in Maxville, the Scottish Highland Games returned to Glengarry. On 1 August 1948 over 20,000 spectators came to witness the games, the largest gathering in the history of the county. Although the committee only expected approximately 5,000 to attend, the supplies and facilities were sufficient and few left in disappointment. Music became the early focus of the Glengarry Games as eight pipe bands attended the festival in 1948. Although the traditional Scottish musical performances may have captivated the
audience’s attention, Highland dancing and heavyweight event competitions were also components of the festival. The following personal account of the 1948 GSHG provides some insight into the atmosphere and spirit of the inaugural event:

Thousands kept adding to thousands in the grounds; the raised embankment around the scene of activity grew colourful with men, women, and children, not a few in Highland dress, and all with a touch of something Scotch about them. When the individual piping and dancing competitions came to an end, an air of expectancy came over the crowd. The time had come for the first appearance on the field of the massed bands; hundreds of pipers in full regalia, playing and moving together with precision that delighted the hearts of all within sight or sound.

The impending success of the Glengarry Games in the years to come was foreseen by many, as the community rallied to plan and organize for the inaugural event, but in 1948, not even the games’ revivalists, MacInnis and the committee members, could have predicted that they were enlivening a tradition that would thrive for over half a century - a tradition that would be augmented by the development of cultural institutions that would ensure the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in the forthcoming decades.

This chapter was intended to characterize the dynamic period of change in Glengarry County from 1880-1948. During this era, the population distribution, economic and political environment, cultural expression, and ideology of Glengarry County were severely transformed. It was within the perplexity of these changing social and ideological conditions that the successful revival of the Glengarry Highland Games emerged. This revival of Scottish tradition would eventually form an important component of Glengarrian social life and identity in the years to come.
Endnotes


2 Ibid., p. 155. In an 1806 letter from Bishop Macdonell, the presence of approximately forty French families in the northern section of the county is acknowledged. By 1861, only 1,371 (6.5%) French residents lived in Glengarry. By 1886, the Franco-Ontarian population of Glengarry had risen to significant levels. In a *Toronto Mail* article, the presence of the Franco-Ontarian population in the county is once again acknowledged. The following statement refers to the French presence in Glengarry, "...this new element is already perceptibly undermining the old order of things." Ibid., p. 158.

3 Royce MacGillivray, *The Mind of Ontario* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1985), p. 94. Although Upper Canada grew up beside the French province of Lower Canada, contact between the two remained nominal until the working union of 1841. Contact increased after the Confederation of Canada in 1867. This may partly explain the increase of French migrants from Quebec in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

4 Ibid., p. 517.

5 Ibid., p. 129.


7 Although the UEL left the Mohawk Valley and arrived in Glengarry in 1784, it was not long before the War of 1812 erupted and the Americans attacked Upper Canada. The Glengarry Light Infantry group was called up for service. Glengarry soldiers fought at the key battles of Queenston Heights and Crysler's Farm. During the Rebellion of 1837, Glengarry forces were again of influence in the battle of Windmill Point at Prescott. Resulting from the constant interruption of their peaceful lives in Glengarry, a deep resentment of American aggression formed in the county during this period and persisted well into the twentieth century. Stanford W. Reid. *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: The Canadian Publishers, 1976), p. 12.


10 Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003). Also supported by David Anderson, (personal interview, 22 December 2003). It has been indicated by several sources that much resentment resides in Glengarry regarding participation in the war efforts of the early to mid-twentieth century (most notably WWI and WWII). It is clear that the Scottish community overwhelmingly felt that the Franco-Ontarian population did not support the war in the same supportive manner. Moreover, the Franco-Ontarian community's efforts have been devalued by the county's historical accounts. Among other expressions of deep resentment, accusations have been made that Franco-Ontarian names were purposely overlooked from the monument commemorating the war efforts and sacrifices of Glengarry County erected in Williamstown. Published in 1945, Dorothy Dumbrille's novel *All This Difference*, which addresses French-English relations within Glengarry County, scrupulously develops the resentment of both communities concerning war participation.
Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross, *A History of Glengarry* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 512-513. Unofficially recorded, there are one hundred and eighty-eight young Glengarry men who lost their lives in WWI, the majority of which were of Scottish lineage.

Ibid., p. 127.


Ibid., pp. 577-579.


Ibid., p. 554.

Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 121-123. Any ethnic community that can constitute a majority population do not represent a dominant group until they effectively attain equivalent positions of power in the form of economic and political representation.


David M. Rayside, *A Small Town in Modern Times* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), pp. 57-60. Also supported by Royce MacGillivray, *Slopes of the Andes* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1990), p. 64. The Caisse Populaire, which is a Francophone bank located in the town of Alexandria, was established in 1953. The bank was symptomatic of the standing of Franco-Ontarian local business. Its growth since the 1950s to over seven thousand members and over thirty million in assets is a continuing testament of Franco-Ontarian financial strength in the county.


Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004). Although French migrants from Quebec were far more numerous in Glengarry during this period than any other ethnic group, Dutch, German, and Irish immigrants also began to farm within the region. Although their numbers were diminutive at the time, a significant number of the modern farms that currently remain in Glengarry are tenured by descendants of these ethnic groups. Also see Royce MacGillivray, *The Mind of Ontario* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1980), p. 94.

Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004).

Ibid.

David Anderson, (personal interview, 22 December 2003).

Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003). Also supported by Dorothy Dumbrille’s novel entitled *All This Difference* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1945).


Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross, *A History of Glengarry* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 46-69. Numerous Glengarry natives played integral roles in the development of this nation. Significant men in government include: John MacGillivray legislative council of Upper Canada (1835-1850); John Sanfield Macdonald, who was Premier of the United Canadas (1862-1864) and became the first Premier of Ontario (1867-1871); and Donald Sandfield Macdonald, who was Lieutenant Governor of Ontario (1875-1880). Glengarry men also were of great importance to early Canadian exploration. A few Glengarry men became famous for their role in the development of the territory that would eventually become Canada. A short list includes: Finnan McDonald (1782-1851) explored southern British Columbia and the north-western United States with the North West Co. and later the Hudson’s Bay Company; John MacGillivray (1778-1856) was a partner in the North West fur trading company; and perhaps most renowned is explorer Simon Fraser whose name honours one of Canada’s great Western rivers and a University in British Columbia.

Ibid., pp. 173-174.

Ibid., p. 162. The M.P. representation from Glengarry from 1900 to 1917 was held by two Liberal candidates – J.T. Shell 1900-1908 and John Angus MacMillan 1908-1917. During this period the M.L.A. representation of the county often shifted from Liberal and Conservative parties: William D. McLeod 1902-1905; John Angus MacMillan 1905-1908; D.R. McDonald 1908-1911; Hugh Munro 1911-1919. Ibid., pp. 196-197.


Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross, *A History of Glengarry* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 540-541. The federal election of 1945 made Glengarry the constituency of a Prime Minister. William Lyon Mackenzie King, who at the time of the election was the Liberal Prime Minister of Canada, lost his home seat of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Newly elected M.P. Dr. W.B. MacDiarmid resigned his seat to allow King to succeed him. King handily won the by-election in a vote of 4,227 to 325. King held the Glengarry seat until 1949. Other than attending the Liberal convention which nominated him and opening the G.S.H.G. in 1948, he did little for the rural county during his tenure.

Ibid., p. 557. A number of successful Franco-Ontarian politicians dominated representation from Glengarry from both major political parties between 1948 and 1978. Some of those politicians include: Fern Guindon (Conservative); Raymond Bruneau (Liberal); Viateur Ethier (Liberal); and Denis Ethier (Liberal).


The researcher's knowledge and understanding of the emergence of Glengarry's first French language school was significantly aided by Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004). Mr. Gauthier's Godmother was one of the first teachers at the school. Although several other francophone institutions would emerge in the forthcoming decades, no French language instruction was offered in any Glengarry high school until the 1970s.

Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004). Also supported by Emma Menard, (personal interview, 22 December 2003).


Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004).


Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 9. Agency refers not to the intentions individuals have in acting, but to their capability of acting in the first place — which is why agency implies power.


Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004).

H.K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 219. The concept of the 'melting pot' has been effectively replaced by Bhabha's theory of a 'cultural chowder.' His theory identifies how some 'stubborn chunks' of cultural practices remain intact and are condemned to float as a component of a subordinate or minority group within a dominant society.


Ibid., p. 33.

David Anderson, (personal interview, 22 December 2003).


59 Ibid., p. 163.

60 Ibid., pp. 515-516.

61 Ibid., pp. 517-518.


69 Ibid. Embro, Ontario is a small rural community located in Southwestern Ontario (northwest of Woodstock, Ontario).


71 Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003). Also supported by Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross, *A History of Glengarry* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), p. 572. Peter MacInnis assembled a significant group of individuals to unofficially form the first Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Committee. The committee consisted of: Peter MacInnis (President); John D. MacRae (secretary); Dr. Donald Gamble (sports); Clarence MacGregor (ticket sales); Clark Hoople (publicity); Archibald S. Macdonald (trophies and prizes); Angus McDonald (program chair); Osie Villineuve (grounds committee chair); Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who at the time was M.P. of Glengarry County, was chosen to open the event.


73 Connie Blaney, (personal interview, 23 August 2001). Also supported by Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003).


75 Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003). At the time of the revival, although the event was expected to generate some tourism capital, MacInnis and the G.S.H.G.C. could not have predicted the success witnessed at the inaugural G.S.H.G. or of the annual event in years to come.
Maxville, Ontario, a town located in the northwest corner of the county; Williamstown, Ontario, located in south central Glengarry; and Alexandria, Ontario, located a few kilometers north of the center of Glengarry, were selected as the three potential host sites for the festival.

Also supported by Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2003).


Chapter IV

The Growth and Proliferation of Scottish Culture in Glengarry County

This chapter is meant to evaluate the growth of the GSHG and the subsequent proliferation of Scottish culture within Glengarry County from the period of revival in 1948 to its current form in the twenty-first century. Two critical questions will be addressed: (1) What factors contributed to the growth and expansion of the GSHG?; and (2) What factors contributed to the ensuing proliferation of Scottish cultural tradition in Glengarry County? In order to properly respond to these questions, there are several aspects of the cultural history of Glengarry that must be examined. The following chapter will feature an analysis of the development of cultural institutions within Glengarry County (including all contributory agents and agencies), the tourism industry, and the assiduous expression of antimodernist sentiment. Along with examining these three contributory factors in the post-revival proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions, this chapter will also consider the correlation between these factors, including how each influence augmented the presence of Scottish culture within Glengarry County. All Scottish cultural influences within the county must be evaluated to assess the impact of the revival of the GSHG. This is critical not only to avoid accusations of parochialism, as culture does not exist inside a petri dish isolated from the society from which it subsists, but also to comprehensively understand the impact of this Scottish tradition on the entire community.
The Rise of Scottish Cultural Institutions

"TRADITION IS SELF-EVIDENTLY A PROCESS OF DELIBERATE CONTINUITY, YET ANY TRADITION CAN BE SHOWN, BY ANALYSIS, TO BE A SELECTION AND RESELECTION OF THOSE SIGNIFICANT RECEIVED AND Recovered ELEMENTS OF THE PAST..."

RAYMOND WILLIAMS 1

With the successful 1948 revival of the GSHG, the revivalists had not only formed a significant group of individuals dedicated to the organization and celebration of this newly established cultural festival, but perhaps more importantly, they also generated an interest in and cognizance of Scottish cultural tradition that had remained latent for such a long period. The forthcoming decades would proclaim the significance of the inaugural event, as a buttressing network of Scottish cultural institutions would develop in close affiliation with the Glengarry Games. This cultural network of key agents in juxtaposition with cultural institutions would augment the influence of Scottish culture within the county. The expansion of cultural institutions supporting Scottish tradition would inherently have both a constructive and destructive impact that would eventually shape and reshape the Scottish culture into its current state (this is not to imply that culture in Glengarry County is stagnant, as it is evolving even as I write and you read). With the GSHG as the keystone of Scottish culture in Glengarry, the contributory network of cultural institutions, formed and maintained by devoted agents, have secured a place for Scottish culture within the county. 2 The following pages will examine the emergence of Scottish cultural institutions, including their caretakers, in the spheres of traditional dress, Celtic music, athletics, and history.

Traditional Scottish Highland Dress in Glengarry County: The Kilt-Philibeg

"WOOL FROM THE MOUNTAINS, DYES FROM THE VALE, / LOOM IN THE CLACHAN PEAT-FIRES BRIGHT, / TO EVERY STRAND OF IT SOME OLD TALE -- OH THE TARTAN KILT IS MY DELIGHT."
NEIL MUNRO

The cultural symbols of the nation of Scotland are internationally recognized. The dissemination of the culture of Scotland can be partly attributed to the dispersal of its people. As Scots left their native land, they often brought their culture with them. This is exemplified by the many Scottish societies that can be found in most places Scots have settled. Very few Scottish symbols are as identifiable as the traditional dress that was once worn in the Highlands – the kilt or philibeg (see Appendix F).

Today, the kilt is a symbol of the Scottish identity in many nations. In the Dominion of Canada, the Scots were able to retain their distinct culture to a remarkable extent under the British framework. This retention may explain the early development and celebration of Scottish cultural heritage in Glengarry, including the tradition of Ceilidhs and other social gatherings where Scottish culture was perpetuated. In 1818, Lieutenant Governor Maitland, after returning from a visit to Glengarry, declared that, “the habitants of Glengarry retain all the appearances and customs of the Highlanders of Scotland.” The legend of Glengarry that was circulated throughout the nineteenth century was apparently beginning to emerge. Although in Glengarry only soldiers would have worn kilts on a regular basis, the kilt and tartan remain emblems of Scottish tradition in the county. The kilt has become a powerful symbol of tradition and heritage in Glengarry as the tartans represent the names and traditions of family clans. Becoming more prevalent in the 1960s, the dominant clans in the area currently hold a number of celebrations throughout the year. Along with individual clan celebrations, there are other ceremonies that acknowledge all the clans within the county. Beginning in the 1950s, The
Kirking of the Tartan, a special Highland Scottish ritual held in Glengarry, commemorates the tartans banned in Scotland prior to any Highlander reaching the region of Glengarry County.\(^8\)

Many of these distinctive ceremonies are held in conjunction with the GSHG. The Highland Game's weekend in Glengarry offers a perfect opportunity for clans to reunite for the purpose of heritage and kinship. This particular weekend often acts as the annual gathering for numerous clan members from both interior and exterior of the county.\(^9\) The Tartan Ball, which celebrates local clans within the area, is one example of a successful event held in close affiliation with the Highland Games. The ball is usually celebrated the evening prior to the opening of the games and is often attended by the games’ many patrons.\(^10\) The clan building (a building designated for genealogical endeavours) located on the GSHG grounds, is another opportunity for locals and visitors alike to establish their origins and meet with relatives. Clan chair Jamie McCulloch refers to the building’s purpose by stating, “it’s a chance to find out about your heritage.”\(^11\) Whether a Glengarry resident of the past or currently residing within the county, few residents of Glengarry miss the Highland Games. This special weekend in Glengarry acts as a reunion for all the residents of the past and present.\(^12\)

Although the majority of celebrations involving clans and tartans are often held annually in juxtaposition with the Highland Game’s weekend in August, in Glengarry County, traditional Scottish Highland dress is part of everyday life. Men and women of Highland Scottish ancestry often wear kilts and traditional dress to formal social gatherings. Kilts and other appropriate accessories are not seen as out of the ordinary in
social settings. In most cases, weddings in Glengarry would not be complete without the display of at least a few tartans among the often mixed Francophone and Anglophone crowd.13

The younger Scottish residents of Glengarry are no exception to their parents and the generations before them. Kilts and tartans are very common at graduations and any other formal celebrations of this nature. Kilts have become so popular in Glengarry that many high school students of non-Scottish lineage have started wearing them. As in Glengarry, in Cornwall, the nearest large city located fifteen kilometers to the southwest, kilts have become fashionable for young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds. This actuality indicates the significance of Scottish culture in this region - a multicultural city of fifty thousand residents has been culturally influenced by a few small hamlets.

Although the influence of Highland Scottish traditional dress has diffused into the areas that surround Glengarry, it remains strongest within the county itself. As a result of the popularity of the kilt and tartan in Glengarry, the traditional dress of the Scottish Highlands has become a part of the culture. The kilt and tartan have become a symbol of the region. Wearing a kilt is one of the ways in which some non-Scottish residents assimilate the Scottish culture of Glengarry. Carolyn Smith, a local teacher with a strong Glengarry Scottish background, refers to her husband Larry Harrison as an example of the social influence of the kilt. “Larry is not from Glengarry, but he wears a kilt. He is not Scottish, but living here has changed him.”14 Harrison, who was born into an Irish family in the neighbouring county of Stormont, moved to Glengarry in his twenties and has since become deeply involved with the Highland Games and
consequently Scottish Highland culture. He currently sits on the GHGC and is responsible for organizing the track and field events held throughout the Highland Games weekend.\textsuperscript{15}

The Highland Games provide an opportunity to showcase traditional Scottish dress in its "truest" form. The GSHG allow local residents to display their Scottish pride and tradition by modeling their traditional dress of the Highlands of Scotland. The people of Glengarry are proud of the history and heritage of their county including the traditional dress of their ancestors. This becomes evident during the Highland Games weekend. At the 54th anniversary of the Glengarry Highland Games in the summer of 2001, one of the many visitors from Scotland was quoted in a local newspaper as saying "I have seen more kilts and tartans in Glengarry this weekend than I've seen in fifty years in Scotland."\textsuperscript{16} This statement accentuates the popularity of Highland Scottish traditional dress within the county.

The recent creation of the Glengarry Highland Games tartan has certainly not diminished the popularity of kilts and tartans within the county. On 6 November 1999, the Glengarry Highland Games tartan was officially registered at the Scottish Tartan Society in Pitlochry, Scotland. The Glengarry Highland Games Tartan Committee led by Connie Blaney, Margaret Arkinstall, and Margery Stewart, created the Glengarry Highland Games tartan with the assistance of Heraldic Graphics in Glasgow, Scotland. By the year 2000, the Glengarry Pipe Band began to wear the Glengarry Highland Games tartan and consequently support the Glengarry cultural festival as they traveled and competed internationally.\textsuperscript{17} As acknowledged by Blaney in a local newspaper, "we
helped to get the tartan and they help us publicize the games. It’s a mutual agreement.”

The Scottish tartan, which represented family or clan associations during the eighteenth century, has been extended to include the symbolic representation of geographic regions and organizations like the GSHG.

Although it is difficult to identify specific cultural agents or agencies that can be solely accredited for the growth and proliferation of Scottish traditional dress within Glengarry County following the revival of the GSHG, it is clear that the popularity of Scottish traditional dress has grown since the inception of the modern Glengarry Games in 1948. The GSHG provide a unique opportunity for organizations, including family clans, to celebrate their heritage, of which the kilt-philibeg forms an integral component. Very few cultural symbols can pronounce an individual’s ethnic lineage as overtly as the bearing of traditional clothing. None of these are more distinctive and as widely recognized as the Scottish kilt-philibeg.

The exposure that traditional Highland Scottish dress receives at the Glengarry Highland Games may offer an explanation for the acceptance and popularity of the kilt-philibeg as a cultural tradition actively celebrated within the county throughout the year. The presence of traditional Scottish Highland dress within Glengarry County is explicitly linked to and endorsed by the influential cultural festival that perpetuates, renews, and secures the interest of Glengarry residents in celebrating the traditional dress once worn by the Highlanders of Scotland. Highland traditional dress is not the only vestige of Scottish cultural heritage that remains actively celebrated and perpetuated within Glengarry County.
Scottish Celtic Music in Glengarry County

"TO THE MAKING OF A PIPER GOES SEVEN YEARS AND SEVEN GENERATIONS."

HIGHLAND ADAGE.21

Perhaps the finest example of Scottish Highland influence in Glengarry and the surrounding area is the prevalence of Scottish Celtic music. Celtic music is actively celebrated in Glengarry County. Although Celtic music may be more noticeable during the Highland Games' weekend, in Glengarry it is very much alive all year round. As previously indicated, Celtic music was mostly preserved through social gatherings or Ceilidhs within Glengarry’s Scottish community. Following the revival of the GSHG, a number of institutions emerged in Glengarry specifically designed for the celebration and perpetuation of Scottish Celtic music. As a result, Celtic music formed an active part of the county’s social and cultural life. The ensuing paragraphs will document the rise of these music institutions and assess their impact on the cultural matrix of Glengarry County.

Prior to the analysis of any cultural music institution of Glengarry, it is first important to delineate the role of Scottish Celtic music as a component of the GSHG. The bagpipes represent a large part of the Celtic music scene in Glengarry; consequently they are also a significant element of the GSHG. The bagpipes can be heard throughout the festival. They accompany many of the proceedings and boast a number of their own events.22 The piper’s society competition consists of the jig, reel, and hornpipe. The pipe band competition features some of the world’s greatest musicians. The bands compete in four categories, the highest and most prestigious being grade one. Here the bands are vying for the coveted North American Pipe Band Championship. After listening to the
tone, fingering technique, and musical expression of several bands, the judges award the acclaimed championship title. Since 1972, the Piobaireachd (pronounced pea-brock) competition for solo pipers has also been held at Glengarry. In addition to the North American Pipe Band Championship, in 2003, pipers at Glengarry competed in North America’s most prestigious solo prize – the Piobaireachd Gold Medal Contest.

Although the majority of the pipe bands travel to the GSHG for the piper’s society and the pipe band competitions, the spectators are particularly impressed by the massed band tradition. The legendary massed band at the GSHG has become the pinnacle of the festival and a crowd favourite. The massed band is an occasion for all the pipers participating in the games to play and march together. As the pipers converge on the field, the atmosphere seems to be overwhelmed with the glorious reverberation of the pipes and the marvelous visual arrangement of the hundreds of tartans swaying in the wind. No other event could enliven a muddy soccer pitch in such a brilliant manner. This event, which fills a field with all the participatory bands dressed in traditional tartans and piping Scottish ballads in unison can be a magical experience for the senses. "When the massed bands head across that field, if there was a war you would just know that they would win it."

Since the revival of the GSHG in 1948 the pipe band competitions and massed bands have been continually improved by the ongoing increase in the quality and quantity of competitors. In 1948, eight bands participated in the festival. In 1973, forty bands made the trip to Glengarry to compete. In 2001, sixty-eight bands graced Glengarry with their presence. Along with spectators, the pipe bands also travel from all over the world.
to be part of the Glengarry competition. Bands travel from Australia, New Zealand, the British Isles, and all parts of North America to participate in Glengarry's celebration.27 The Glengarry Highland Games have established one of the premier North American events for high quality piping. Many Highland festivals restrict the number of bands that may attend, but the GHGC places no limitations on those participating, and compensates many of the bands for their traveling expenses. Connie Blaney, who first participated in the games as a piper at the age of six, has been affiliated with the games for over sixty years. She believes that piping is one of the premier attractions of the GSHG and is responsible for attracting a significant portion of the spectators that visit annually.28

Much of the success of piping at Glengarry's Highland Games can be credited to Canada's Highland Scottish Games Council. This organization was created in order to secure the future of Scottish Highland Games festivals by sharing ideas and planning in an effort to maximize the attendance of each festival. One of the main objectives for the council was to create an affable relationship between organizational committees of rival Scottish Highland Games. Competition for spectators and top entertainers between festivals was to be eliminated. In response to the many concerns of participating members, the council has specialized many festivals by concentrating on a particular aspect of Highland Scottish culture. In Glengarry, piping has become a main focus, and as a result, the predictable growth in the quantity and quality of the piping is evident.29 The creation of this sort of council precedes any analogous organization in Scotland. The concept of sharing ideas in an effort to reduce competition between Highland festivals.
has eluded Scottish Highland Games' organizing committees in Scotland. Competition remains fierce in many Scottish regions where Highland festivals are held.\textsuperscript{30}

Following the revival of the GSHG it seemed only logical that an indigenous pipe band and school be established within the county to ensure high quality local participation in the annual Scottish festival. Even though piping subsisted within the county prior to the revival of the GSHG as the tradition was passed on through each generation, piping in Glengarry became institutionalized with the creation of the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band. With the initial support of the Clan MacLeod Society, the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band was formed in 1961. Although its original objective was to practice and perform annually at the GSHG, the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band eventually formed competitive bands at various levels. The Glengarry Pipe Band won the Grade four North American competition in 1988, and the 1990s have been exceptionally memorable for the band. In 1995, the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band won the Grade two Ontario Championship and the following year it was crowned North American champion at the same level.\textsuperscript{31}

Although piping was revived in 1961 with the creation of the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band, very few of its members were of younger generations. Consequently, concern was expressed regarding the band’s ability to replace its members in the forthcoming decades. In 1967, this concern was addressed with the establishment of the county’s first school of piping and drumming. The community center hall in Maxville opened its doors and the Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming further institutionalized the direction of Celtic music within the county. The pipe band executive
elected Pipe Major John T. MacKenzie to lead the operation, with Colin MacLennan succeeding him in 1987. For over thirty-seven years the Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming has flourished within the county, perpetuating Scottish music tradition. Blaney, who organized a winning all-girls pipe band in the 1960s, was also integrally involved with the Glengarry school. Contrary to what one might expect, a diverse group represents the piping organizations within the county. Both sexes, a wide variety of ages, and many cultures participate in the band.

Along with the creation of the Glengarry Pipe Band and the establishment of the Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming, several other developments have helped to secure the popularity of piping and drumming in Glengarry. In 1970, the Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry (SD&G) Board of Education began to sponsor bagpipe music courses in Glengarry high schools – allegedly the only ones of their kind in the country. Another development in the early 1990s saw the formation of a second piping and drumming organization in Glengarry. By 1998, the South Glengarry Pipe Band had represented the county at several regional events. By the turn of the twentieth century, key cultural agents with the unanimous support from the Scottish community, had established two indigenous pipe bands and a piping school within the county for the preservation of Celtic music tradition. For the Blaney family, Scottish piping and drumming is a tradition that at the moment is represented by four generations. This paradigm of cultural (re)production may very well be the essence of Scottish music in Glengarry.
The history of fiddling and other Celtic music in Glengarry has followed a similar path to that of piping. Fiddling is prevalent at social events throughout the county and also is performed annually at the GSHG. Fiddling within the county has been synonymous with the MacDonald Brothers Orchestra since the late 1940s. The group played at local barn dances, wedding receptions, and anniversaries for several decades. The number of events they performed demonstrates the popularity of the group, especially during the 1950s. From 1951 to 1955 the orchestra performed at 316 events in Glengarry. Fiddling, although alive and well at the time of the revival of the GSHG, has continually grown throughout the years. Although throughout the 1980s there appeared to be a lull in fiddling activity in Glengarry, in the 1990s, fiddling has experienced a resurgence as organizations and classes enjoyed increased participation and enrollment. The Glengarry Fiddlers are currently the main fiddling organization within the county and are also well represented by a diverse group of individuals.

In 2001, the death of Alec MacDonald, the last Gaelic speaking resident of Glengarry, was recorded. Ironically, at this time the presence of more than one Gaelic choir in Glengarry signifies the fortitude of the language. Created by Ken and Anne McKenna in 1990, the Glengarry Gaelic Choir has performed throughout the county and released a recording of selected Gaelic traditional songs in 1996. Na Nigheanan (The Daughters of Glengarry), a subsidiary of the Glengarry Gaelic Choir, was also formed in 1990, and toured Scotland in 2002. In 1994, with the establishment of the annual Feis-Glengarry, a festival celebrating Gaelic music and culture, the survival of at least some forms of the Gaelic language through Celtic music has been assured. The recent
formation of the Celtic Music Hall of Fame in 2002, suggests that many Glengarrians remain interested in preserving the Celtic music culture of the county. Since the 1990s, Gaelic choirs have also contributed to the musical repertoire of the Glengarry Games.

Although the prevalence of Celtic music is preserved within the county by the many musical institutions and the agents who administer them, Celtic music also forms an integral component of mainstream Glengarry culture. During the Glengarry Games’ weekend in Maxville, Celtic music is very much on display, but throughout the year the continued prevalence of Celtic music resonates forth the reminder of the games from the local pubs. *Flower of Scotland* and *These Are My Mountains* are Highland Scottish traditional ballads that are familiar to everyone in the Glengarry area. People of all ages and ethnicities celebrate Scottish heritage every weekend just by listening to the local music when they are socializing. Most of the social gatherings in the county, including weddings, are not complete without at least a few traditional ballads. Unlike the nearby city centers and neighboring counties, where rock and roll and country and western music seem to predominate, for the most part, Glengarry’s pubs and patrons remain Celtic and true to the music of their ancestors.39

To accompany traditional Scottish Celtic music there is a new genre of Celtic rock music that has developed over the last decade. Also popular in Canada’s Maritime provinces, this relatively new style of music combines the lyrics and beat of traditional Celtic with innovative instrumentation. This new wave of music is extremely popular with Glengarry youth of all ethnic backgrounds. The annual Glengarry Games, in juxtaposition with music institutions, provide an opportunity for this genre to be
experienced by visitors and local spectators alike. Glengarry has produced a few Celtic rock groups who have achieved provincial, and in some cases, national recognition in their respected genre. *Hadrian’s Wall* and *The Glengarry Bhoys* are two local bands attempting to make a career out of Celtic rock and the traditional music of their youth.

Partly resulting from the exposure that the games provide, Celtic rock music has recently found a niche within the local region. Glengarry’s musical influence on the people within the county and the surrounding area is perceived by some as the influence of the Scottish Highland Games.40 The popularity of the Celtic rock genre is a prime example of how Scottish culture is produced and reproduced in a manner that creates a distinct identity for several generations of Glengarry Scots.

Scottish traditional Celtic music is alive and well in Glengarry. Whether referring to piping and drumming, fiddling, Gaelic choirs, or Celtic rock, Scottish music appears to be prevalent in Glengarry County. Following the revival of the GSHG in 1948, Celtic music has been institutionalized in a manner that has ensured its growth and proliferation within the county.41 Under the direction of previously identified key cultural agents, many of whom were also affiliated with the Glengarry Games, a network of musical institutions has been developed. This network and its nexus of caretakers currently control the direction of Celtic music in the county. Yet, it was only after the revival of the GSHG that Celtic music was incorporated as a component of the mainstream culture. Prior to the revival of the GSHG, Scottish Celtic music was privately celebrated and perpetuated within the Scottish community via the social gathering or Ceilidh. Following
the revival of Glengarry’s Games, the supportive network of institutions has proliferated Celtic music and encouraged the active and overt celebration of Scottish music tradition.

Traditional Scottish Athletics in Glengarry County

Recreation in Glengarry, although analogous to much of the rest of Canada in some ways, has its own distinct character. In Glengarry, athletics and recreation have been shaped by the county’s history. The deep roots of Scottish Highland ancestry have influenced the athletic recreation of the county. An example of this impact is the emergence of the Glengarry Highland Games. A number of sports seem to dominate the Glengarry environment with the endorsement of the annual Highland Games festival and the Scottish heritage it promotes. Although many of the sports and activities that are popular throughout Canada, like ice hockey and baseball, are also found within the county, the ensuing paragraphs will focus on the unique features of Glengarry’s sporting legacy.

Soccer and Rugby

The popularity of the sport of soccer is exemplified in many nations around the world where European lineage may be found. Soccer is played in Glengarry at many levels. Both men and women have numerous leagues from which to choose. Participation extends from children’s minor soccer to senior leagues. On 12 June 1999, the Glengarry Soccer League celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. The evening, referred to as “a gathering of the clans” because of the many Scottish individuals in attendance, was a monumental evening in Glengarry sports history. Almost four hundred
athletes, referees, and coaches gathered at the Glengarry Sports Palace in Alexandria to acknowledge one of Ontario’s oldest continuous sports leagues. 42

The towns of Glen Nevis, McCrimmon, Dunvegan, Glen Sandfield, Lochiel, and Laggan have all contributed to the high level of soccer in the Glengarry Soccer League for generations. The small towns of Glengarry participated in the competitive league with a fierce intensity that created rivalries that are, in many cases, still alive in 2004. The competitive level of the league is demonstrated by its ability to produce teams that on many occasions were victorious against both the Montréal and Ottawa City Champions. 43 Disregarding the work ethic and stubborn Scottish pride of the young Glengarry athletes, the success of a league formed by a handful of small hamlets can be attributed, in part, to the players and coaches that learned and honed their skills in Britain. This exposure to the British game can at least explain the county’s early success. Men of Scottish descent maintained their link to the old country by developing high-level soccer leagues in Glengarry. 44

In the twenty-first century, the Glengarry Soccer League has continued to grow. With the help of key agents, the league has expanded to include over twelve hundred players. Soccer currently represents the most popular sport within the county at all of the men’s, women’s, and minor levels. 45 However, change has accompanied this considerable growth. The noticeable difference in the Glengarry league today is the number of participating female athletes. The success of women’s soccer in Glengarry has distinguished the 1990s. Not only are a significant number of women participating at a
high level, but also many of the women are finding success outside the county in tournament and intercollegiate play.\textsuperscript{46}

Not as popular as soccer in Glengarry, but also drawing a significant participation base, are the local rugby clubs.\textsuperscript{47} Rugby has been a part of Glengarry culture since the turn of the twentieth century. It is a sport that is well known and appreciated in the area. The Glengarry Rugby Club, which is now the Cornwall Rugby Club, participates in an Eastern Ontario league. Although more prevalent earlier in this century, rugby still has a home in Glengarry's sporting culture.\textsuperscript{48}

At the time of the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games in 1948, both soccer and rugby were prominent spectator sports within the county. At the inaugural event, soccer was highlighted as the Glengarry All-Stars challenged the Montréal Black Watch Champions. Even though the Montréal club was victorious by the narrowest of margins, the event was a major attraction for especially the local crowd.\textsuperscript{49} Challenge matches in both soccer and rugby were held at the Glengarry Highland Games in forthcoming decades. Beginning in the 1960s, challenge matches evolved into small tournaments and participation soon increased. The tournaments developed into two major events with teams visiting from the British Isles and other regions of North America. The soccer and rugby tournaments became too difficult to coordinate over the Highland Games' weekend and consequently had to be moved to another part of the summer season.\textsuperscript{50}

Although it is clear that the history of the sports of soccer and rugby in Glengarry do not directly correspond with the revival of the GSHG, the promotion of these sports during the games shaped a positive image and contributed to the
development of the sporting culture of Glengarry. The games provided exposure to the sports of soccer and rugby and encouraged support in the area and consequently contributed to the growth and proliferation of both sports. Although throughout the 1950s and 1960s the popularity of soccer and rugby grew throughout many Canadian communities, the Highland Games heavily endorsed both sports and helped ensure their institutionalization within Glengarry County. This partly explains the prevalence of these sports in Glengarry during the twenty-first century.

Scottish Highland Dancing

"When young girls dream, they dream of dance, and the MacCulloch Troupe have danced a dream."

Jim Farrell

The spirited and graceful art form of Scottish Highland dancing is extremely popular in Glengarry and became a component of the GSHG soon after their revival. The origins of Scottish Highland dancing in Glengarry coincide with the history of the MacCulloch Dancers. The MacCulloch School of Scottish Highland Dancing was founded in 1955 by Rae MacCulloch. Although she was raised in the metropolitan center of Montréal, her parents were Glengarry natives from the town of Alexandria. Upon marrying her husband Alex MacCulloch, who hailed from Glengarry, MacCulloch returned to the county in the early 1950s. It was not long after her arrival that she began to realize the distinct Scottish character of the region. MacCulloch’s Scottish Highland School of Dance was opened within five years of her arrival in the county. In an interview, MacCulloch smiled as she fondly reminisced about how the school began in one-room schoolhouses and local kitchens. She remembers how in one of her early classrooms, a man would have to come and start the woodstove so she and her students
would not freeze in the cold Glengarry winter. The MacCulloch Dancing School began in the town of Glen Roy with only seven enthusiastic pupils. In the late 1950s a number of communities would request her services, resulting in the expansion of the school to include lessons in Alexandria, Bonneville, and Martintown. Her Highland dancing education would eventually include most of the towns in Glengarry and would also permeate the borders into the neighboring county of Stormont. As the traveling became overwhelming for MacCulloch, classes would only be taught in Martintown.

Despite the school's simple antecedents, the MacCulloch School of Dance continued to progress in the ensuing decades. Under MacCulloch's careful guidance, her school started to travel and participate in competitions. During the 1970s, the MacCulloch Dancers entered competitions in Canada and the United States. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed the school's popularity rise. The school drew acclaim from both inside and outside of Glengarry as each successful performance continued to build its reputation as one of the premier Scottish Highland schools of dance. As MacCulloch's school became more renowned, the performances quickly turned into tours. From 1990 to 2000 alone, the MacCulloch Dancers have performed in: Puerto Rico; China; Mexico; Belgium; and Scotland; as well as numerous locations throughout North America. With these types of experiences, it was clear that MacCulloch was now offering her students much more than a dance learning experience.

Despite the international reputation of the MacCulloch Dancers, they are perhaps most respected and praised at home in Glengarry. MacCulloch and her school have an impeccable local reputation. The MacCulloch Dancers perform at many social functions...
throughout the year, but none with a larger profile than the Glengarry Highland Games. MacCulloch’s troupe has annually performed for the large crowd in Maxville since the school’s establishment in 1955. In 2003, over two hundred and fifty dancers competed in Maxville, a twenty-five percent increase from previous years. The Highland dancing component of the GSHG represents “one of the world’s most prestigious Highland dancing events.” Competitors from all over the world travel to Glengarry to compete in a variety of age categories. In their quest to become a Glengarry champion, dancers as young as four years of age will endure the summer heat in the true spirit of Scottish stoicism. Since 1955, the MacCulloch Dancers have honoured the Highland Games with at least a few performances over the special weekend. MacCulloch and all of her participating dancers hold these performances in high regard. It is during this time that the dancers get to perform in front of their families, friends, and the community that appreciate and respect the work and commitment the group demonstrates throughout the year. Not only do the pupils strive for the opportunity to perform at the Scottish Highland Games, their parents also look forward to the performance. Sometimes on a weekly basis parents query MacCulloch “if this is the year their child will perform at the Games.” Similar to the rest of the Glengarry community, the students and their parents eagerly anticipate the Glengarry Highland Games and the performance of the MacCulloch Dancers.

The MacCulloch troupe is currently comprised of over five hundred dancers, with over three thousand estimated students taught over almost a fifty-year period. MacCulloch’s passion and teachings are legendary in Glengarry and the surrounding
area. The large majority of dancers with MacCulloch’s school have been female; “although some males have participated over the years, they are few and far between.”

Contrary to what one might presume after observing a performance, the MacCulloch Dancers represent a very culturally diverse group. MacCulloch estimates that only half of her students are of Scottish descent. Although many of the dancers share a Scottish background, for many of them, the only link they have to Scotland and Highland tradition is Glengarry and Highland dancing. As a result of the diversity seen within the school, MacCulloch has expanded her erudition to include the traditional dance of the French settlers from Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec. MacCulloch feels that all her dancers should receive the same cultural experience from her teachings, regardless of their ethnic background. MacCulloch’s inclusion of Franco-Ontarian traditional dance is another example of how Scottish culture, which forms an integral component of the county’s culture, is produced differently from each successive generation. As the culture changes over time and is consequently reshaped, the identity of Glengarry residents, that is so inexplicitly linked to Scottish tradition, also evolves.

MacCulloch has created a successful business and an internationally recognized school that has become a large part of the recreation scene for the youth of Glengarry. She credits much of her success to the community, claiming: “my success is the success of Glengarry.” She also acknowledges the fact that her school would not have been able to achieve all that it has, without the presence of the Glengarry Highland Games. The Highland Games puts MacCulloch Dancing at the forefront with regards to Glengarry recreation.
While interviewing the modest Rae MacCulloch, it became clear that all the achievements of her school, including acknowledgement from Pierre Trudeau, Jean Chrétien, and the Dancers Association of Scotland, meant little to her in comparison to what she has received from the youth of Glengarry and the surrounding area. Giving children life experiences while educating them about her passion and tradition has been her true accomplishment and contribution. The tradition has been passed on within the MacCulloch family as now her daughters have created a Navan-Orleans division of the dance school near Ottawa, Ontario. As she recalls her younger dancing days, it is apparent that she takes pride in knowing that her five children and seventeen grandchildren have all been affiliated with the heritage of her ancestors.

The history of Scottish Highland Dancing in Glengarry corresponds directly with that of the MacCulloch Dancers. Following the revival of the GSHG and the creation of MacCulloch’s school, Highland dancing was popularized throughout the county. The past half century have been auspicious times for the MacCulloch school of dance as thousands of young individuals have been instructed and the institution has continually expanded. In 2004, the school enjoys a cognizance within the county that is surpassed by few other cultural institutions. The growth of this Scottish tradition in Glengarry County is indubitably linked to Rae MacCulloch and the GSHG.

Track and Field

As previously mentioned, the unique and diverse sports of track and field have evolved directly from the Scottish Highland Games tradition (see Chapter I). Consequently, it is not unforeseen that track and field has a long and storied history at the
Glengarry Highland Games. In the nineteenth century, the Highland Games were held in the town of Williamstown in conjunction with the local agricultural fair. In an effort to provide diverse entertainment and attract spectators, organizers tried to include an annual special event to the games. Perhaps the most famous of these special attractions was the five-mile race from the town of Lancaster to Williamstown's fairgrounds. This event was added in 1907 and featured Tom Longboat, the famous Native North American runner who earlier established himself as one of North America's best by winning the Boston Marathon among other significant races.65

Although in Glengarry County records of track and field following the 1907 race are scarce, since the revival of the GSHG, track and field has been popularized throughout the county. Track and field has formed a component of the Highland games festival in Glengarry since the inaugural event. In 1948, women competed at the 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m distance, and both the long and high jump events. In addition to the women's events, men also competed in the 1500m and triple jump. Over the years track and field events have witnessed fluctuating levels of participatory competitors and consequently have received variable degrees of emphasis during the Glengarry Games. In recent years, the majority of the track and field participants are under the age of sixteen.66

The tradition of track and field in Glengarry, especially long distance running, has become popular with elementary and high school students since the 1950s. Over the last few decades the popularity of track and field and the subsequent growth of the sport among Glengarry's youth has been apparent. The long distance run tradition recently has been revived in Glengarry County with the introduction of the Raisin River Foot Race.
Although now held after the games weekend later in the summer, the Raisin River Foot Race follows some of the original route that Longboat and others trekked almost a century ago. The race is currently held on five and eleven kilometer courses which both wind pleasantly along the Raisin River. Even though the modern course is not an exact replica of the original race, a historical feature has been upheld, as runners still cross the finish line on the Williamstown fair grounds.67

The support for track and field to retain its place in the Glengarry Highland Games program remains unanimously strong resulting not only from the prevalence of the sport in recent years, but also from the community’s interest and dedication to the sport and its history in the county. The GSHG has played a considerable role in the popularization of track and field within the county over the preceding decades.68 Perhaps the strong commitment to track and field in Glengarry stems from the presence of the sport at the GSHG and the similarities of the events to early Highland athletics and the Caledonian Games.

**Scottish Highland Heavyweight Events**

Similar to other aspects of Scottish Highland culture, the heavy events are popular in many areas where Scottish Highland immigrants have settled.69 As Highland Scots immigrated to the Glengarry district, the heavy events also made their way to the county. Although many competitions have different events, the heavyweight events competition at the GSHG consists of eight separate grueling tests of strength and agility.70

At the Glengarry Highland Games there are a few categories in which competitors may participate. The heavyweight division is for professionals only. Many of these
athletes make a living out of touring various Highland Scottish events. The prize money for this division is considerable. Many of these athletes charge festival appearance fees and require that their transportation be subsidized. Large crowds flock to observe the impressive athleticism of the heavyweight competitors who, while competing in Glengarry, are required to wear a kilt. The amateur division is substantially comprised of local athletes. No large prizes are awarded, but bragging rights as the county champion can be more valuable for some of these athletes. The master’s division, which recently has been added for competitors over the age of forty, is also enjoyable to watch. In 2002, a women’s division was also added to the Glengarry Games heavyweight event program. Perhaps the most entertaining category of the heavyweight events is the children’s competition. With adjusted weights and regulations, the children of Glengarry compete for the championship just as the men in their family have for generations.

Without a doubt the heavyweight division of the heavyweight events competition is the most popular of any athletic endeavour during the Highland Games’ weekend in Glengarry and is considered by competitors to be the unofficial North American championship. The almost mythical sized men perform athletic feats that are just as difficult to believe. The most famous of the heavyweight champions to ever compete at the games was Glengarry’s own Rory McLennan. ‘Big Rory’ McLennan, as he was better known in Glengarry, competed in heavyweight competitions throughout North America and Scotland. His outstanding record made him world champion more than once over his career.
In the twenty-first century, the heavyweight events attract athletes from all over the world. In the last ten years alone, competitors have traveled from as far away as Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, and Southern USA to challenge for the Glengarry Heavyweight Events Championship. In Glengarry, from McLennan’s time right up to the present, the heavyweight events are seen as one of the focal points of the weekend and the athletes that participate in them are regarded locally as heroes.  

The prevalence of the heavyweight events in Glengarry as active components of the local culture is evidently linked to the revival and growth of the Glengarry Highland Games. In the absence of the cultural festival that annually displays and perpetuates this unique Highland tradition, the heavyweight events would only be remembered as cultural remnants; intermittently evoking reminiscences of the once prolific culture that predominated in the county. Resulting from the impact of the Highland Games’ endorsement of this athletic tradition, the heavyweight events form an active feature of Glengarry sport culture. The proliferation of Highland athletics, aided by the expansion of other Scottish organizations in Glengarry, was an important part of the growth of Scottish cultural traditions during the post-revival period.

**The Historical Organizations of Glengarry County**

Although the post-revival proliferation of Scottish culture in Glengarry can be partially attributed to the impact of cultural institutions celebrating and sustaining Scottish traditional dress, music, and athletics, the resurgence of interest in the county’s cultural history may also be a significant factor. The revival of the Glengarry Highland Games appears to be the mainstay of the celebration of Scottish cultural heritage in
Glengarry County. In the decades following the successful revival of the games, along with the emergence of other cultural institutions, organizations designed for the purpose of documenting the cultural history of the county were established. Although organized as early as 1920, the SD&G Historical Society became active in 1955 when it established Stormont County’s first museum in the city of Cornwall. Perhaps in recognition of their distinct identity and culture, only four years later, a small group of men founded the Glengarry Historical Society (GHS). Although the decision to form a historical society in Glengarry was made in 1950 with the encouragement of the Ontario Historical Society (based in Toronto), it did not actually develop until several years later. The main objective of the GHS was to restore some of the county’s historical architecture. Transforming the Starr Inn into the Dunvegan Pioneer Museum was the society’s first undertaking. In the forthcoming decades, many projects would be assumed and annual articles would be published in an effort to preserve the county’s history.

The revival of the GSHG created an interest in preserving the county’s cultural past and acted as the genesis of the proliferation of Scottish cultural tradition. Although very few members were active in both the GHS and the GHGC, “there was definitely a spiritual connection between the founders of both organizations.” The GHS capitalized on the resurgence of interest in Scottish cultural history generated by the revival of the Glengarry Games. As acknowledged by a member of the GHS, “after the Highland Games tradition in Glengarry was restored, a movement celebrating the county’s cultural heritage seemed to become the current trend.” The GHS not only restored the county’s early architectural structures, but perhaps more importantly, they invested in the county’s
heritage by researching and writing about Glengarry’s cultural life. What began as an annual report that included articles about life in Glengarry, became a monthly publication dedicated to the early history of the county. The publication, *Glengarry Life*, was established in 1965 and remains active in 2004.\(^8\)

Even though the GHS has been in existence since 1958, very little of the society’s endeavours have any connection to Franco-Ontarian cultural history in Glengarry County. Although the society’s main interest has been preserving the county’s early history and the Scotch were predominant during this era, Franco-Ontarians were present in Glengarry as early as 1800. Resulting from the society’s pursuit of the preservation and celebration of almost entirely Scottish history and culture, their reputation, especially within the Franco-Ontarian community, is not entirely one of reverence. “The Glengarry Historical Society, which for almost all of its life has been a vehicle for the celebration of Glengarry Scots, is thought by some to be a pan-Glengarry association.”\(^8\)

According to one member, the society has tried to counteract the biased reputation that has developed by encouraging Franco-Ontarian membership, but its efforts were of little resolve as the GHS currently has only one member of Franco-Ontarian descent. As declared by a current GHS member, “we have all regretted the lack of French Canadian involvement, but there just seems to be no inclination for French Canadians to participate.”\(^\) At least one member of the GHS hopes to remedy their biased reputation in the near future by increasing Franco-Ontarian membership and researching Glengarry history from a Franco-Ontarian perspective.\(^\)
Following the revival of the GSHG and the foundation of the GHS, other organizations soon developed in the county for the celebration of Glengarry’s cultural history. In 1974, the Glengarry Genealogical Society was formed. The establishment of this organization reflects the interest in researching family histories within the county. Prior to the foundation of the Glengarry Genealogical Society the interest in tracing family origins was apparent. As early as the 1940s, it was identified that “the Scots of Glengarry had the usual zeal of their race for genealogy.” The society published a periodical appropriately entitled *Highland Heritage* and a series of books documenting the county’s gravestones. Similar to the agenda of the GHS, the Glengarry Genealogical Society was dominated by Scottish Highland history and culture.

As previously mentioned, the Glengarry Sports Hall of Fame located in Maxville, Ontario is another organization celebrating Glengarry’s illustrious history. The hall of fame was founded as a non-profit organization in 1978. Its objective was to preserve the achievements of Glengarry County’s athletes. The first board of the Glengarry Hall of Fame consisted of several individuals who were also members of the GHGC. The link between the two organizations is clear when examining their founding members. Resulting from generous contributions from the community and government grants, a permanent building was erected at a suitable location – adjacent to the Maxville Highland Games fairgrounds.

In the 1990s, two new organizations were established for the preservation of Scottish culture and history. Both of these organizations were founded in conjunction with the Highland Games and exist in affiliation with the county’s largest cultural
In 2002, an association was established to preserve Glengarry's Scottish culture. Glengarry Place for the Arts was founded with three specific objectives: to provide a place for learning Celtic arts; to provide a meeting place to promote and encourage interest in a knowledge of Celtic culture; and to recognize organizations and individuals that have contributed to Celtic culture in Glengarry County. In 2004, the Glengarry Celtic Music Hall of Fame was founded in the town of Williamstown, Ontario. This organization strives to celebrate and preserve the county's Celtic music heritage. The Glengarry Celtic Music Hall of Fame and Glengarry Place for the Arts both pursue the celebration and proliferation of Scottish cultural heritage within the county.

All of the organizations within Glengarry that help preserve Scottish cultural history enjoy high participation rates among Glengarry residents. Although the development of the organizations and the initiation of many of their events can be attributed to a core group of key agents, the interest in and support of these cultural events by residents throughout the county is an indication of the popularity of Scottish culture in the region.

Although the growth and expansion of Scottish cultural institutions in Glengarry County from 1948 through 2003 has been documented throughout this chapter, it is also important to note the presence of Franco-Ontarian cultural institutions within the county during this period in order to provide a comprehensive perception of Glengarry cultural life. Discussed in Chapter III, was the rise of Franco-Ontarian cultural institutions in the 1940s. As one might expect, the existence of these Franco-Ontarian institutions did not subside with the 1948 revival of the GSHG. In fact, the 1950s witnessed the growth of
several of these institutions. In particular, the Richelieu Club, which was formed the same year as the revival of the GSHG, became significant in the promotion and endorsement of Franco-Ontarian culture in the decades to come and remains active in 2004. In the 1950s and the 1960s, the Richelieu Club helped organize and initiate the Semaine Francaise (which was a week celebration of Franco-Ontarian culture that was first initiated in 1961) and St. Jean-Baptiste Day. Although at the time, these celebrations were well supported within the Franco-Ontarian community, neither are currently prevalent within the county. While there are some examples of the celebration of Franco-Ontarian culture in Glengarry, very few cultural institutions remain as active and perceptible as the Scottish equivalents. Although many Franco-Ontarian cultural events are well funded by government grants, they seem to lack the espousal witnessed by the Scottish cultural events within the county. A local resident comments on the celebration of Franco-Ontarian culture in Glengarry, “you have a different engine running that machine...many of the cultural events are at least partly driven by government subsidies.” One of the Franco-Ontarian residents who remains active in the preservation of the county’s cultural history, admits that in Glengarry over the last couple of decades “events celebrating Franco-Ontarian culture have in many cases dwindled away.” Even though the celebration and preservation of Franco-Ontarian culture may not be as prevalent as the Scottish endeavours, it still represents an integral aspect of Glengarry cultural life. In Glengarry County, historical organizations assume an eminent role in the (re)production of culture. The Scottish community’s support for historic
organizations following the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games is evident, as several organizations have flourished within the county during the post-revival era.

This chapter thus far has documented the growth of Scottish cultural institutions after the revival of the GSHG, including the affiliation between these organizations and the Glengarry Games. A symbiotic relationship developed between the GSHG and the Scottish cultural institutions within the county. The GHGC and the festival itself endorse the Scottish cultural institutions within the county and the institutions simultaneously support the growth of Scottish traditions including the Glengarry Games. In several important ways, the establishment of cultural institutions in support of Scottish traditional dress, music, athletics, and history, including the caretakers of these organizations, were imperative to the inherent growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in Glengarry County.

Firstly, Scottish cultural organizations extended the influence of the GSHG by institutionalizing Scottish cultural traditions. This provided the opportunity for Scottish cultural traditions to be actively celebrated and perpetuated within the county on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis, rather than on an annual basis. This opportunity ensured that Scottish cultural traditions were regularly celebrated throughout the year instead of over one summer weekend. Secondly, the creation of Scottish cultural institutions also extended the impact of the GSHG within the community by magnifying the popularity of Scottish cultural traditions within the county. As Glengarry residents of both Scottish lineage and non-Scottish lineage participated in Scottish cultural institutions, they began to actively celebrate and perpetuate Scottish cultural traditions as a regular aspect of their
lives. Consequently, many of the county's residents became active proponents of Scottish cultural traditions (including the GSHG) because these traditions were part of their lives. This helped secure Scottish cultural traditions as a component of many of the residents' cultural identity. As more residents of Glengarry, both of Scottish and non-Scottish lineage, integrated Scottish traditions as they socially constructed their cultural identity, these traditions were popularized to the extent that they inevitably helped shape a regional identity. Although the GSHG have celebrated and perpetuated Scottish cultural traditions in Glengarry County from 1948 into the twenty-first century, the impact of these games on Glengarry cultural life would have been trivial without the subsequent creation of a buttressing network of Scottish cultural institutions. These institutions, initiated and maintained by cultural agents, extended the influence of Scottish cultural traditions within Glengarry County.

Even though the development of Scottish cultural institutions is the most important element when considering the growth of and interest in Scottish culture in Glengarry, other factors were also significant. Prior to acknowledging the impact of antimodernism on the proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions, it is important to examine the expansion of the Glengarry Highland Games and the county's tourism industry in the post-revival period to properly conceptualize the sequence of events.

The Growth of the Glengarry Highland Games and the Tourism Industry

As early as the beginning of the twentieth century local residents, especially those involved with municipal politics, have recognized the tourism potential of Glengarry County. In 1905, a pamphlet produced by the Glengarry Good Roads Association
announced Glengarry's attributes to the tourism industry by acknowledging the county's improved transportation, which translated to accessibility to tourism.\textsuperscript{97} During the 1940s tourism did not have a significant impact on the local economy as a relatively diminutive amount of tourists visited anywhere in SD&G.\textsuperscript{98} As previously mentioned, tourism was a consideration in the revival of the GSHG. The games' revivalists presented a persuasive argument to initiate the revival of the Highland festival – the stimulation of the local tourism economy. The revivalists' expectations were surely surpassed as reports of the event suggest that the GHGC may have underestimated the number of individuals that would attend the event, especially when one considers that the visitors present at the inaugural event "ate all the food in Maxville, and drank all the drink."\textsuperscript{99} Although only a prediction at the time, the revivalists' conjecture regarding attendance of the festival was inaccurate as over 20,000 visitors attended and contributed to the games. The inaugural event accounted for the largest gathering in the county's history and awakened many to the cultural and commercial potential that the games indubitably embodied.

The following year in 1949, the second annual games witnessed a dramatic reduction in attendance, as only 12,000 spectators were present. In 1950, 18,000 made the trip to Glengarry for the one-day event. Throughout the 1950s, the games maintained a significant level of attendance as the number of spectators fluctuated between 15,000 and 20,000.\textsuperscript{100} During the 1950s, regardless of the minor disparities witnessed in attendance levels from year to year, the games were established as a viable cultural event that annually attracted thousands of tourists to the region.
The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, which forever changed the character of the Three United Counties, had a major impact on tourism in the local area. Clive and Frances Marin, the authors of *Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry 1945-1978*, articulate the impact of the building of the Seaway in the following statement, “For the postwar United Counties, the coming of the Seaway was the most significant event it terms of human displacement, change of land use and economic prognoses.” At the heart of the Seaway and Power Project were the creation of more efficient water transportation routes and the development of hydroelectric power. With the objectives of replacing an outdated canal system and harnessing a source of hydroelectricity, the Seaway and Power Project began on 10 August 1954. Within five years the Seaway would be formally opened. As a component of the $1.2 billion project, 20,000 acres of land were flooded, resulting in 6,500 individuals losing their homes in the counties of Stormont and Dundas.

As geographic remnants of the towns and hinterland that was flooded, eleven offshore islands were created between the towns of Long Sault and Ingleside. The islands were strung together to form a parkway and as provincial parkland they were quickly developed for the purposes of recreation. In 1962, the first full summer of operation, over 1.2 million visitors utilized this newly formed recreation heaven. Equipped with several campsites and beaches, the Long Sault Parkway as it would eventually be titled, could accommodate the considerable crowds. By 1979, the St. Lawrence Parks Commission and its 600 employers had witnessed over thirty-one million tourists visit the county's provincial parks. The impact of the creation of the Seaway for the generation of local
tourism is undeniable. In 1971 alone, it is estimated that tourism generated fifteen million for the local economy. The construction of the Seaway coincided with the expansion of individual travel. In the 1950s and 1960s, the general public of Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec became fully motorized.\textsuperscript{104} The tourism industry in the Three United Counties was surely augmented by the enhanced mobility of individuals during this period.

In 1962, the very same year the St. Lawrence Park Commission began operation, the GHGC decided to expand its cultural festival from a one-day event into a weekend affair.\textsuperscript{105} In an effort to capitalize on the recent influx of tourism in the region, which was almost entirely a consequence of the creation of the Seaway, the GHGC expanded the Highland Games. The committee’s expansion of the Glengarry Games was evidently a success as the attendance for the games increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In 1973, almost 30,000 individuals arrived to celebrate the festival in Maxville. Even in 1977, when the entire weekend was filled with rain and thunderstorms, in the true spirit of the games, over 20,000 still endured the harsh conditions.\textsuperscript{106}

As the Glengarry Games were extended so was the impact of the tourism it generated. Many visitors would choose to attend both days of festivities and as a result tourists would remain in the area for a longer duration of time.\textsuperscript{107} Local M.P.P. for Stormont, Dundas, and Charlottenburgh, Jim Brownell, who has been involved with tourism in the United Counties for several decades, understands the impact of the GSHG on the economy of the Three United Counties. Brownell declares, “all tourist operators in Eastern Ontario have smiles on their faces the weekend of the Glengarry Highland...
Games." Brownell states, "as with most tourism agencies in SD&G, all the ideas and promotion are focused on keeping the tourists in the area as long as possible." Brownell acknowledges that it is not just the eateries and hotels of the region that prosper from the GSHG, but other tourism attractions also share the benefits of tourism generated by the games. Brownell claims that, "many tourists come to Glengarry for the games and choose to make it a weekend or even a week holiday in the area and consequently take in all of the SD&G events." As recapitulated by Brownell, "the Glengarry Highland Games are the largest cultural event in Eastern Ontario and especially in SD&G."

Despite the inherent benefits to all of the economies of the local regions, the GHGC have had difficulty convincing local municipalities outside of Glengarry County to invest in the event. In 2003, the city municipality of Cornwall refused to recognize the economic reality and support the cultural festival that brings so much capital to the city's hospitality industry. The impact of the tourism generated by the GSHG on the local economy is significant. There is no indication that this impact will abate in the near future, as the Glengarry Games continue to be one of the largest cultural events in Eastern Ontario.

In 2003, at the fifty-sixth annual games, a record setting crowd flooded the gates of the Glengarry Highland Games. Apparently the pipes, the pipes were calling, and over 30,000 tourists and locals ventured to Maxville on an allegorical Celtic pilgrimage to answer the call. Certain visitors that attend the Glengarry Games are solely attracted to some of the well-known Canadians that annually deliver the welcoming address.
Beginning in 1948 at the inaugural games, when the GHGC was able to convince Prime
Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King to officially open the games, several other
notable individuals have continued the tradition over the decades.\textsuperscript{115}

The connection between the GSHG and tourism has perhaps become more
apparent in recent years. In 2001, tourism was at the forefront during the GSHG as Jim
Watson, the President and C.E.O. of the Canadian Tourism Commission, delivered the
opening address. Although announced in 1999, it was not until 2003 that the 1.5 million
dollar construction plan was unveiled to expand and improve the facility infrastructure on
the Maxville fairgrounds.\textsuperscript{116} According to the Glengarry Highland Games Committee’s
active President, Mike Villeneuve (who is from Franco-Ontarian lineage), “the
improvements that will be made to this facility will attract a greater number of events and
visitors to the area.”\textsuperscript{117} Although Villeneuve referred to how the recently attained capital
for infrastructure improvements will attract more tourism and ensure the growth of the
GSHG, he did not mention how the newly acquired funding will influence the celebration
and perpetuation of Glengarry culture at the games. On 2 August 2003 (the second day of
the Glengarry Games), a sod-turning ceremony that signified the beginning of the new
construction project was held on the Maxville fairgrounds.\textsuperscript{118} As if to symbolize the
cognizance of a vital relationship, Brian Coburn, the Ontario Minister of Tourism and
Recreation, aided Villeneuve in driving the shovel to pierce the earth. All the while, the
media filmed and photographed the union; capturing and preserving its meaning through
time.
Although it is clear that tourism was a factor in the revival of the GSHG and has partly driven the expansion of the games over the last half-century, the impact of tourism in shaping the GSHG and Scottish culture in the region remains ambiguous. How has tourism influenced the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in Glengarry County? Tourism can partly account for the early financial success of the Glengarry Games and the expansion of the cultural event from 1948 to its current form. The success of the GSHG has often been measured locally by how many individuals attend the annual festival and how much capital can be generated for the local economy. As already shown the games have enjoyed high attendance rates throughout its existence and the impact of the tourism it generates continues to be significant. Many local residents would agree that the GSHG are a well-known success story of Eastern Ontario. The alleged success of the GSHG is linked to the influence of tourism on Scottish culture within the region.

Beginning with the success of the inaugural games, residents of Glengarry County quickly formed an affinity for the festival. Glengarry residents from varied backgrounds began to not only take interest in the county’s newest event, but also support it with their involvement. Connie Blaney has observed how the people of Glengarry, regardless of ethnic background, can become a part of the Glengarry Highland Games. In the 1950s and 1960s, Blaney remembers the community effort involved in hosting such an event. Many residents would help provide for visitors. Blaney explained that whether residents helped billet guests or provided baked goods, relationships were established and eventually residents with no initial attachment to Scottish heritage became saturated just like the county’s Scottish community. After a number of consecutive years, the
community effort grew stronger and most residents took pride in their affiliation with what can be characterized as a well-organized and successful event.\textsuperscript{120}

Tourism has contributed to the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions in several respects. Firstly, soon after the successful revival of the Glengarry Games, it became clear that the festival had the potential to secure significant amounts of tourism capital for the local region. In an effort to maximize the tourism potential of the games, the event was expanded throughout the imminent decades which also led to the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions as the games assumed a larger profile within the community.

Secondly, as the tourism potential of the games was recognized, residents with commercial interests in the success of the Glengarry event began to participate in and support the cultural festival. Moreover, as the games expanded and the number of Glengarry residents in support of the Highland Games began to increase, a positive image of the event was popularized throughout the community. As Blaney contends, the positive image of the games, motivated by ideas that the games helped the local economy and brought notoriety to the region, was enough to convince residents with no cultural or commercial reasons to support the event, to willingly participate. As acknowledged by Blaney, it was easy for many of Glengarry's residents to get “caught up” in the excitement of the games.\textsuperscript{121} Those with vested interests in the ‘success’ of the games were effortlessly convinced to support the annual event, but Blaney’s explanation of the early period of the development of the festival allows one to imagine how and why other residents with no commercial or cultural attachment to the games eventually began to
support the event. Tourism has contributed to the growth of the GSHG and consequently the proliferation of Scottish culture, in part by making the games 'successful.' The success of the games partially rationalizes the appropriation of the tradition by Glengarry residents with no vested interest in the games. The community support, represented by individuals with and without vested interests in the success of the games, encouraged the Glengarry Games and the Scottish cultural institutions to grow into their current form.

In the twenty-first century, tourism continues to shape the games and the Scottish cultural traditions that they so manifestly perpetuate. Although tourism has helped preserve and extend the influence of the Highland Games and other Scottish traditions in Glengarry, another influence also impacted the proliferation of Scottish culture within the county.

**Antimodernism in Glengarry: the Rural Myth and the Cultivation of Nostalgia**

As previously discussed, antimodernist sentiment was a factor in the revival of the Highland Games tradition in Glengarry. After the games were revived, antimodernism persisted within the county for many decades. From the 1950s onwards more changes were witnessed in Glengarry County and antimodernism became the predominant response to the transformation of the 'simple life' of rural farming that had persevered within the county since the arrival of the first wave of Scottish Highland settlers. In order to assess the impact of antimodernism on the growth and expansion of the GSHG and the consequent promotion of Scottish cultural traditions, it is imperative that several key questions are addressed: (1) What caused the continued expression of antimodernist sentiment after 1948; (2) How was antimodernism expressed in Glengarry
County; and (3) What was the impact of antimodernist sentiment on the GSHG and Scottish culture. Understanding anitmodernism and its influence on Glengarry cultural life is critical to this study.124

As denoted by Ian McKay in The Quest of the Folk, from the nineteenth century on, across the western world, skepticism about progress and fear of unprecedented social and economic change shaped social thought and cultural expression across a wide ideological spectrum. The overwhelming response to this change was antimodernism.125 As portrayed in Chapter III, changes in Glengarry from the turn of the twentieth century until the 1940s provided the impetus from which antimodernism emerged. Prior to the revival of the games, a declining Scottish population and technological advances were significant changes that encouraged antimodernist thought. By the 1950s, new influences began to change the rural ‘simple life’ within the county.

In 1950, a travel guide entitled Ontario in Your Car, comments on Glengarry County’s loss of its old charm. Moreover, the authors concluded that Glengarry was quickly becoming modernized. The county was “losing its character in a modern society.”126 Although it began prior to the 1950s, rural depopulation from 1950 to 1965 quickly changed Glengarry life.127 Rapid transformation of farming techniques and equipment left many farms throughout the province obsolete. This was especially detrimental to agricultural land in Glengarry as many farmers adhered to traditional techniques. Farmers in Glengarry were forced to upgrade their equipment and techniques or abandon the land that for generations their family tenured.128 In 1891, 61% of the population of Ontario was classified as rural. In 1921, that number had drastically
declined to 42%. In 1966, only 7% of Ontario’s population were farmers and that total was rapidly decreasing. When referring to the rural depopulation in Glengarry from 1930 to 1965, Royce MacGillivray states:

“people were leaving the countryside in large numbers, it was alleged, for an abnormal and unhealthy life in the already swollen cities. The result in this county was that farm homes were being closed, land was being mismanaged or underutilized...and the life of the rural communities was deteriorating.”

In the following statement a Glengarry resident remembers the influence of modernism on the county’s traditional life:

“then came the impact of modernism...as specialization farming became the norm, the decline of the agricultural system resulted. An anti-agrarian attitude developed and the boys of many families headed for the urban centers and professional or industrial careers.”

By the 1960s, economic changes in the agrarian lifestyle and culture led to the demise of the mixed farming of previous generations. Now more than ever the residents of Glengarry were uncertain of what the forthcoming decades would bring. As one might imagine, antimodernist attitudes were prevalent during this period. It was the continued expression of antimodernist sentiment that led to the development of the rural myth and the cultivation of nostalgia within Glengarry County.

In the United States, a folklore revival was in full swing as early as the 1940s. As often is the case, Canadians followed the American cultural pattern, and by 1950 Canadian counterparts began to pursue their cultural history through folklore. As a response to modernism the Glengarry County Folk School was founded in 1952. Under the auspices of the Ontario Folk School Council, which was established four years earlier, the Glengarry school was formed of mainly residents from the Scottish
community. The Folk School emerged at a time when severe cultural and economic changes were taking place within the county. The Folk School Council attempted to help the community understand the “...rapid changes from a rural to an urban society.” The school represented an endeavour to regain a sense of communal effort among primarily the Scottish residents within the county. Improvement of agricultural techniques and solidifying the position of the remaining farmers were also objectives advocated by the school. The Glengarry Folk School, which was very well supported by mostly Glengarry Scots and remained in operation from 1952 to 1966, was a vehement expression of the pervasiveness of antimodemist sentiment within the county during this period.

Prior to the disappearance of the Glengarry Folk School in 1966, some residents within the county had already begun to promulgate perceptions of the ‘folk’ or the rural myth. The rural myth of Glengarry was built on the suggestion that rural farmers and their traditional way-of-life were preserved within the county. The farmers represented something uncontaminated by the modern world that surrounded them. They preserved their traditional ways in the face of modernity, urbanization, and mass culture. Their essence was decency, humility, and loyalty to family and kin. As in Nova Scotia where ‘fisherfolk’ were central to the folklore revival, the farmer was the symbol of the rural myth in Glengarry.

Similar to other regions within the country, the cultivation of nostalgia had to be created through the “framing and distilling procedures carried out in thought and then set into practice through the process of selection and invention.” As in Nova Scotia between 1940 and 1960, where cultural producers in the form of writers, artists, and
promoters began to propagate the province as a folk paradise and renew their folk heritage through music and crafts,\textsuperscript{139} a similar process was occurring in Glengarry. Within the county, the notion that leaving the farm was aberrant appealed to everyone's nostalgia. The longing for roots, which at the time formed a prominent theme within the county, encouraged respect for farming as a component of traditional life and reinforced the widespread disillusionment of urban living.\textsuperscript{140} Cultural producers in Glengarry began to appeal to a local audience in search of their tradition, their identity, and a response to the modernism that was shaping their community.\textsuperscript{141}

Documented throughout this chapter is the rise of the various forms of Scottish cultural institutions after the revival of the GSHG. The success of these organizations can be partly attributed the prevalence of antimodernism during this period and the amount of support demonstrated by the community. Moreover, tourism in Glengarry is also explicitly linked to antimodernism. Glengarry residents were not the only Canadians that struggled with the process of modernity. According to Ian McKay, in the second and third quarters of the twentieth century, middle-class urban Canadians began to voyage into the rural regions in pursuit of 'cultural treasure.' From 1920 to 1960 a widespread urban fascination of rural ways characterized many regions of Canada.\textsuperscript{142} Reverence for the authentic and traditional, skepticism about progress, and nostalgia for the past, were all different aspects in the pursuit of the rural myth in Glengarry. According to Royce MacGillivray, as urbanization began to dominant Eastern Ontario, it gave way to small town individualism and urban center anonymity.\textsuperscript{143} This became one of the attractions of rural life to urbanites. As urban tourists arrived in Glengarry in search of the rural myth,
their fascination with rural ways supported local tourism. Although urban tourists appeared to idolize the rural ways, they paradoxically and concomitantly exhibited the virtues of progress, modernity, and urban lifestyle. In Eastern Ontario, the move to the urban center had its time of offering fulfillment. In this period, it was the return to the rural, or at least the thought thereof, that afforded contentment.

The prevalence of antimodernism in Glengarry County can partly explain several developments within the county following the revival of the GSHG. The continued presence of antimodernist attitudes in Glengarry from 1950 to 1970 led to the development of the rural myth and the cultivation of nostalgia. As Glengarry residents faced the tough reality of modernity and the changes it brought about, again they looked to their past for answers to questions of uncertainty and identity. The popularization of the rural myth and the cultivation of nostalgia from within Glengarry County was a subdued response to modernism. Furthermore, the rural myth offered a means of conceptualizing identity and a method of managing the agonizing uncertainties presented by modernity. As Glengarrians looked to the past and their cultural history for answers to modernism, they supported what they perceived as authentic or traditional. As a result, throughout this period Scottish culture and traditions were endorsed by many of the county’s residents. This development may explain the rise of Scottish cultural institutions during this period, but it only partially explains the growth and expansion of the GSHG. As residents continued to cultivate nostalgia by supporting and endorsing Scottish cultural tradition, their efforts contributed to the augmentation of the rural myth. The rural myth (the concept that Glengarry is rural and distinct - different from urban centers)
is to some extent the attraction and charm of the county and its appeal for tourism. It is partly the rural myth that brought and continues to bring visitors to Glengarry County and the GSHG. Tourism has created a vocabulary in which the Glengarry Highland Games were a sign of tradition and authenticity – partitioned off from any society influenced by modernism. Consequently, the cultivation of nostalgia and the rural myth augment tourism and vice versa. In this manner, antimodernism in Glengarry has contributed to both the growth and expansion of the GSHG since 1948 and the prospective proliferation of Scottish culture.

In the twenty-first century, antimodernism still supports the GSHG by encouraging tourism and satisfying the local appetite for the celebration of ‘traditional’ culture. In recent years, the cultural life in Glengarry has been more than ever shaped by the values and pressures of urban society. Modern influences have fragmented the communities of Glengarry, giving them less of the small town character than they once exhibited. Although Glengarrians still pay attention to the local news, more and more of them subscribe to metropolitan newspapers and listen to radio and television programs from urban centers. As national and urban-based media increase their presence, many Glengarry residents consequently look outside the county for cultural standards. The influence of modernism within the county has only increased antimodernist sentiment and amplified the value of, and interest in, sustaining cultural traditions like the Glengarry Highland Games.

Following the revival, antimodernist attitudes have influenced the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions in Glengarry County in one important way.
The presence of antimodernism, mostly initiated by changing social conditions, forced many Glengarry residents to support what they perceived as ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic,’ as a means of managing their own identity crisis and the social change impacting their community. As a consequence, many Glengarry residents supported the GSHG and Scottish cultural institutions during this period. The lack of active non-Scottish cultural events and institutions in Glengarry County in the post-revival era, partially explains why even residents of non-Scottish lineage supported these traditions. In the backdrop of antimodernism, the Highland Games and Scottish cultural institutions were endorsed during the post-revival period by many Glengarry residents. Although antimodernism is certainly not comparable to the powerful influences of tourism and Scottish cultural institutions, it remains a contributory factor during the post-revival proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions.

This chapter has examined the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions following the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games. The rise of Scottish cultural institutions in the forms of traditional dress, Celtic music, athletics, and history were evaluated in an effort to indicate key cultural agents and agencies that have contributed to the proliferation of Scottish culture within the county. These organizations, established and maintained by key agents, institutionalized Scottish cultural traditions and provided a conduit for active and recurrent celebration. This extended the influence of Scottish cultural traditions within the county.

Also assessed in this chapter was the impact of the tourism industry on the GSHG and Scottish culture. Tourism objectives motivated the expansion of the games which
eventually brought tourism capital and notoriety to the county. The expansion of the Glengarry Games increased the number of residents in support of the festival as it encouraged non-Scottish residents (those with and without commercial interests) to support the annual event. Tourism had become an important factor in the expansion of the GSHG and the proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions.

Lastly, this chapter evaluated ideological changes, in this case the escalation of antimodernist thought, throughout Glengarry County during the post-revival era. Although some Glengarry residents did look to what they perceived as 'traditional' aspects of their culture as a response to the modernism movement and the many social changes associated with it, the impact of antimodernism extended further than encouraging Glengarry residents to learn about and embrace their cultural history. Antimodernism also augmented the other contributory factors that have influenced the post-revival proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions. Antimodernism is part of the reason why tourists came and still come to Glengarry for the Highland Games experience. Antimodernism was and continues to be closely linked to tourism. In addition, antimodernism is connected to the post-revival expansion of Scottish cultural institutions. Many Glengarry residents, regardless of ethnic origin, who resisted the changes affiliated with the modernist movement began to support and participate in Scottish cultural institutions in an effort to preserve some connection to the past and the county's cultural history.

This analysis of the post-revival era endeavoured to comprehensively illuminate the evolution of Glengarry’s Scottish cultural traditions. This chapter has ultimately
examined the influences of Scottish cultural institutions, tourism, and antimodernist sentiment (including the relationship between these influences) on the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions in Glengarry County.
Endnotes


9 Ibid.


14 Carolyn Smith, (personal interview, 26 August, 2001).

15 Larry Harrison, (personal interview, 26 August, 2001).


17 Connie Blaney, (personal interview, 23 August 2001).


19 Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), p. 210. Tartans were not supposed to represent political units or geographic regions, but family clans. With the endorsement of the provincial government, the province of Nova Scotia created its own tartan in the mid 1950s. Soon after its creation, the Nova Scotian Scottish Association and the Antigonish Highland Society expressed their objection, but today the tartan has become the ultimate signifier of the maritime province and has been widely copied and commercialized throughout Canada.


28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Alan Crawford, Dumbarton, Scotland. *The Lennox*, 18 July 2003. In the summer of 2003, a bitter dispute was waged between the organizing committees of two Scottish Highland Games. The Oban Scottish Highland Games, which is one of the oldest festivals, and the more current Cowal Scottish Highland Games, have continually battled over competitors and spectators. Held in the same weekend and only separated by ninety kilometers, the traditional Oban Games are in danger of being discontinued as the more international Cowal Games appear to be gaining in popularity.


33 Ibid. Although Blaney admits that many of the members of especially the Glengarry Pipe Band are from strong Highland Scottish heritage, she notes that many other cultures are also represented, including several members from the Franco-Ontarian community.

34 Clive and Frances Marin, (personal interview, 28 December 2003). The Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band eventually was renamed the Glengarry Pipe Band because of the military connation with 'Highlanders.'

35 Ibid.


37 Connie Blaney, (personal interview, 23 August 2001).

38 Clive and Frances Marin, (personal interview, 28 December 2003). The celebration of Gaelic music was reinforced in the 1990s by the instruction of the Gaelic language in several schools throughout the county. Although it is very unlikely that the Gaelic education will ever revive the language within the county, the amount of interest in such an endeavour, signifies the popularity of Gaelic culture in Glengarry.


40 Ibid.
Perhaps one of the most conspicuous indications that Scottish Celtic music had reached a pinnacle of institutionalization in Glengarry is the inclusion of bagpipe classes in local high schools. By 1970, Celtic music and Scottish culture was institutionalized into the very fabric of society as the education system joined a group of influential institutions (re)producing Scottish culture. Although the questions of why the classes were introduced, how they gained acceptance, and who endorsed them, remain unresolved, the fact that Scottish cultural producers had accessed one of the most influential institutions in society (public youth education) is evidence of both the pervasiveness of Scottish cultural traditions in the region during this period and the extent of influence of Scottish cultural producers.

Joan MacSweyn, *Glengarry’s Game* (Montreal: Trimble Publishing, 1999), p. 306. On 12 June 1999, the sound of bagpipes welcomed the many visitors to the Glengarry Sports Palace in Alexandria, Ontario. The dinner tables were dressed with wonderful flowers and tartan décor to display the wealth of Glengarry soccer memorabilia from the past and present. Throughout the evening the over 400 guests were treated to stories and memories of the Glengarry Soccer League and its illustrious 75 year history.

Ibid., p. 33. The Ottawa Valley Soccer Championship began in 1939 when the President of the Ottawa League requested a home and home series and donated a silver cup to the winner of the title. Little did he know that the Glengarry men would dominate the championship throughout the 30s, 40s, and 50s. At one time, the Glengarry men took home six straight titles between 1939-1945. The major metropolitan center of Montréal also found a fierce competitor in Glengarry as they arranged test matches with them in the 50s and 60s. The matches were always attended religiously by the local fans, as it was common to have over 500 spectators attend the Glengarry night to support their local team.

The sport of Rugby was created in Warwickshire, England in 1823. Although the exploits of sixteen-year-old William Webb Ellis, who apparently changed the game by running forward with the ball in his hands, have never been confirmed, the rules of the sport were codified in England in 1846. Although rugby was not introduced to Scotland until 1851, it attained immediate popularity and spread throughout the Scottish public school system. In 1871, Scotland defeated England in the first game played under the new Rugby Union Rules. Since this time, Rugby has remained popular in the British Isles where numerous rivalries persist even today. Gerald Redmond. *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada*. (New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1982), p. 49.

54 Rae MacCulloch, (personal interview, 6 January 2002).

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.


58 Ibid.

59 Rae MacCulloch, (personal interview, 6 January 2002).

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.


65 The 1907 race was set up with Longboat, Abbie Wood from Montréal, and the local Bill Cattanach installed as the favourites. The preeminent athletes did not disappoint, as Longboat was the winner while Wood was the runner-up and Cattanach finished fourth. As in many circumstances in Longboat’s life, controversy accompanied this race as locals protested that Longboat should be disqualified. Prior to the race, Longboat was accused of selling some of his trophies from other competitions. Despite the controversy, Longboat retained his title and the crowd enjoyed the race thoroughly. Although the race was held the following year, it did not generate the same enthusiasm as the inaugural event and was consequently dropped as an attraction. *Welcome to the 54th Glengarry Highland Games, 2003. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Souvenir Program.* (Glengarry, p. 53).

66 Larry Harrison, (personal interview, 26 August 2001).

67 Ibid. Also supported by *Welcome to the 54th Glengarry Highland Games, 2003. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Souvenir Program.* (Glengarry, pp. 52-53).

68 Larry Harrison, (personal interview, 26 August 2001).

69 The heavyweight events represent one of the most recognizably Scottish Highland symbols. They started out as strength competitions between farmers in the Highlands of Scotland. The exact date of the first heavy event competition is unknown, but it is contended that they emerged at a similar time as the first hill races around the eleventh century. For centuries men from the Highlands of Scotland have competed for the coveted Highlands Heavyweight Event Championship held at various festivals throughout Scotland. Gerald Redmond, *The Caledonian Games of Nineteenth Century America* (New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1971), pp. 30-33.

70 Glengarry’s heavyweight events competition consists of the following eight events. The stone throw is usually the first event of the competition. This event is similar to the modern day shot-put, but it involves tossing a twenty-two pound stone. The throwers have three attempts of which the best toss is recorded. The sheaf toss involves throwing a sixteen pound circular weight over a cross bar situated directly above the...
competitors. To gain the most momentum prior to release competitors use a variety of styles. The hay toss consists of the athlete using a pitchfork to toss an eighteen pound bag of hay over a suspended bar. The hammer throw is often regarded as the most athletic of the heavy events. The Scottish hammer is a spherical metal ball fastened to a wooden handle. The athlete must spin the hammer around his head without rotating his body or moving his feet. When maximum speed is reached, the athlete releases the hammer to attain the greatest distance possible. Both the twenty-eight pound distance throw and the fifty-six pound height toss have little strategy and are regarded strictly as power events. The farmer's walk is a crowd favorite. Athletes carry a three hundred pound weight in each hand and walk as far as they can. The tug-of-war is also a spectator's delight, as two men battle each other for positioning in a field where the footing is at best mediocre. The caber toss is perhaps the most recognizable trademark of the Scottish Highland Games. This spectacular event combines strength, balance, and timing. The object is to turn the caber end over end with it falling closest to twelve o'clock in relation to the thrower's position. The one hundred and seventy pound, twenty-five foot long log known as the caber is very awkward to manipulate. The athlete that best performs the combination of these events is crowned the prestigious Glengarry Heavyweight Event Champion. Welcome to the 54th Glengarry Highland Games, 2003. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Souvenir Program. (Glengarry).

71 Myles MacMillan, (personal interview, 3 January 2002).
72 Kathleen Hay, Cornwall, Ontario. The Standard Freeholder, 1 August 2003.
73 Ibid.
75 Rory McLennan's life had its fill of trials and tribulations. In 1877, a terrible accident occurred in the city of Cornwall, Ontario. A young girl was killed that had wandered onto the pitch as "Big Rory" was throwing the hammer. The incident left McLennan devastated and he never would compete in the heavy events again. Following his athletic career, McLennan leveraged his enormous popularity as a local athlete and was elected a member of parliament representing Glengarry County (1891-1900). Although elected as a Liberal, on more than one occasion he sided with Sir John Alexander Macdonald and the Conservatives. After a successful political career, McLennan worked as a contractor and private banker with much of the same success he had experienced as an athlete. McLennan was one of North America's original professional athletes. Although many would follow, McLennan was one of the first that would use athletics as a springboard into politics and business. Greg Gillespie. Roderick McLennan, Professionalism, and the Emergence of the Athlete in Caledonian Games. (Sport History Review, 31, 2000, pp. 43-63).
76 Myles MacMillan, (personal interview, 3 January 2002). Glengarry has produced many world-class heavyweight event champions. Similar to many of the Glengarry champions, Robin Thomson of Martintown, Ontario who established a world record in the sheaf toss in 1972, accredits much of his success to Lloyd Kennedy, the prolific heavyweight event instructor from Alexandria, Ontario.

81 Ibid.

82 David Anderson, (telephone interview, 17 April 2004).


84 David Anderson, (telephone interview, 15 March 2004).

83 Ibid.

86 Royce MacGillivray, *Slopes of the Andes* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1990), p. 14. When commenting on the act of tracing genealogy in Glengarry during the twentieth century MacGillivray declares, "like all of our neighbours we placed immense emphasis on family connections. This is a trait always strong in the Highland Scot and unweakened among us by generations in the New World. Genealogical connections were known, often in great detail, for the century and a half stretching back to the arrival of our ancestors in Canada."

87 Clive and Frances Marin, *Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry 1945-1978* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1982), p. 397. The Glengarry Genealogical Society was mainly the venture of a few individuals. Most notably Alex Frasier. Although quite popular for many years, the society has not really been active in the twenty-first century. David Anderson, (telephone interview, 17 April 2004).


89 David Anderson, (telephone interview, 15 March 2004).


91 David Anderson, (telephone interview, 17 April 2004). Although the Glengarry Celtic Music Hall of Fame appears to be prospering in the county since its inception, Glengarry Place for the Arts has encountered a number of obstacles. The organization that is proposed to be situated in the town of Maxville, has not been well received or supported from the Glengarry Scottish community outside of the small town. Unfortunately the future of this organization remains in jeopardy.

92 Although the GSHG remain the mainstay of Scottish cultural events in Glengarry County, there are several other Scottish events that are celebrated annually within the county. Robbie Burns’ Day, the Scottish Tartan Ball, and the St. Andrew’s Festival are all cultural events that are unanimously supported by local residents. Many of these cultural celebrations, including the GSHG, are supported by the local service clubs. In particular, the Lions Club (consisting of forty-five members, mostly anglophones and bilinguals of high status) and the Knights of Columbus (consisting of five hundred members, including both anglophones and francophones).


94 Jim Brownell, (personal interview, 31 March 2004). The following Franco-Ontarian cultural institutions are currently active in Glengarry County: The Richelieu Club (forty-five members); The Federation des Femmes Chretiennes (fifty members); and the Franco-Ontarian Cultural Center which also contains Les Trois P’tits Points (a francophone day care center).
David Anderson, (telephone interview, 17 April 2004). Although David M. Rayside the author of *A Small Town in Modern Times*, a book about Glengarry County’s largest center – Alexandria, argues that Franco-Ontarian culture is actively celebrated throughout the county, the celebration of Franco-Ontarian culture is much more prevalent in Alexandria than anywhere else in the county.

Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004).

The Glengarry Good Roads Association, 1905.


Ibid.


Ibid. The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project involved four major agencies: Ontario Hydro (which was founded in 1906); the Power Authority of the State of New York; the Canadian Seaway Authority; and the United States Seaway Development Corporation. Eight rural villages were affected by the flooding and had to be relocated: Iroquois (pop. 1,049); Aultsville (pop. 312); Farran’s Point (pop. 184); Dickinson’s Landing (pop. 180); Wales (pop. 210); Moulinette (pop. 311); Mille Roches (pop. 874); and Morrisburg (pop. 800 to 2000 were relocated).

Ibid., p. 54.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 62.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Connie Blaney, (personal interview, 23 August 2001).


*Welcome to the 56th Glengarry Highland Games*, 2003. The Glengarry Scottish Highland Games Souvenir Program. (Glengarry, p. 70). Some of the notable individuals that have opened the Glengarry Highland Games in Maxville: Leslie Frost in 1950 (Premier of Ontario); Angus L. MacDonald in 1952.
The construction plan includes: the building of a 540 seat grandstand at the north end of the fairgrounds; two wings added to the current grandstand; and a two-storey administration building. The Federal and Provincial Governments of Canada are each contributing $289,500 to the project, Ontario Tourism and Recreation contributing $24,000, and the Glengarry Highland Games community of partners will be investing the balance of $1,447,500. Although the 1999 announcement of federal, provincial, and municipal governmental support may imply that government endorsement of the GSHG is relatively recent, government has been directly involved with the Glengarry Games since their revival in 1948. Local municipal politicians formed a large component of the 1947 GHGC and from that period until the 1999 announcement, government has always maintained a link to the organization and progression of the Highland Games cultural festival in Glengarry County.

Although the majority of Glengarry residents either directly or indirectly support the cultural festival that the county hosts annually, it is clear that some residents within especially the last eight to ten years have expressed concern over the direction of the GHGC and the future of the games. At the heart of this concern is the continual expansion of the festival. Not all residents believe that 'bigger is better.' Some residents, although perhaps a small minority, feel that tourism and monetary concerns have clouded the direction of the GHGC. According to one resident, "the focus has left the Scottish culture...I mean the Glengarry Highland Games are certainly successful in some ways, but I suppose that depends on how you choose to measure success." Edward St. John, (personal interview, 2 January 2004).

The influence of tourism severely impacts the celebration of the Glengarry Games. Tourism, when affiliated with cultural festivals, creates an interesting paradox. How do organizers of the GSHG expand the festival to meet the needs of tourists and the local tourism economy, without sacrificing the authentic tradition of the games in Glengarry? Does the incorporation of a wide variety of events in an effort to attract tourism affect authenticity? Including events that have little or nothing to do with Scottish culture as a component of the Glengarry Games retracts from their Scottishness, but does it affect the culture that the games help reproduce? There are many vexing questions that the organizers of the Glengarry Games must consider when determining the future of the games within the county. Howell suggests that in Canada's Maritime region, rural areas attracted tourists by advertising their authentic traditional culture. The irony is that it was the influx of tourists and capital to the region that began to erode the traditional way-of-life that did persist prior to the impact of tourism. Borderlands, Baselines, and Bearhunters: Conceptualizing the Northeast as a Sporting Region in the Interwar Period. (Journal of Sport History, 29, 2, 2003, p. 259).

The researcher understands that it is difficult to conclusively resolve in any manner the impact of an ideology as a component of culture as the methods of social history do not illuminate such questions very fully. As we cannot retrospectively poll Glengarrians on their attitudes and emotions experienced, the...
following analysis of antimodemism utilizes primary and secondary historical sources in an effort to evaluate how ideological change impacted Glengarry County during this period.


128 Ibid., p. 127-130. Although some farmers did choose to meet the new standards and as a result the farms that did remain in Glengarry have become technologically advanced and also very successful, the majority sold their land and sought opportunity in the local urbanized regions.

129 Ibid., p. 128.

130 Ibid.


132 Ibid.


135 Ibid., p. 28.

136 Ibid., p. 27. The Glengarry Folk School was partly responsible for the foundation of the Glengarry Historical Society in 1958.


138 Ibid., p. 29.

139 Ibid., p. 8.

140 Royce MacGillivray, *The Mind of Ontario* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1985), p. 63. According to Macdonald, rural communities have been conjured up in the academic, romantic, and popular imagination as places of close relationships that exist free from the stress and alienation of modern society. Rural communities have been assumed to be traditional, to have cultural heritage, to be authentic, and homogenous. It is this imagination of rural communities that attract the gaze of the urban tourist. Sharon Macdonald, *Reimagining Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance* (New York: Berg, 1997), p. 196.

141 Along with the Scottish cultural institutions of the twentieth century, the late-Victorian novels that disseminated the image of the Highlanders of Glengarry in a distinct and reverent manner also supported the rural myth of Glengarry. The warmly romanticized novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century written by Charles Gordon (Ralph Connor), Dorothy Dumbrille, Margaret Robertson, Grace Campbell, and Carrie Holmes MacGillivray were of particular significance.


144 In this manner urban residents can pursue the rural myth on holidays and weekends while at the same time extolling virtues of an urban lifestyle in their day-to-day lives.


147 Ibid., p. 24.
Chapter V

Histories, Identities, and Glengarry’s Scottish Cultural Traditions

Throughout the preceding chapters, along with offering some contextual information germane to the analysis of Glengarry cultural life, the elements contributing to the revival of the Glengarry Highland Games and the ensuing growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions have been examined. This chapter is designed to evaluate how and why the proliferation of Scottish culture has influenced the construction of identity within Glengarry County.

The Social Construction of Ethnic Identity in Glengarry County

"Pride in one’s roots is essential to finding one’s voice.”
CHRIS SPENCE

The early history of Glengarry remains a significant component of the identity of the county’s residents even in the twenty-first century. As a consequence, the foundation of this community is an integral part of the county’s identity. As previously discussed, the early settlement of Glengarry County gave the region an assertively Scottish character. The county was separated from the exterior world. It had its own customs, values, and for a period its own language. The homogeneity of the early settlement established a strong sense of unity and cohesion. Residents felt an immense attachment to their town or local region – ethnicity was at the root of this attachment. According to Royce MacGillivray, the unanimity of the early Scottish settlement in Glengarry encouraged a higher rate of conformity than many other rural communities. This partially explains why Franco-Ontarians in the nineteenth century, despite a considerable population, did not overtly celebrate and perpetuate their cultural traditions until the
1930s. Particularly in the nineteenth century, many Franco-Ontarian families appropriated Scottish cultural traditions in a process of conformity.\(^5\)

During the early part of the twentieth century, the Canadian national identity proved to be an elusive concept. As conceded by MacGillivray, within Glengarry’s Scottish community, the cultural identity of the Scottish émigrés took precedence over any Canadian national identity for at least the first half of the twentieth century.\(^6\) In Glengarry during the 1940s and 1950s, regional and ethnic identity superseded any national sentiment.

"The Scots of Glengarry loved an unbroken front...in the 1940s, Glengarrians were proud of being Scotch. They were much less inclined at this stage to think of themselves as being Canadians. They were patriotic, yet Canadian was not a category that came urgently to their minds."\(^7\)

For the purposes of this study, ethnic identity is defined as a “positive personal attitude or attachment to a group with whom the individual believes he has a common ancestry based on shared characteristics and shared socio-cultural experiences.”\(^8\) As denoted by Kalbach and Kalbach, individuals within Canadian society have chosen to identify themselves in a variety of ways. Although national, provincial, and ethnic identifications were most frequent, regional identities were also quite pervasive.\(^9\) Over several decades in Glengarry, regional and ethnic identities have commonly intersected. Simply stated, where an individual may be from is an important component of who they are and is likely to be integral to the conception of their identity. Furthermore, the answer to this question (where are you from?), sometimes indicates much more than a particular geographic location. Ethnic and cultural assumptions are often inferred.\(^10\) For this reason ethnic and regional identities are often confused over time and can become quite complex. The amalgamation of intricate combinations of regional and ethnic identity in
Glengarry was further convoluted during the 1940s. Regional identities began to distinctively form in Glengarry County during this decade. The revival of the GSHG and the emergence of antimodernism, the tourism industry, and cultural producers, which all contributed to the cultivation of nostalgia, helped establish a regional identity within the county. As one might expect, the regional identities formed in Glengarry during this period were explicitly linked to ethnicity.

Scottish ethnic identities had been reproduced in Glengarry for many generations. Over a century before any type of regional identity had developed in Glengarry, ethnic identification was vital to the perpetuation of Scottish cultural traditions and the maintenance of a homogeneous community.\(^{11}\) Resulting from the emergence of a regional identity within Glengarry County, many residents began to assume both regional and ethnic identity characteristics. This created a synthesis of identity concepts in Glengarry.

A recent study conducted by Christine Dallaire, examined how Canadian youth identities are produced and manifested when subjected to a variety of cultural influences. Richard Jenkins has also examined how cultural influence impacts an individual’s self-perception of ethnic identity. Jenkins declares that, “children know who they are, in most part, because others tell them.”\(^{12}\) Dallaire’s study examined how the Francophone Youth Games were utilized to reproduce French Canadian culture. Dallaire asserted that it is through performing as a francophone that one’s francophoness is established and confirmed.\(^{13}\) In Dallaire’s study, francophone youth defined themselves in different ways creating a hybrid of identity.\(^{14}\) In a modern plural society such as Canada, the hybrid identity becomes an effective model, as a fragmentation of allegiances and identities are
The hybrid model accurately depicts many of the residents of Glengarry County. It is clear that many Glengarrians not only identify with both regional and ethnic characteristics; in some cases their ethnic identification is a cultural hybrid, most often consisting of both Franco-Ontarian and Scottish elements. Cultural hybridity partially explains why and how so many Glengarrians of diverse ethnic backgrounds tend to associate directly with Scottish cultural traditions.

The Appropriation of Scottish Cultural Traditions

"There were over 3000 people in the vast sweaty refreshment tents. Most of them were not Scots, and yet the main tent was ablaze with tartan and filled with piping and Scots songs. Somehow everyone within a hundred miles of McPhee had found some trace of Scottish ancestry, and from lofts and cupboards the ancient garb of the Gaul had been extracted."

Tom McNab

Previously discussed was the popularity of Scottish cultural traditions within Glengarry and the number of residents from diverse cultural backgrounds that associate directly with this heritage. Individuals of Franco-Ontarian lineage often share in the enthusiasm for many aspects of Scottish tradition. The appropriation of Scottish cultural traditions and the encouragement of hybrid identities, in especially Glengarry youth, can be elucidated when examining the nature of ethnic self-identification. Ethnic identity has a pervasive social component that is collective and individual. It is externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification. Ethnic identification is a necessary and fundamental component of personal growth. Mainly resulting from active participation, the residents of Glengarry County, regardless of cultural lineage, identify with Scottish Highland heritage from a very early age. The presence of the Highland Games in Glengarry, including the buttressing network of Scottish cultural institutions, fosters a deep connection between Highland Scottish culture.
and the community (regional identity). As a result, regional and ethnic identities are mystified and residents from Franco-Ontarian and other non-Scottish lineage associate themselves with Highland Scottish culture.

Ethnic identity is not a fixed concept. It is entirely influenced by time and environment. In fact, ethnic identity is produced and reproduced through the evolution of time and becomes molded through circumstance. In this manner, ethnic identity becomes the product of our social experience. "We continuously construct the ways we see ourselves, and that involves the social world in which we live." The social construction of the ethnic identity of Glengarrians is influenced by the overwhelming presence of Scottish Highland culture in the county.

Ethnic identity is not the same as ethnic origin. An individual may choose to emphasize or ignore their ethnic origins when constructing or expressing his or her own ethnic identification. The Scottish influence in Glengarry, in the form of the GSHG and affiliate Scottish cultural institutions, encourages the appropriation of Scottish cultural traditions and creates hybrid identities. As the influence of Scottish cultural traditions were extended within the county, an increasing number of residents have appropriated this tradition as one of their own despite their divergent cultural origins. Subsequently, many Glengarrians naturalize the past history of the local region as being one of entirely Scottish descent and influence. As a consequence, Glengarry becomes more and more Scottish with each passing year that the GSHG and affiliate Scottish cultural institutions remain active components of the county and the residents' lives.

The Future of Scottish Culture and the Highland Games in Glengarry
What is the future of Scottish cultural traditions in Glengarry County? This is an interesting question to ask, but a problematical question to answer. It would be presumptuous and parochial to respond with any resolve to this question based solely on a limited knowledge of and experience within Glengarry culture. However, some relevant predictions regarding some possibilities in the forthcoming years will be articulated as an attempt to address this question is endeavoured.

In 1998, Canada Post issued a new stamp commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Glengarry Highland Games. Two years later, in the summer of 2000, the GSHG and the town of Maxville, Ontario (only consisting of 750 permanent residents) had attained the milestone of hosting more than one million visitors over a fifty-two year period. As previously acknowledged, it is clear that the Glengarry Highland Games have continued to expand in almost every aspect possible, particularly throughout the 1990s. Recent developments, such as the extension of infrastructure to accommodate more spectators, indicate that growth and expansion of the games may also characterize the first decade of the twenty-first century. With the current mandate of the GHGC the growth of the Glengarry Games is inevitable in the imminent future. But how much expansion is sufficient, and when will expansion of the games sojourn? These are questions that can only be appropriately addressed by members of the GHGC and other influential residents that control the direction of the cultural festival in the impending years. Although some residents have already expressed their dissent over the expansion of the games in recent years, when commercial objectives at least partially motivate the expansion, tradition can be occasionally overlooked.
The games in Glengarry and the Scottish cultural traditions they relentlessly support will continue to develop within the county. Providing that the networks of Scottish cultural institutions remain intact, the potential of commercial benefits persist, and antimodernism drives both urban and rural inhabitants to pursue tradition and the ‘rural myth,’ the GSHG will endure for many years to come. The Scottish cultural institutions of Glengarry are currently enjoying a period of prosperity. Interest in and commitment to Scottish culture in mostly the forms of traditional dress, Celtic music, athletics, and history, appear to be at a high level. In regards to commercial benefits, according to Jim Brownell, tourism continues to be a significant contributor to the local economy and few changes are predicted in the near future. Moreover, antimodernist thought continues to support tourism and the GSHG. According to McKay, the impact of modernity continues to intensify and multiply the demand for images and experiences of rural authenticity and enhances the attraction to the traditional. If this is an accurate assessment of what factors may contribute to the prospective vitality of the GSHG, then the Highland Games tradition and the Scottish culture they so inherently support, will be preserved within the county.

Providing that the games subsist in the forthcoming decades, how will they evolve, and will change affect Scottish culture in the region? In order to envisage the impact of prospective change to the GSHG on Scottish culture within the county, it is beneficial to examine how the games have influenced Scottish cultural traditions in the past. As discussed in Chapter IV, since the revival of the GSHG in 1948, the festival has certainly contributed to the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture within the county. From the revival on, the Highland Games in Glengarry have evolved throughout the
decades and concomitantly so have Scottish cultural traditions. Although the GSHG have stimulated the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in Glengarry, whether the festival has positively influenced Scottish cultural traditions within the county remains to be seen.

 Tradition is more than a particular form of the experience of temporality; it represents the moral command of what happened previously over the continuity of day-to-day life. Tradition, according to Anthony Giddens, is like the movement of raindrops on a windowpane. A wavering stream of water slides downward and comes into contact with another stream. They fuse into a single stream for a brief period and then secede into two separate streams only to merge again with other streams if the windowpane is long enough and the rain heavy enough. Giddens’ cogent metaphor for the fluidity of tradition as it exists as a component of culture is very effective when attempting to conceptualize how Scottish cultural traditions in Glengarry have been influenced by the GSHG. In Glengarry, the initial stream may represent Scottish cultural traditions at the time of the revival of the GSHG. The tributaries that the original stream merges with symbolize the influence of various Scottish cultural institutions. The confluence garnered with the fusion of each successive tributary strengthens, but simultaneously weakens the initial stream. The stream (or Scottish cultural traditions) is strengthened by the tributaries because a larger, more extensive network of buttressing cultural institutions are developed (volume is amassed), but it is also weakened because more key cultural agents have access to power over the direction and position of Scottish cultural traditions after the convergence (purity is reduced). Following the revival of the GSHG, the festival was united with several cultural institutions (or streams of water) that
actively celebrated and proliferated Scottish cultural traditions within the county. Consequently, a larger cultural network with a higher potential of impacting the community was established, but Scottish culture has a higher probability of being influenced by more cultural agents with an intention or motive to change or maintain Scottish traditions.

Mostly through the actions of key cultural agents, Scottish cultural traditions have been maintained in Glengarry County, but the forthcoming decades may offer new challenges for the next generation’s efforts to (re)produce Scottish culture. The future of the GSHG and the culture they actively celebrate and perpetuate depends mostly upon how well the next generation of cultural producers can adapt in an effort to maintain the traditions of their ancestors and respond to the new set of challenges presented in twenty-first century.

During this chapter, an attempt was endeavoured to demystify some of the ambiguity surrounding how identity (whether it be regional or ethnic) is constructed and reconstructed in Glengarry. Moreover, the influence of the county’s Scottish cultural traditions, including the GSHG, on the Glengarrian identity was specifically assessed in this analysis. Lastly, a prediction was articulated of what may materialize in the forthcoming decades in regards to the GSHG and the county’s Scottish cultural traditions.

Conclusion

This academic analysis is not intended to denigrate or malign Scottish cultural heritage or the Highland Games tradition in Glengarry County, but rather is an attempt to contribute to the opening of debate regarding the processes of cultural (re)production in this unique rural region of Eastern Ontario. This thesis represents an evaluation of a
community at a particular juncture of cultural revitalization. Following a brief outline of contextual information regarding the antecedents of the distinct community of Glengarry County and the delineation of some methodological approaches in the first two chapters, this thesis focused on the revival of Glengarry's Highland Games tradition. Chapter III examined the rise of Franco-Ontarian influence in Glengarry's economic, political, and cultural way-of-life from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1948 when the inaugural games were celebrated. The influence of tourism and ideological change was also considered when evaluating the revival of the GSHG. Chapter IV documented the growth and proliferation of Scottish culture in Glengarry from 1948 until the beginning of the twenty-first century. The initial section of this chapter investigated the rise and expansion of the GSHG and the network of Scottish cultural institutions in the forms of traditional dress, music, athletics, and history. Key agents and agencies were also highlighted during this section. In addition, the impact of a developing tourism industry and ideological change, articulated mostly through antimodernist sentiment, were assessed within the confounds of this chapter. In Chapter V, the social construction of identity, the appropriation of Scottish cultural traditions, and the impact of the Highland Games on Scottish culture in Glengarry were analyzed. Furthermore, within the later stages of the chapter the future of Scottish cultural tradition and the Glengarry Highland Games was explored.

In 1948, Scottish culture began to discover a golden age in Glengarry County; not in the influence of the contiguous urban centers of Ottawa or Montréal, or in prospective industrialized development, but in the past. Glengarrians looked to the county's cultural heritage and the once 'simple life' of the Scottish rural farmer, at one time regarded as
primitive, as the inspiration for the revival of an elapsed cultural tradition. A reaction against the emerging Franco-Ontarian population, tourism, and antimodernist sentiment all contributed to the revival of Glengarry's Highland Games tradition.

Although initiated by the revival of the GSHG, the expansion and proliferation of Scottish cultural traditions occurred as a result of several influential developments. A buttressing network of key cultural agents who extended Scottish cultural institutions and the cultivation of nostalgia which was warmly romanticized in the novels of Ralph Connor and Dorothy Dumbrille, and endorsed by the tourism industry as well as antimodernist thought, were all factors that contributed to proliferation of Scottish culture. Over decades the residents of Glengarry, regardless of individual ethnic and regional identities (although it is recognized that some possessed cultural or commercial interests), became saturated with the Glengarry Highland Games and the Scottish culture they so vehemently endorsed.

The personal story of Tallusia Tulugak and her experience in Glengarry County during the summer of 2003 demonstrates what perhaps is the true essence of the games. Tulugak is an Inuit woman from Puvirnituq, Northern Quebec. While working as a translator in Montréal for several northern supply stores, Tulugak and a small group of Inuit decided to attend the GSHG. Although the majority of the group had only a casual interest in the Scottish cultural festival, Tulugak had an atypical fascination for the games as her grandfather was of Scottish lineage. Even though for most of her life Tulugak had deeply resented her Scottish (or Caucasian) ancestry as it was often a source of much anguish and discrimination, her interest had brought her to Glengarry. After only an afternoon of experiencing much of the pageantry of the games, Tulugak confided to one

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Tullusia Tulugak's chronicle of her experience surrounding the Glengarry Highland Games, similar to hundreds of others, signifies the unique nature of Glengarry's history, tradition, and cultural life. Moreover, her sentiments are indicative of the unifying aspect of the festival. As well as necessitating community organization and support from an ethnically diverse group, the GSHG attract thousands of local individuals annually; francophone, anglophone, middle class, and working class, collectively assemble for the celebration of local history and culture. The very existence of the games in Glengarry symbolizes communal effort and cooperation while concurrently disseminating ideals of acceptance and community cohesion.

In 1974, the Glengarry Highland Games were aptly referred to, "the vision of a few men in 1948 has grown into one of the largest and most renowned Highland Gatherings in the world." For over half a century, the communities of Glengarry County have hosted the Highland Games and have celebrated and preserved the history, traditional dress, music, and athletic prowess of their ancestors. In the twenty-first century, even though Glengarry County has retained some distinctiveness from modern metropolitan life, economic, cultural, and social relations within the county have come to approximate urban patterns more than ever before. Despite the modernity induced changes to the county's long-established rural way-of-life, at least one practice persistently renews the local interest in Glengarry's cultural history. Although the Glengarry Games have evolved in conjunction with the community in which they are
celebrated, they remain an integral element of Glengarry cultural life by evoking reminiscences of the traditional society that once predominated within this region of Eastern Ontario.
Endnotes


2 A researcher cannot adopt an ahistorical approach to studying ethnic identity or relations. One must fully appreciate the history or foundation of identities, whether it be myth or reality, that impinge upon the views and attitudes of those individuals that adhere to any ethnic identity. Madeline Kalbach and Warren Kalbach, *Perspectives on Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: Harcourt Canada, 2000), p. 11.


5 Maurice Gauthier, (telephone interview, 23 March 2004). Also supported by Emma Menard, (personal interview, 23 December, 2003).


7 Ibid.


9 Ibid., p. 88.


14 Ibid., p. 22. Hybridity is a concept that appropriately describes contemporary Canadian youth identities. Dallaire found that in 2002, francophone youth identify with more than one ethnic label. Depending on the community examined, differing hybrid identities were produced. The francophone identity will continue to be adapted to agree with the modern context it is defined within. The concept of cultural hybridity is also prevalent in Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 2.


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Ordinarily it is not common for questions to be addressed to an individual who chooses to engage in an activity that is perceived as conventional for the group or culture of which that individual is a member. It is when an individual engages in cultural activity that is unconventional for a particular culture that questions are asked. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 6. It is partly the concept of cultural appropriation that attracted the researcher to 'ask questions' about Glengarry County and the GSHG. The appropriation of Scottish cultural traditions especially by Glengarry residents of Franco-Ontarian ancestry is one of the most intriguing aspects of Glengarry cultural life.


Jim Brownell, (personal interview, 30 December 2003).


In Grant Jarvie’s book *Sport, Scotland and the Scots* (London: Tuckwell Press, 2000), he asks what exactly is being celebrated in Glengarry during the Highland Games? The researcher asserts that it is not a romanticized culture in some far away Highland Glen that the people of Glengarry gather to celebrate, although the association to Highland culture may be discernible in many Glengarrians. Moreover, it is the sense of a Glengarrian identity. For the residents of Glengarry do not long for an attachment to the Highlands of Scotland, but covet the opportunity to reinforce their distinct identity, although it may differ between individuals as various forms of hybrid identities subsist within the county.


As more cultural producers gain access to power over the future of Scottish culture within Glengarry, the potential for commercialization and commoditization becomes a more serious threat. If the GSHG, under the guidance of a conscious GHGC, can sustain a balance between traditional and modern approaches, Scottish cultural tradition will likely subsist in its current form within the county.


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Appendix A

Map of Glengarry County, Ontario

Source: http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/glengarry.htm

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Appendix B

Map of Western Inverness-shire, Scotland

Map of Northeastern North America

Source: http://www.genealogy.rootsweb.com/canada.htm
Appendix D

The Origins of Scottish Culture: Conflict and Control

A number of complex factors led to the development of two distinct cultures in Scotland. The differentiation between the relatively autonomous Highland and Lowland cultures of Scotland cannot be established as the outcome of one string of events or era; it is the result of an evolving Scottish social structure from the sixth century onward. Between the sixth century and the eleventh century many diverse cultural groups inhabited the region currently known as Scotland. Numerous conflicts arose over control of the territory, but the Irish Scots, or Dalriadic tribe, emerged as the dominant group.

By the eleventh century, as the Dalriadic tribe formed a hegemony, Gaelic became the predominant language spoken throughout Scotland. The marriage of Malcolm Ceann-Mor, the Gaelic monarch, to the English Queen Margaret in 1058, represented an instrumental change in Scottish history. The marriage created an alliance that would alter the relations between Gaelic and Anglo cultures. Although the Highland attachment to Ireland and the Dalriadic tribe would not be broken until the mid-seventeenth century, the marriage marked the beginning of an Anglicization process that would eventually marginalize Gaelic culture, due, in part, to the English Queen's opposition of Gaelic Scotland. Malcolm Ceann-Mor also relocated the royal court from its Highland position in Perth to Dunfermline in the Lowlands. This change of location created the arduous task of enforcing law and order in the Highlands from a distant location. As a result, the north of Scotland witnessed an increase in the level of violence and other difficulties upholding the law. The removed judiciary system and the
consequent isolation of the Highlands of Scotland resulted in the formation of the clan system between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. This was one of the main factors that led to the emergent social differentiation between Highland and Lowland Scots. Geography, and a divergent way of life, certainly extended the distinction between the two Scottish cultures. The primarily cattle-raising Highland economy contrasted the developing labour economy of the Lowlands. This different set of economic subsistence further partitioned the regions and people into two distinct cultural groups.

Marginalization of Highland Culture

In the eighteenth century the British began to gain control over the Highlands and its people. The collapse of the 1745 Highland rebellion became the first of many events that would relinquish control of the Highlands to the British. Following the rebellion, the British state began to pursue its policies of cultural marginalization aimed at destroying the Highland clan formation. The Act of Proscription in 1747, or the Disarming Act, became the first of several legislative acts designed for this purpose. The Act banned: the wearing of Highland dress; the meeting of Highland people; the playing of bagpipes; and the carrying of weapons. Although the Act was successfully repealed in 1782, many of the Highland people did not resume their customs. The Heritable Jurisdictions Act of the same year reduced the power held by the clan chiefs. This was a crucial blow to the ancient clan system that had been an integral part of Highland life prior to the Anglo influence. The Act also forbade the chiefs to interact with their clansfolk. This loss of power resulted in the isolation of the clan chiefs. The chiefs soon abandoned the Gaelic culture, including its language and people, for the Lowland way-of-life. Furthermore, the clan chiefs began to commercially exploit their lands. The traditional cultural bond

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between the clan chief and his clansfolk was replaced with a purely economic association. The repressive legislation had virtually destroyed much of the Highland culture that predominated before the 1745 rebellion and created a rift between landlord and tenant that would be extended by one of the most horrendous moments in Scottish history – the Highland clearances.

The Highland Land Clearances: The Great Exodus of Highland Culture

The Highland land clearances altered the fate of Scottish history forever and further marginalized Scottish Highland culture. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the Highland clearances, initiated by 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.”

The coercive policies of the landlords combined with the desire to incorporate the Highlands into a capitalist formation, eventually led to the physical removal of the Highlanders from their farms and homes. The gentle Glens and rugged mountains that for centuries had been inhabited by thousands of Highlanders were being cleared of their human populace for herding and hunting objectives. The Highlanders were literally being replaced with sheep and deer. The funds generated from sheep farming and from hunting rights, were more lucrative than the profits generated from the struggling Highlander tenantry. The clearances officially began in the 1760s after the 1745 rebellion was quelled and the ensuing legislation was established. The eviction rate increased between 1780 and 1855. Although clearance policies were formally abandoned by the 1886 Crofters Act that reduced the power of the landlords to evict tenants, the increased rent
and competition for land encouraged many to emigrate from the Highlands to pursue the promise of a new land.$^{12}$

**Scottish Highland Emigration: Economic and Social Motives - Push or Pull?**

As already indicated, the Highlands offered little opportunity for anyone who chose to inhabit them. The powers of eviction, poverty, and famine ensured the loss of many of Scotland’s sons and daughters through emigration. In the early period of the clearances, as an alternative to emigration, many Highlanders migrated to the west coast and the islands of Scotland to be employed by the developing kelp industry. By the 1820s, the kelp industry had quickly dissolved and the Highland Scots were left in the same desperate position.$^{13}$ Although it is clear that increased competition for land resulting from the clearances may have pushed the Highlanders to emigrate from Scotland, there were also a number of pulling influences that may have convinced Highlanders to emigrate. In the late eighteenth century, Highlanders were often offered colonial government support and substantial land grants. This was the case for some of the Scottish Highlanders who settled in Upper Canada’s Glengarry County.$^{14}$

Even though few historians can dispute the influence of the deteriorating Highland economy on the decision of many Highlanders to emigrate, controversy entangles all arguments over the social motives of Highlander emigration. Some authors, including Henry Grey Graham in *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* and J.M. Bumstead in *The Peoples’ Clearances*, argue that Highlanders were forced to join the mainstream metropolitan British culture of the Lowlands or emigrate. This argument contends that only by departing their native land could the Highlanders maintain their traditional way of life. In *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in*
Transition, Marianne McLean perceives the Highlanders as opportunists and their decision to emigrate primarily motivated by new-found opportunity in the expanding British North American continent. McLean’s argument stems from her evaluation of the early Highlander settlement in Glengarry. “The Glengarry settlement did not originate in a desire to retreat to the past but from a willingness to take advantage of new opportunity available in Canada.”15 Both arguments accede that the Highlanders were willing to look to British North America for an ideal situation of settlement – a region in which to tenure a farm within a Gaelic community.16

Historical interpretation regarding the motives for emigration aside, the Scottish Highland land clearances were instrumental in the dispersal of Highland Scottish people and culture throughout the world. Victims of the Highland clearances were attracted to the free land and opportunity offered to them throughout Australia, New Zealand, and North America.17 The colony of British North America, that later formed part of the Dominion of Canada, became one of the main destinations for the Highlanders in search of refuge.18

Prior to the Highland land clearances and the corresponding exodus of Highland people, Scots were immigrating to British North America. As early as the 1620s, Scottish immigrants appeared on the east coast of British North America in the region that became known as Newfoundland. In the mid-eighteenth century, Scottish settlements were also created in the territories that would later become Prince Edward Island (1767) and Nova Scotia (1770). Although the earliest Scottish settlements were established on the east coast, in the same century Scottish immigrants also settled Ontario, Quebec, and British
Columbia. By the end of the nineteenth century, Scottish settlements covered most regions of British North America.\textsuperscript{19}
Endnotes


2 Grant Jarvie, The Highland Games: The Making of the Myth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 16-20. It is not the intent of this appendix to develop an extensive early social history of Scotland, but to merely establish how and when the early Highland Gatherings emerged in Scottish society. It is incorrect to assume that a distinct social formation did not exist in the territory currently known as Scotland before the 11th century. In fact, a number of social fractions occupied certain geographic areas of Scotland during the 6th century onward. The Picts were known as the original Caledonians and were the most powerful group in the north until the 6th century. The Irish-Scots, or the Dalriads, developed settlements in Argyll and Kintyre. The Strathclyde Britons occupied the area referred to the Cumbria and the Westmorland until the 6th century, but were overtaken by the powerful Anglo-Saxon group who emerged from the south. The Norsemen continually attacked the Western Isles and became a serious threat to the Scottish monarchy in the 12th century. Although the Picts, Dalriads, Strathclyde Britons, and the Anglo-Saxons were united in 843 under Kenneth MacAlpine, the first King of Scotland, no cohesive group was established. The unification was only a defense mechanism against the aggressive Norsemen tribes.

3 Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 16-18. It is the contention of some authors that although the Anglicization process began as early as the 11th century, the Dalriadic tribe predominated in Highland Scottish life until the 17th century. Until the Macdonald Lords that ruled both the western Isles of Scotland and Northern Ireland were overthrown, the Highlands remained racially and culturally a colony of Ireland. Only after the Campbells rose to hegemony in the Scottish Highlands in the mid 17th century were ties to Ireland broken. The tradition of the Highlands of Scotland only independently emerged in the late 18th century and early 19th century.


5 Ibid., p. 19. The Clan system was originally developed to help Highlanders protect themselves from attacks and to attack weak and or aggressive neighbors. The system of law and order that failed in the Highlands but prevailed in the Lowlands encouraged the formation of the clan system. The system ensured that families and people from similar regions would protect each others' interests against any threatening presence in the Highlands.

6 Ibid., p. 22. The term “Highlander” was first used in the 14th century to describe the customs and way of life of the people who lived north of the Highland line. The main social division between Highland and Lowland culture became the clan system of the Highlands that eventually became a threat to the anglicizing forces in the south.

7 Ibid., p. 20.

8 Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London: Black LTD., 1969), p. 58. Leaders in the Lowlands became convinced that Gaelic culture of the Highlands must be integrated into the British law and culture that predominated in the south of Scotland. The Jacobite Rebellion formed in 1745 in protest of the integration of Gaelic culture into the larger British society. Following the defeat of the rebellion in 1746, the Highlands started to be transformed from a near-feudal society to a modern commercial state. The defeat also signified a change against traditional Highland culture and way of life.


The British influence in Canada is undisputed. After the fall of Quebec in 1759 and the Treaty of Paris which followed in 1763, the French relinquished control of almost all of its land possessions to Britain. The Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867 with the inclusion of the provinces Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Several other provinces were established that linked the nation from the east to the west coast: Manitoba (1870); British Columbia (1871); Prince Edward Island (1873); Alberta and Saskatchewan (1905); and Newfoundland (1949).
Appendix E

Personal interviews


2. Carolyn Smith: resident of Maxville, member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee (fundraising), teacher at Martintown Public School. 26 August 2001.

3. Larry Harrison: resident of Maxville, member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee (track and field), principal at Maxville Public School. 26 August 2001.


Telephone Interviews


Appendix F

Traditional Scottish Highland Dress: The Kilt-Philibeg and Tartan Association

Although symbols of Scottish culture are internationally recognized, the antecedents of these symbols and traditions are not as well known. What are the origins of these cultural symbols and traditions that have become instrumental in forging an identity for Scots and individuals of Scottish lineage around the world? The origin of the kilt has been clouded by myths and fabrications for over a century.¹ The modern kilt, or philibeg, appears to be an invention of the eighteenth century. Until the sixteenth century all reports on Highland dress refer to the long Irish shirt or leine with a plaid cloak. After the Highland affiliation with the Dalriadic tribe was broken in the seventeenth century, the costume of the Highlands began to change. A belted plaid costume was first described in 1715 by a British officer posted in Scotland.² The kilt did not come into existence until the 1730s, only a few years before it was banned by the Disarming Act of 1745. An English Quaker from Lancashire has been credited with the invention. The English industrialist Thomas Rawlinson secured a steady source of timber for his iron-ore business by consolidating a deal with the Macdonells of Glengarry, Scotland. Rawlinson paid the Macdonells for the lease of the wooded area and for their labour to fell timber and work furnaces. During Rowlinson’s seven year stay in the Highlands, he noticed the suitability of the Highland costume for the idle life of the Highlands and its inconvenience for working in the timber industry. Rawlinson sent for a tailor in Inverness and converted the belted plaid into a shorter distinct garment with pleats - the result was the philibeg or small kilt. The story of the philibeg invention, including Rawlinson’s account was published in 1785 and is yet to be refuted.³
If the modern kilt was first invented in the eighteenth century, what tartan was displayed by the first Highlanders? Contrary to popular belief, tartans, which are a specific pattern or design, had no individual meaning or connection to a clan when the Disarming Act went into effect. "Tartans were only a matter of private taste or necessity." The Disarming Act destroyed many aspects of independent Highland life and the kilt-philibeg were among those traditions that disappeared from the Highlands before the act was repealed (see Appendix E). As a testament of the resiliency of Highland culture – after a generation in trousers and the repeal of the act, the Highlanders resumed the kilt-philibeg tradition.

The revival of the kilt-philibeg and its emergence as a romanticized ancient custom of the Highlands depended on two critical developments in Scotland. While the traditional dress of the Highlands was prohibited (1747-1782), under the Scottish Society's endorsement, the gentry class of Lowland Scots took to the wearing of the philibeg. It became fashionable for the Anglicized and well-educated Lowland Scots of Edinburgh and Aberdeen to appear publicly in philibegs. At the same time, the formation of the Highland regiments, like the Black Watch, made the kilt famous as their soldiers fought abroad. Although the peasants of the Highlands were forced into trousers, the Highland regiments were exempted from the act. As the regiments promulgated the legend of the fearless Highland soldier during campaigns in India and America, they also popularized the kilt-philibeg as a symbol of not only the Highlands, but Scotland as a whole. As the regiments expanded, they began to be differentiated by their assigned tartan. During the later part of the eighteenth century when the Highlanders resumed the wearing of the kilt-philibeg, the same principle of differentiation process was easily
transferred from the regiment to the clan. Therefore, the tartan clan association became an even more modern invention than that of the kilt-philibeg.⁸

At the end of the eighteenth century the lore of tartans heraldry emerged. The notion that certain tartans had belonged to family clans for centuries was popularized by myths espoused by authors of the period, including the famous Sir Walter Scott.⁹ The legend of the ancient Highlander - bonded to his clan by tartan and wearing his kilt-philibeg while tending to his cattle or lying in the heather - whether perceived as an accurate historical account or a fabrication, has given international recognition to the traditional dress of the Scottish Highlands.
Endnotes

1 Kenneth McKinnan, *Glengarry Highland Paths* (Toronto: Kintail Publishing, 2000), p. 41. The kilted plaid consisted of twelve yards or more of narrow tartan (cloth woven in a geometric pattern of colours), which was wrapped around the middle and hung down to the knees. It was most frequently fastened around the waist with a belt and the breacon was wrapped around the shoulder.


3 Ibid., p. 22.

4 Ibid., p. 23.

5 Ibid., p. 24.

6 Ibid., p. 25. The Black Watch was the first of the Highland Scottish regiments. The regiment first fought at Fontenoy in 1745. The Black Watch became the most infamous of the regiments and is partially responsible for disseminating the reputation of the Highland Scottish warrior.


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<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Courtney W. Mason</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth:</td>
<td>Long Sault, Ontario</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year of Birth:</td>
<td>1979</td>
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</table>
| Education: | Master’s in Human Kinetics  
University of Windsor  
Windsor, Ontario  
2002-2004  
Honours Bachelor of Arts in Kinesiology and Physical Education  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
Waterloo, Ontario  
1998-2002 |
Courtney W. Mason. Review of “Race, Nation, and Sport: Footballing Nationalism in Colonial Calcutta.” Soccer and Society, |


