INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI®

**A Highland Gathering:
A Ritual that Creates, Maintains and Reinforces Scottish Cultural Identity**

by

Erin MacRae, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
December 5, 2000

© copyright
2000, Erin MacRae

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-57709-0

Canada

The undersigned recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis

**A Highland Gathering: A Ritual that Creates, Maintains
and Reinforces Scottish Cultural Identity**

submitted by Erin MacRae, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Charles Laughlin, Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
December 5, 2000

Abstract

The Glengarry Highland Games are a modern day reconstruction and celebration of the traditional Scottish Highland way of life. This celebration, which attracts more than 25, 000 attendees each year, is a powerful and intensified ritual through which people can proclaim their identity and fashion a sense of purpose. It is through the instrumental role of certain formal properties of this intensified ritual, that the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish cultural identity can take place not only for the individual who attends, but also for the social group as a whole. The formal properties which aid in this process consist of repetition; the customary dimension; social drama and performance; experience and expression; the collective dimension; multi-media; integration; communication; strategy; the aesthetic dimension and symbols. Although some of these properties may seem more predominant than others, they are all necessary to achieve the result desired.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the numerous people who shared their time, knowledge and experience with me. It is due to the efforts of these people that I was able to complete my thesis. I would like to give great thanks to Maggie MacKay and the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University for their vast knowledge on everything Scottish. I would also like to thank everyone on the Glengarry Highland Games Committee, especially Jim McEwen for making my fieldwork possible. I would also like to thank all of the participants and attendees of the Games who took the time to answer my questionnaire and talk to me. If it weren't for the efforts of all these people my fieldwork would have never been possible. I would also like to give a special thanks to Charlie Laughlin and Brian Given for taking the time to supervise and spend time with me when I needed it. And last but not least, I would like to thank my family for their support, especially my husband Ian for his patience.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter One: History and Description of the Glengarry Highland Games	3
Chapter Two: The Role of Ritual in the Creation, Reinforcement, and Maintenance of Cultural Identity	25
Chapter Three: Field Research at the Glengarry Highland Games	51
Chapter Four: Analysis of how the Glengarry Highland Games Reflect the Properties of Ritual	74
Conclusion	86
References	i
Appendixes	x
Questionnaire	
Games Grounds Directory	
The Glengarry Highland Games 1948-1997 (Presidents and Game Openers)	

Introduction

The Glengarry Highland Games is a modern reconstruction and celebration of the traditional Scottish Highland way of life. It is an annual ritual that has been a permanent part of the Scottish community of Glengarry County since 1947. This celebration, which attracts more than 25, 000 attendees each year, is a powerful and intensified ritual, through which people are able to proclaim their identity and fashion a sense of purpose. It is my belief that it is through the instrumental role of certain formal properties of this intensified ritual, that the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish cultural identity can be created not only for the individual who attends, but for the social group as a whole.

Within the study to follow, chapter one describes in detail the history and description of the Glengarry Highland Games. The history of the Glengarry settlement is examined; the first Highland Games in the County are outlined; the steps in the revival of the Games in the area are described in detail, along with the evolution of the Games up to the present date; and the structure and events of the Games are outlined.

Chapter two examines the theory behind my belief that ritual has a role in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of cultural identity. In this chapter, the rites of intensification and identity within ritual will be discussed; identity and ritual shall be defined and examined; and finally, a number of formal properties within ritual (repetition; the customary dimension; social drama and performance; experience and expression; the collective dimension; multi-media; integration; communication; strategy; the aesthetic dimension; and symbols) will be separately outlined to show how each aids in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of cultural identity.

Chapter three consists of my analysis of field research from the Glengarry Highland Games. The methods conducted and analyzed are, a questionnaire (for attendees), informal interviews (for participants), and participant observation. This data helps support my theory that the ritual of the Glengarry Highland Games as a ritual aids in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish cultural identity.

Chapter four is an analysis of how the Glengarry Highland Games reflect the properties of ritual. Here, exactly as outlined in chapter two, illustrations from the Games are applied to each of the formal properties of ritual in order to show that the Games do in fact fit the description of what each ritual property does in the aiding in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish cultural identity.

Chapter 1: History and Description of the Glengarry Highland Games

The Glengarry Highland Games are a “gathering of the Clans” where individuals of all races and creeds gather to celebrate and inhale the Scottish ways of life and traditions. This two-day event takes place once a year and attracts a wide range of people from toddlers to seniors, Scots and non-Scots.

For some, the Games are a homecoming, a chance to renew family ties, get away from the city, and visit old friends, for some it is a chance to remind them of their culture and heritage. For others, it is the chance to immerse one’s self in the magic and mystery of another culture. Whatever the reason, tens of thousands of people have found themselves drawn once a year to Maxville Ontario, to witness an outstanding display of Scottish music, dance, sports, pageantry and tradition called the Glengarry Highland Games.

Maxville is a small village situated in the northwest part of Glengarry County, which is located in the eastern part of Ontario on the Quebec border. Maxville got its name ‘Macksville’ from early French settlers because all the Scottish ‘Macs’ lived there. Maxville is a typical Ontario village, being very quiet and with a very large retired population. When passing through, it is very hard for one to imagine that once a year it is host to one of the world’s largest Highland gatherings. The population swells from 750 to over 25, 000 people for this two day Scottish event (Laing; 1997:5).

The Glengarry Highland Games is estimated to be the largest Highland Games in the world. Even though the Games unofficial motto is Ceud Mile Failte (Gaelic for ‘A Hundred Thousand Welcomes), since 1948, the people of Glengarry have extended over one million welcomes to visitors who want to be part of this annual ritual. During the two day event, more

than sixty pipe bands compete to decide the North American Pipe Band Championships, more than two hundred dancers compete in the Highland dance competitions and Scottish strongmen compete in traditional Highland sporting events. Heads of state come to town, gallons of beer are consumed, tartan is seen everywhere, Celtic music is always in the air, and thousands of Scottish souvenirs are sold. It is a memorable and incredible event.

History of the Glengarry Settlement

Glengarry County is the result of a large wave of Scottish immigrants who came to North America from the Highlands of Scotland. Many of these immigrants left on their own will, others, felt that they were forced to leave. After the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie at Culloden, Scotland in 1746, the British set in changing much of the Scottish culture that existed at the time. There is much controversy as to what extent the Highland Clearances, as they came to be called, affected the way of life in the Highlands. There was a ban on the wearing of tartan which meant that the Highlanders could no longer wear their Highland garb such as kilts and plaids. Some believe that these clearances destroyed the Gaelic language as well as the many traditions that the Highlanders practiced and celebrated at the time. Many Clan Chiefs participated in the rebellion with the British, however, for the Chiefs that did not, their land was confiscated from them and their crofters were moved off of their holdings to make way for sheep. Many of the displaced Highlanders, at least, those who survived, found themselves starving and homeless. Some of these Highlanders were provided with passage to the New World, and the years 1746-1776 marked the great migration of Scots to British North America and ultimately to Glengarry (McLean;1991:19; Jarvie;1991:43).

Many of those who would eventually come to Glengarry originally settled in the Mohawk valley in New York State. They settled on land obtained from Sir William Johnson,

who was a landowner and Indian trader in the region. When the American Revolutionary War started in 1775, many of the recently arrived Scots found themselves on the wrong side yet once again. Again displaced, they fled to enlist in the British army or as refugees were forced to move north to Canada. Once in Canada, they settled in Glengarry as Loyalists (McLean;1991:19;Hunter;1994:74).

In 1786, an entire parish of Catholic immigrants arrived from Greenock, Scotland under the leadership of Angus Macdonell and the priest of the parish, Reverend Alexander MacDonell. The McDonnells, have played a prominent role in the region ever since. Other settlers were the remnants of the Scottish regiments who fought with Wolfe at Quebec and were then disbanded shortly thereafter (McLean;1991:20; Hunter;1994:75).

The emptying of the Highlands continued throughout the nineteenth century, the result of the tumult of the Napoleonic Wars, depression, famine and the continued preference of the landowners for sheep and deer parks over people. The new arrivals were allotted lands near Kirk Hill, Dunvegan, Maxville and Finch, all in Glengarry County (McLean;1991:22; Hunter;1994:76-77).

It has been said that Scots and elephants never forget. It is probably more true to say that those Scots who were expelled from their homeland remember more strongly than those who choose to leave their homelands. The touchstones of the homeland - in Scotland's case, the tartan, pipes and Scottish Games - acquired a greater symbolism when viewed from a distance. The new arrivals remembered and kept well alive the pipe tunes, dances, songs, sports and other Scottish traditions by passing them down to each new generation. Gaelic, one of the languages of

Scotland at the time these immigrants left their homeland, was still spoken in Glengarry long after it had disappeared in many parts of Scotland.

The First Games

There are a few records of Highland Games being held in Glengarry prior to the development of what is now the Glengarry Highland Games, which began in 1948. The earliest reports of Games being held in this area was in 1837 by the 52nd Glengarry Militia, a division for the troops erecting the cairn on Squaw Island in the St. Lawrence. The earliest official record of Highland Games being held specifically in Glengarry was in 1820 at Williamstown, southwest of Maxville, sponsored by the Caledonian Society of Glengarry.

These early Games had pipers and dancers performing the Highland fling and sword dance, as well as track and field events and what we now know as the heavyweight events-throwing the hammer, tossing the caber, putting the stone and tug of war. These Caledonian Games lasted until 1908 when a rainy day caused Big Rory, a heavyweight champion, to slip and accidentally hit and kill a child in the crowd with his hammer. After this tragedy, the Games died out in the area completely, but the traditions they celebrated remained alive and well. Piping, and dancing formed an integral part of most social gatherings in the Glengarry area (Laing;1997:7).

An Old Style Revival

In 1947, a Glengarrian by the name of Peter MacInnes, who was very involved with piping in the area, went to the Highland Games in Embro, Ontario to watch his daughter compete in Highland dancing. It was during this event that Peter formed the idea for reviving the Highland Games in Glengarry. Holding the Games in Glengarry would be a celebration of something very dear to the heart of Glengarry people.

Peter mentioned his idea to his friend, the local vet Don Gamble, who was also very enthusiastic about the idea. Peter and Don contacted Bill MacPherson, the organizer of the successful Embro Games, who agreed to help them organize the first Glengarry Highland Games.

Peter, Don, and Bill proceeded to circulate their idea around the county. Accordingly, by November 8, 1947, certain companies officially announced that they would sponsor the Games. Things really took off from there. On February 4, 1948, the first official meeting of the Games committee took place, during which appointments were made for the president, the treasurer, the chair, and the heads of all of the activities. All appointees were from the Glengarry area. At this point in time, they announced enthusiastically that their attendance goal for the first Glengarry Highland Games would be 8000 people (Laing;1997:11).

Organization for this grand event moved along very quickly. A thousand letters were sent out to ex-Glengarrrians inviting them to attend. Ads were placed in weekly and daily newspapers in the area, as well as on the radio, and eight hundred posters were distributed. The radio station CKCO of Ottawa agreed to broadcast from the Games, and special trains and buses were arranged to transport people from Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto. To ensure that the Games would attract national attention, arrangements were made for Prime Minister MacKennzie King, who was also the local MP, to officially open the Games. Tickets went on sale (three for a dollar or fifty cents at the gate), a caber and hammer were bought, famous singers, musicians, pipe bands, dancers, and sportsmen etc. committed to the event. As there were only two restaurants in Maxville at the time, a catering firm from Ottawa was hired to provide "substantial meals" as well as to run soft drink and ice cream booths around the grounds. Ample parking was also prepared. Everything appeared to be covered (Laing;1997:13).

When the day arrived, the crowds started coming early and they kept on coming, over 20,000 of them! This was the largest gathering in the history of Glengarry, and for any Games across Canada at that time. The day was an overwhelming success (apart from the fact that food quickly ran out due to the unexpected crowds). As this historic day, July 31st, 1948 ended, Glengarrians were bursting with pride.

The Evolution of the Games

The Learning Years - 1950's

Due to the overwhelming success of the first Glengarry Highland Games, Peter MacInnes and his committee were able to make it an annual event in Maxville. The 1950s were a learning decade for the organizers of the event. To accommodate the crowds, extra bleachers were built and an elegant grandstand that could seat 3000 people was built, provincial police were hired to direct traffic, many more companies were awarded concessions to sell food, and standards were set for dancing competitions including the judging (Laing;1997:19-25).

The Growing Years - 1960's

During the 1960s, the Glengarry Highland Games grew both in size and in reputation. The number of pipe bands attending exceeded thirty. In 1962, the Pipers Society decreed that the North American Piping Championships would be decided at the Glengarry Highland Games. Any piper or pipe band in North America seeking to prove themselves had to come to Maxville. Maxville was on the world map. During these years prize money for the bands also became the highest in North America.

During these growing years, a massed Highland fling was added to the opening ceremonies and a Friday night concert was inaugurated. A new drum majors competition was

added, and a trophy for individual piping was added. The Games were becoming so famous that in 1966 a band arrived from Glasgow, Scotland to compete, in 1967 Highland dancers came from as far away as California, and in 1961, 1962 and 1969, Clan chieftains from Scotland came to open the Games (Laing;1997:27-33).

The Heavyweight Years - 1970's

By the 1970s, the Glengarry Highland Games were a smooth running operation, and the organizers followed a wise maxim: "if it ain't broke, don't fix it." The changes they introduced built on the strengths and successes that the Games had already achieved. During this decade, an individual drumming competition was added. The heavyweight events were expanded and became a major attraction of the Games, with world class athletes flocking to Maxville to compete. Both the pipe band and Highland dancing competitions grew in size and continued to draw competitors from around the world. In 1971, a record number of forty-one bands competed at the Games (Laing;1997:35-41).

The Added Attractions - the 1980's

By the 1980s, the Glengarry Highland Games had arrived on the world stage as more participants arrived from Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. Jim Fraser, the manager of one of the New Zealand pipe bands, was quoted as saying, " we've come to learn, and this is where the toughest competition is."

The organizers continued to built on the strengths and successes that the Games had already achieved. During this decade, the number of competitors and number of competitions continued to increase. There were also a number of added attractions such as the clan registration

barn, the genealogy barn, a greater variety of concessions, the Thursday night Tartan Ball, Friday and Saturday night dances, beer tents, and football tournaments (Laing;1997:43-51).

By the 1990's, the Glengarry Highland Games had evolved to a grand spectacle of Scottish culture and identity. The fact that over 25 000 people return to this Scottish ritual on an annual basis is proof that Scottish culture and identity is important not only to the local people of Glengarry, but, to people nation and world wide.

The Structure of the Games

One of the main reasons for the success of the Glengarry Highland Games is that the structure and events, and the layout of the fair grounds remain constant each year (see layout in appendix). The Games are held on the end-of-July or beginning of August long weekend each year, in the same place and at the same times. Most of the current organizers of the Games are direct descendants of the original organizers, and truly believe that this repetition is integral to the success of this ritual.

The Games begin on the Friday morning with judging of solo piping and Highland dancing and some minor amateur heavy events. Friday afternoon is devoted to different types of musical entertainment and, in the evening, the highly acclaimed and always sold out Pre Games Concert takes place. This Pre Games Concert consists of a variety of Scottish musical groups (local, and world wide entertainers) including Scottish fiddlers, violinists, pipers, drummers, Gaelic choir, and many Celtic bands both traditional and more modern. Some of the bands included are the Brigadoons, Seven Nations, the Caledonians and the Rankins (Glengarry Programs: 1980-99).

Saturday is the time that the main piping, drumming, dancing and sports competitions take place. They continue throughout the day much to the pleasure of the audience. At one o'clock the Games are officially opened by a dignitary with the entrance of the massed bands marching onto the field. The massed bands, the highlight of the Games for many attendees, perform three or four musical arrangements such as Scotland the Brave, Bonnie Dundee, Amazing Grace and other crowd pleasers. The sporting and piping competitions continue throughout the afternoon with the winners being announced and trophies being presented just before the last massed bands performance around seven o'clock at night.

All day Saturday in buildings and tents that surround the main events, informal musical ceilidhs and other such Scottish entertainment takes place Saturday night including dancing, drinking and being entertained by Scottish bands until the wee hours of Sunday morning. The variety of things to do and see at any given moment at the Highland Games is part of the secret of their success-your senses are constantly being enticed in a new direction (Glengarry Programs:1980-99).

The Events of the Games

The Scottish Heavy Weight Events

The heavy events are the centerpiece of the Glengarry Highland Games, because they take place in the mid field of the main events. These Games are the official home to the Canadian championship in Highland sports. Giant men, some weighing up to four hundred pounds lift, heave, and throw while the rest of the performers march, dance and pipe around them. Since the very first Glengarry Highland Games, the athletic events have been one of the popular activities.

These events are divided into amateur and professional categories, and in more recent years, a junior heavy weight event has also been introduced allowing the younger generation to display their strengths at these Highland sports as well. All of the heavyweight competitors must wear a kilt, which is usually topped with a T-shirt.

Approximately ten to fifteen strongmen compete by invitation only in nine events: the caber toss; the sheaf toss, the 56 lb distance throw; the 28 lb distance throw; the 56 lb height toss over a bar; the 16 lb and 22 lb hammer throw, in which distance counts; the 22 lb stone throw, also distance; and the tug of war (Glengarry Program 1999). The following section describes what each of these events consist of and are about:

The Caber Toss - Tossing the caber as seen at the Games today, has changed little over the centuries. Although considered strictly a Scottish event, it has been a popular pastime in many other Northern European countries. Authorities disagree on the origin of the sport but probably brawny, Scottish woodsmen, who were looking for a challenge turned to the materials at hand and started tossing logs. A second theory is that it originated as a military exercise developed to breach fortifications and barriers (Webster;73:75-79;Groves & Stewart;1993:20;Jarvie;1991:23).

The aim of this event is to toss the caber, a long tree trunk, in a straight line. The contestants do not aim for distance, but try to make the caber somersault end over end and land in an exact line with the thrower's end up. A perfect score is a "twelve o'clock" toss. Skill is as important as strength, and the caber's length and balance are greater obstacles to a good toss than its weight. There is no standard size or weight, but the best caber tossers can handle a caber about twenty feet long, eight to ten inches thick and up to one hundred and forty pounds (Glengarry Program:1999)

Tossing the Sheaf - Tossing the sheaf originated in areas where harvesting hay and grain was feasible, including the fertile valleys of the central Highlands. In Scotland, this event consists of using an ordinary hay fork to toss a sheaf of whins (gorse) over a crossbar suspended by ropes between two tall upright poles. The sheaf may also be made of heather, hay or other appropriate twigs and grasses bound together by thin wire. Its weight may vary from fourteen to twenty five pounds, and it is approximately one foot thick and three to four feet long (Webster;1973:61;Groves and Stewart;1993:21).

The object of this event is to toss the sheaf with a fork over a free standing horizontal bar. The sheaf must clear the bar without touching it, and the crossbar is then raised six inches. Each athlete is allowed three throws at each height, and if he can not toss it successfully, he is eliminated from the event.

Throwing the Hammer - The hammer throw became popular in the Scottish Highlands as a pastime among young men who gathered at the local blacksmith. There, the smith's long handled hammer was thrown to prove one's strength and agility. The official weights of the present day hammers at the Glengarry Highland Games are sixteen and twenty two pounds. The contestant is allowed three throws, being scored for the longest distance (Webster;1973:65-70; Groves and Stewart;1993:22).

The Weights (The Implements) - Throwing for Distance and Tossing for Height

The Stone Throw - This is an ancient event similar to the shot put. Using a twenty two pound stone, it is thrown from the front shoulder using one hand only and with the athlete being allowed a seven foot four inch run up to the trig where he must then throw it as far as he can.

The origins of this event may come from the times when chieftains placed “stones of strength” weighing up to two hundred pounds on their gateway, which men would attempt to lift and move to another wall. If this task was done successfully, the man was given a hearty welcome wherever these stones were placed. A second thought of origin is that men of the same villages or clans would compete lifting and throwing huge heavy stones in order to show who was the toughest of the men. In this event, the athlete is given three attempts of which the farthest is scored (Webster;1973:71-74;Groves and Stewart;1993:21).

The 28 and 56 lb Weights - At the Glengarry Highland Games, weights are thrown for distance and also tossed for height. These events are combined into a three-part competition using both the 28 and 56 lb weights for distance, but only the 56 lb weight for height. The weights are usually block-or-bell-shaped with a round grip on a short chain. The scores are estimated on the best out of three tries. When throwing for distance, the technique is like throwing a discus, except the weight is ten times heavier. When throwing for height, the athlete swings the weight between his knees and then up over a bar (which is higher than fourteen feet). These events require a combination of tremendous strength, good speed, and muscle coordination (Webster;1973:71-74;Groves and Stewart;1993:22-23).

Tug of War - At the Glengarry Highland Games, there are eight men to a team, and the overall length of the pull is twelve feet. This event has been popular in one form or another in rural Scottish Highland life. Man to man events such as pulling on a wooden bar were popular in farming districts of Scotland for many years. In Argyllshire, there was a variation in which the two men at the center faced each other, grasping hands with their teammates lined up behind them. Each man held the waist of the person in front and pulled (Webster;1973:125;Groves and Stewart;1993:24).

The Light Weight Events - Track and Field

The Glengarry Highland Games is also home to light weight Scottish events, better known as track and field. This part of the sporting competition is an essential component in any traditional Highland Games; however, unlike the heavy events, in which the athletes must wear a kilt, competitors in track and field can wear regular running or work-out clothes. The Glengarry light weight competitions include: the triple jump, the pole vault and a running race, all of which are described below (Glengarry Highland Games Program:1999).

The Triple Jump - The triple jump is believed to have a Celtic origin, but no one authority can explain why or how it started. What is known is that it has always been an important part of the Games events (Webster;1973:107;Groves and Stewart;1993:25).

The Pole Vault - The origin of pole vaulting goes back to medieval soldiers who practiced pole vaulting for the purpose of clearing moats and surrounding walls. Only specialized soldiers on duty were selected to perform this task, and therefore, this talent was looked upon with great admiration. From this beginning, the event became a very popular one at the Games, with everyone wanting to prove that they had what it took to be a special soldier (Webster;1973:116;Groves and Stewart;1993:25-26).

The Running Races - Every year the Glengarry Highland Games have running races of different lengths and for different ages. In Scotland, these races originate back to King Malcolm Canmore of Scotland who in order to find a fleet-on-foot messenger, would organize races to see what men were the fastest runners. After holding several kinds of races, the King would then choose the fastest man to be his personal messenger (Webster;1973:Groves and Stewart;1993:26).

Scottish Highland Dancing

One of the most popular events at the Glengarry Highland Games is Highland dancing. Over two hundred and twenty dancers take part in these Games, and the competitions are organized for different ages and different levels. The ages of the dancers range from seven years and up, and the divisions start at primary; and work their way up to beginner; novice; intermediate; and premier. The Glengarry Games always open with a massed Highland Fling, where every competing dancer is on the field dancing together. This is an amazing sight, and it is a great opportunity to witness all of the varied colours of the numerous clan tartans. The music that accompanies these dancers includes clogs, jigs, reels and hornpipes.

The history of Highland dancing is at best a blend of fact and fiction. Some of the dances are very old and thought to originate in ancient rites celebrating marriage, fertility, victory, joy, and lament for the dead. Many Highland dances are identified with battle and are traditionally danced by men; however, in most Games today, as with the Glengarry Games, the majority of dancers are girls and women (Webster;1973:27;Groves and Stewart;1993:16). The following are the types of Highland dances performed at the Games:

The Highland Fling - This is perhaps the best known and the oldest of all the Scottish dances. This dance dates back to the eleventh century, and is based in the antics of a stag on a Scottish hillside. It is danced on the same spot throughout, without any traveling steps due to the fact that clansmen did the dance on their targes (shields). The Fling was a dance of victory and has a quick, light tempo throughout. It is often described as the basic dance of all Highland dancing because it demands excellent poise and control on the part of the dancer. The body remains erect, with marked opposition of arms and legs in the various movements. The dance is noted for its delicate toe dancing and outward rotation of the knees. Each sequence of steps is begun on

one side and repeated on the opposite side with the “fling” serving as the break in-between (Webster;1973:28;Groves and Stewart;1993:16-17;Glengarry Programs1980-99).

The Sword Dance - The Sword Dance was performed centuries ago on the eve of battles as a means of relieving tension and seeking an omen for the forthcoming battle. Legend has it that the modern sword dance, or Ghillie Callum, (as it is called in Gaelic) was devised by the great Malcolm Canmore. At a battle in 1054, he killed one of MacBeth’s chiefs - then took his opponents sword, placed it on the ground, and formed a cross by putting his own sword at a right angle over it on the ground. He then danced triumphantly over the crossed swords. Subsequently, a sword and scabbard were placed on the ground in the form of a cross in front of the dancer. If the dancer’s feet did not touch either sword, the clansmen believed they would win the battle, and if it did touch, then they would be defeated (Webster;1973:30;Groves and Stewart;1993:17;Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

The Seann Truibhas - Seann Truibhas means “old trews” in Gaelic, and this dance expresses the Highlanders hatred of Proscription, which forbade them from wearing kilts. After the Rebellion of 1745, kilts, pipes, etc., were forbidden and Highlanders were forced to wear tight fitting trews (pants) which they hated. This dance shows the Highlanders efforts to kick off the trews. Various flicks of the fingers and quick turns of the wrists demonstrate his abhorrence of the attire and the longing for freedom of the kilt. Toward the end of the dance, the tempo gets faster, and with a great leap, the dancer sheds the trews and shows his joy at being free at last (Webster;1973:31; Groves and Stewart;1993:18; Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

Flora MacDonald’s Fancy - This folk dance is perhaps the most graceful of the Scottish dances. It commemorates Flora MacDonald, who smuggled Bonnie Prince Charlie, as her maid, from the

Highlands of Scotland to the Isle of Skye in an open boat. The Flora was introduced as a women's dance after the Games in Scotland forbade women to wear kilts (Groves and Stewart;1993:18).

The Irish Jig - There are several different theories about the origins of the Scottish version of the Jig. One is that some Irish immigrants to Scotland were washerwomen who resented the long hours of work for low pay. They danced to ease their frustrations with their employers. Hence, the dancers angry gestures and the stomping of the feet. The second theory is that the Scots are poking gentle fun at Ireland's national dance (Webster;1973:31;Groves and Stewart ; 1993 :18; Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

The Sailor's Hornpipe - The Hornpipe is a dance in which competitors wear the dress of the Royal Navy. The dance depicts sailors performing their daily routines on board ship (Groves and Stewart;1993:19).

The Full Tullock - This dance is said to have originated when parishioners in the northeastern village of Tullock were locked out of a church during a snow storm. While they waited for their minister to arrive, they stamped their feet, clapped their hands and started swinging each other around in order to keep warm (Webster;1973:31;Groves and Stewart;1993:19;Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

The Lilt - This is a gentle and flowing dance invented for female competitors after women were prohibited from wearing the kilt. The dress worn for this dance is a version of the popular seventeenth century Highland dress, which used a pattern of a plaid containing white known as arasaid (Webster;1973:30).

Strathspey and Highland Reel - Reels are group dances, and although four dancers participate at a time, they are judged individually. Reels are usually preceded by a strathspey which is a much slower tempo, but to similar music. The set of the strathspey is thought to be influenced by the French court of Mary Queen of Scots, while the interweaving motion echoes the complex interlacing of Celtic knotwork (Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

Scottish Music

Scotland's music is its soul, and for two days a year, the Glengarry Highland Games is full of the sounds of Scotland. The music at these Games ranges from traditional to modern Scottish music. The traditional music includes the bagpipes, drums, harps, violins, fiddles, Gaelic singing, and Celtic band music. The more modern Scottish music is made up of Celtic bands using a combination of bagpipes and guitars for a more "rock like" sound. On occasion, the brass band of the Ceremonial Guard takes part in the Pre Games concert; the sound of the brass instruments makes the Scottish music even more distinct.

There are many Scottish musical competitions at the Glengarry Highland Games. Over seventy pipe bands from around the world compete to see who will be the official North American Pipe Band Champions. The bands that compete range from grade 5 and working their way up to grade one; there are solo drum and piping competitions; Glengarry is also home to the official Piobaireachd Gold Metal Championships; there are open bass drum and open tenor competitions; there are also a number of fiddling competitions.

One of the major attractions of the Glengarry Highland Games is the massed bands on Saturday. Over seventy pipe bands play and march together on the main field. It is a spectacular sound and incredible sight (Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

Besides the Scottish music that takes place in competitions, as just mentioned, there are also other musical events during the Games. Throughout the grounds, there are areas designated for different musical acts to perform. There are many tempos in Scottish music - jigs, reels, slow airs, strathspeys, songs, Gaelic melodies, polkas, and marches and all of these can be heard over the two day period (Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

Some of the musical bands that are regular performers at the Glengarry Highland Games include The Glengarry Bhoys, The Brigadoons, Sons of Maxville, Shenanigans, Caledonians, Seven Nations, Haggis, Bob and Ducky, McMartin Fiddle, Clandestine, Brandy and Port, The Rankins, Natalie MacMaster, Hadrians Wall etc. These bands range from very traditional Celtic music to a very modern style of play (Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

There are also many solo fiddlers and violinists, and fiddle and violin bands who perform separately as well as in a massed fiddle and massed violin; there are a few Gaelic choirs, brass bands, harp players as well as singers. Some of the best fiddlers and violinists who have attended the Games include: Little Jack MacDonald, Wilfred Gillis, Winnie Chafe, Cliff Britton, Lucien Ranger, Duncan MacDonald, The Old Tyme Fiddlers, and The Glengarry Strathspey and Reel Society just to name a few (Glengarry Programs 1980-99).

Satellite Events

There are a number of events that take place both inside and outside the Games grounds before and after the Games, as well as a number of peripheral events that take place during the Games that are part of this ritual ceremony. The satellite events consist of the tartan ball; the kirkin o' the tartan and the ruins of St. Ralphaels. The peripheral events consist of the Clan registration barn; the genealogy barn; Scottish concessions; entertainment beer tents, and so forth.

Outside Events

The Tartan Ball - The Thursday night before the Games begin, a formal tartan ball takes place in one of the main buildings on the fair grounds. At this ball, many kinds of traditional Scottish music is played, and traditional dances are danced. Everyone who attends this ball wears Highland Scottish dress- the women in highland gowns and the men in many different forms of Highland dress (Glengarry Program:1999).

The Kirkin o' the Tartan - this is a tradition that began after the proscription act which outlawed certain aspects of Highland culture. Highlanders bitterly resented these harsh restrictions and looked for ways to retain their culture and their identity as a people. History records show that one way of holding on to the Highland ways was through the kirkin o' the tartan. The people would go to worship in their usual denominational manner, but each would conceal somewhere in their clothing a piece of their clan tartan-usually kept close to their hearts. At a set time and by a signal known only to the Highlanders, the minister would call for a short period of silent prayer during which the tartan was touched and private prayers were said. This would be followed by a hymn, the benediction, then, outside the church, a time of friendly visiting before returning home (Glengarry Programs 1980-99;Groves and Stewart;1993:30).

Each year, on the Sunday afternoon following the Glengarry Highland Games, an ecumenical service for the Kirkin o' the tartan is held at St. Columba Presbyterian Church, in Glengarry. It is here that everyone offers thanks to God for his constant care for the faith of the Scottish ancestors and for the freedom to wear the tartan. After the ceremony is done, there is a small parade of the tartans from the front of the church to respect the culture, and the revival of Highland ways.

The Ruins of St. Raphael's - Over two hundred and ten years ago, the first people of St. Raphaels carried the ancient culture of the Gael from the Highlands of Scotland across the Atlantic where it flourished in the New World. The craggy glens of Kynodart in western Inverness-shire adjacent to Glen Garry, are now peopled by few Highlanders, for the place is in Canada and their monument is St. Raphaels.

The silent walls of this historic structure proclaim the dignity of its Highland builders. The church expresses the character of its Highland people: gentle in peace, fearsome in battle. The Church was built by the children of Bonnie Prince Charlie's men who saw the defeat of the clans at Culloden. They were King George's loyal Scots from the Mohawk Valley, they were the disbanded Glengarry Fencibles of the Irish rebellion of 1798. They were the men of Glengarry who rallied to the fiery cross in the War of 1812. People visit this now ruin over the period of the Games and remember and pay respect and thought to their Scottish ancestors (Glengarry Programs: 1980-99).

Inside Events

The Clan Registration Barn - Within the fair grounds of the Games, part of one building is dedicated to clan registration. This allows people to give and receive information about their clan association and its goings on - clan meetings, festivals, events and so forth.

The Genealogy Barn - This is very similar to the clan registration, except it allows people to share genealogical research and to see who they are related to. It also allows people to add their names and family history to lists already made in order to keep track of all of the descendants and history of Scottish families from all over the world.

Scottish Concessions - Within the fair grounds, there are numerous concessions selling anything and everything Scottish. Things being sold include kilts and other highland dress and types of clothing, music (CD's, tapes), instruments, jewelry, Celtic stain glass, flags, Scottish weapons, clan souvenirs, whisky, etc. The enthusiast can find almost everything sold here with a twist of tartan. There are also a number of Scottish food concessions selling traditional foods like haggis neeps and tatties; scotch pies, bridies, black pudding, egg beans and chips, fish and chips and so forth.

Entertainment Tents (Beer Tents) - There are a number of large beer tents on the fair grounds, some having names like the Piper's Pub, the ceilidh tent, tartan tent or the Angus Gray Center and so on. Within these beer tents there is plenty of alcohol as well as lots of live music of many different kinds and other forms of entertainment such as dancing, singing etc.

Concerts - Ceilidh and country dancing - In the evenings of Friday and Saturday night, after all of the main competitions and shows are finished, the entertainment takes place in all of the buildings on the grounds. In each building, there are different types of live music and dancing. These range from the traditional type of ceilidh to more modern dance. The music and the dancing take place throughout most of the night and then into the wee hours of the mornings.

Highland Dress at the Games

At these Games, there are many different kinds of Scottish garb. Many people who attend these Games, not just the participants and competitors wear the traditional form of Highland dress. Even though the dress of the Scottish Highlander is well known all over the world, it is seldom seen in all its variations and to such advantage as at the Glengarry Highland

Games. Here you may see the more ancient form of dress - the plaid in full attire, or more modern versions of dress, the kilt with a jacket and so forth.

The highland dress is displayed on both males and females throughout the two day period, the women wearing blouses, skirts and gown dresses. Other attendees wear many different forms of tartan clothing, hats, shirts, pants, shots etc., as well as shirts with Scottish sayings, face paint, flags and so on. One thing that your eye is constantly being stimulated by at these Games is the colorful patterns of tartan. Each clan has its own tartan, and many forms of the one clan tartan at that (hunting, dress, ancient, etc.)all of which are on display.

The Glengarry Highland Games are an intensified celebration and spectacular display of Scottish culture. It is a fabulous annual ritual that attracts people from all over the world to both perform, watch, and learn about Scottish ways of life. It is a ritual that helps in the creation, maintenance and reinforcement of Scottish cultural identity for individuals and for the social group as a whole.

Chapter 2: The Role of Ritual in the Creation, Reinforcement and Maintenance of Cultural Identity

When a social group gathers to celebrate a particular event or occasion, such as the Glengarry Highland Games, the celebration can become a powerful intensified ritual as a desire to create, reinforce and maintain not only a sense of cultural unity, but a cultural identity. In its instrumental role, ritual celebration is an important, often crucial, means through which people proclaim their identity and fashion their sense of purpose.

In the pages to follow, I shall first discuss ritual as a rite of intensification and identity within ritual; second, I will define identity for the purpose of this study; third, I shall define and discuss ritual; forth, I shall examine in detail the properties of ritual and their role in the creation, maintenance and reinforcement of identity, and lastly, I will return to the rites of intensification to demonstrate how in the case of the Glengarry Highland Games all of the ritual properties aid through these rites in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish cultural identity. Within this chapter, I am examining ritual theory from a structuralist point of view, in order to demonstrate how a ritual functions.

Ritual and Rites of Intensification

For many immigrant cultural communities or groups, there is a crisis of identity. In order to survive the cultural group or community must relinquish its cultural differentia. This relinquishing of cultural ways most often takes form in a rite of intensification.

As Chapple and Coon (1942:398) argue, “rites of intensification restores equilibrium for a group after a disturbance affecting all or most of its members and are most commonly the result of the changes in the environment, such as the alteration of the seasons and even the succession

of day and night. They are crisis, of course, because with these changes people have to alter their activities, and each change of activity involves a readjustment of the interaction rates". The principal characteristics of these rituals is that they accompany a change in the interaction rate within an institution or cultural group, and provide dramatic representations of the habitual relationships of the individuals in the sets of which the system is composed (Chapple and Coon;1942:507).

The rites of intensification are a three-fold process. The first stage is separation, either of the participants from others (if all are not included), the ending of other interaction forms and the relationships built upon them. They build up intensity of one type of interaction only to shift radically to the new; transition, the second stage, requires the performance of the interaction forms through which the group structure is made explicit and reinforced; and finally, the third stage, reincorporation takes place where group interaction reaches its optimal level of intensity through increasing the precision of the set events which unify and polarize the individuals in their institutional relationships until "the people speak with one voice"(Chapple;1970:307).

Chapple and Coon (1942:507) note that, "the acting out of the ordered interaction of the cultural members has the effect of reinforcing or intensifying their habitual relations and thus serves to maintain their conditioned responses. It is for this particular reason that they are called "rites of intensification." In the technical (physiological) sense, the performance of these rites prevents the extinction of habits (orders of action) to which the individuals have been trained. Rituals of intensification make up the great ceremonies of a society, as well as the less spectacular daily, weekly, monthly and yearly rituals which provide a framework within which the interaction of the institution is to a large extent ordered and controlled (Chapple and Coon;1942:508).

As I will later demonstrate in my analysis of the Glengarry Highland Games in chapter four, these periodic rituals have a wealth of symbolism associated with them. It can be shown that each symbol used refers to the contexts of the interactions of the celebrants in their cultural institutions, and these are largely provided by their technology. The reason for this is that the mechanism of the conditioned response, through which symbols obtain their meaning, depends upon the repetition of interaction. The effectiveness of symbols selected from the regular interaction of members of institutions is, therefore, reinforced by the regular performance of the rites of intensification (Chapple and Coon;1942:508).

Ritual and Identity

Ritual celebration of this intensified nature is not only fun, it is also a performative statement or “metastatement” about the social order. Frank Manning (1983:34) contends that, “it is very apparent that ritual festivals are about identity whether personal or social and they are the context and the process of creating links between people in the community or a culture, as well as between the community or culture and the wider national and cultural environment.”

The ideologies behind these rituals are very often symbolically constructed by extending the past into the present, showing that the culture’s heritage is an ongoing timeless experience, and that the ritual serves to recreate to some extent the intense emotion experienced in the past. As Manning (1983:9) highlights, “traditional ritual festivals constitute symbolically, a way of recalling the origins - whether mystical or historical of the cultural group or community of people. The importance of history and its enactment and re-enactment in the ritual seems to be an especially important element in creating identity. (Manning;1983:34).

These intense rituals are occasions when cultural and national identity can be created, maintained, and feelings of self-awareness and participation in common experiences reaffirmed. Manning (1983:11) also emphasizes that, "the role of each ritual festival is as a text about its community's cultural internal social relations and its identity vis-à-vis the outside world." It is after a ritual is over, that the celebrants eventually return to the wider society, with cultural resources that they may use to resist external influences or, alternatively, to negotiate and compete on behalf of their cultural interests. Therefore, the intensified ritual strengthens its constituents in their inherited culture and identity (Manning 1983:35).

Due to the fact that identity plays a major role in this study, I want to make clear what I mean by the use of the word. Identity can be defined as membership in a cultural group. Identity can very much be a strong emotional attachment to a group and all of its symbols. One may lose a particular identity by losing membership in a particular group, but complete loss of identity is very rare. We do not start with nothing to identify us; we are all born with a particular identity which we inherit, along with other products of human culture, such as speech and so forth. However, such things are learned; they need not be invented anew. We can be born with an empty state that is later filled through observed and taught experiences (Platvouet and Van Der Toorn: 1995:351-353).

Isajiw (1981:2-3) notes that, "identity can be conceived as a phenomenon indicated by the attributes and behavior patterns which derive from membership in a cultural group." He also highlights that this identity can be divided into two basic aspects: external and internal. By external, he means observable behavior patterns such as, cultural behavior patterns (i.e. speaking an ethnic language practicing cultural traditions etc.), participation in cultural networks (i.e., family and friendship), participation in cultural institutional organizations, and participating in

cultural associational organizations, (such as clubs, societies etc.), and participation in functions sponsored by or held by cultural organizations (concerts performances lectures, dances and so forth). By internal aspects, he refers to images, ideas, attitudes and feelings. The two aspects are very much intertwined and closely related to one another (Isajiw;1981:3).

Ritual

Ritual is part of many disciplines, and serves such numerous functions in human societies that scholars have not yet been able to define it in non-ambiguous terms. However, despite the vast array of perspectives and ramifications that exist, there is a surprising degree of consistency in the descriptions of ritual. For the purpose of this study, I will define ritual in an operational manner, in which the ritual may be defined by its formal properties discussed in detail further below. Within my interests for this particular study, ritual cannot be separated from these properties and their functions, as ritual is a specific mode of interaction between humans, which does certain things in and for them.

Therefore, for the purpose of this particular study, ritual may be defined as:

That ordered sequence of stylized social behavior that may be distinguished from ordinary interaction by its altering qualities which enable it to focus the attention of its audiences as well as a wider public onto itself and cause them to perceive it as a special event, performed at a special place and or time, for a special occasion and or with a special message. It effects this by the use of the appropriate, culturally specific, consonant complexes of polysemous core symbols, of which it enacts several redundant transformations by multi-media performance, thereby achieving not only the smooth transmission of a multitude of messages, some overt, most of them covert and stimuli, but also serving the strategic purposes. All of the elements involved in ritual are used together to achieve one special task - the task of persuasion

(Firth:1951:222;Geertz:1973:87;Turner;1978:243;Bocock;1974:37;Bell;1992;Grimes ;1982:55; Van Der Toorn;1995:41;Moore and Myerhoff;1977:199).

Moore and Myerhoff (1977:9) argue that, "in the area of meaning and effect, they see ritual as a container, a vehicle that holds something. It gives form to that which it contains-for ritual is in part a form, and a form which gives meaning by framing its contents." Its medium is its message; it can contain anything for any aspect of social life, in this case a sense of identity. Ritual has a strong traditionalizing effect whether performed for the first or thousandth time (Moore and Myerhoff; 1977:9).

Ritual offers a way in which people express their tremendous dependence on this continuity for their sense of identity and their ability to draw on their own memories of those around them. It is by drawing on these ritual memories that a sense of identity, security, and continuity is assured (Shaughnessy:1973:95).

Ritual not only belongs to the more structured side of social behavior, it also can be constructed as an attempt to structure the way people think about social life, and show how social relationships are affected. Coppet (1992:35) explains that, "this approach explicates ritual in terms of the manner in which a particular rite states, reiterates or reinforces traditional social ties, or expresses social conflicts, delineates social roles, and propagates social ideas and shapes those ideas." Ritual may do so much more than mirror social arrangements and existing modes of thought. It can act to reorganize them or even help create them (Coppet;1992:36).

There are two dimensions involved in ritual occasions. First, there is the group itself who participate some way in the ritual, and here participation importantly includes the appreciative audience; and second, there is the ritual's symbolic system (Bocock;1974:58). Bocock points out that there are the following dimensions to the group: "the nature of the social relationships of the members: kin, work colleges, peers, age-graders, strangers; the length of time before, at previous

meetings of the groups, months, years, or whole life-cycles to the present; and, the range of other activities the members are involved in." (Bocock;1974:59)

As previously mentioned, it is a ritual's formal properties, that help create, reinforce and maintain a cultural identity within the individuals that take part in the ritual. These formal properties shall now be examined in order to understand how this process is accomplished.

The Ritual Properties

Within ritual, there are a number of formal properties, or characteristics which many scholars agree upon. One function of these ritual properties, which cannot always be easily separated from one another, is to work together to help create, reinforce, and maintain a sense of cultural identity within both individuals and the social group as a whole. All of the properties involved in this ritual function are important in accomplishing this role, and although some might seem more predominant than others, they are all necessary to achieve the result desired. Each of these properties is now discussed separately below.

1. Repetition

Repetition is very important in ritual. For maximum effectiveness, a ritual concentrates on sending messages which it will repeat over and over again in different forms. This repetition is either of occasion, content, form, or any combination of these. It is important for example, that ritual performers have done the ritual before, in some cases to the point of habit. Radical change in ritual dislocates the people who have participated in it previously and can, therefore be resisted (Shaughnessy;1973:92; Moore and Meyerhoff;;1977:7).

Only if a ritual is conducted in the same or similar way, only if the same words are spoken in the same order and accompanied by the same gestures will the same feeling of security be present. It is this security which integrates, for all who have previously experienced the ritual, the past and the present, and at the same time exhibits to the novices, who have never before experienced it, what they are to feel (Shaughnessy;1973:91). Ritual has no efficiency without this kind of repetition and continuity.

Ritual is not so efficacious for the people who participate in it when it is radically altered or changed. This is not to say that rituals cannot change, or be revitalized, but it must be done in a way that does not completely alter the ritual to a point of unfamiliarity. Repetition within ritual implies permanence and legitimacy of identity within a culture (Grimes;1982:105).

Davis-Floyd (in Grimes 1996:151) notes “that repetition is also important in ritual because, “in any culture, the intellectual abilities of ritual participants (attendees) are likely to differ, often markedly. It is not practical for society to design different rituals for persons of different levels of intellectual ability, so ritual utilizes specific techniques such as rhythmic repetition to attempt to reduce all participants to the same level of cognitive functioning.”

2. The customary dimension

Ritual is an ordered flow or sequence of social interaction, conventionalized and formalized by as just mentioned above, repetition and thereby made customary. It is constrained, given shape and structured by rules reflecting the relationships of sub- and super-ordination and/or peer relationships which exist between the participants, real and punitive, and also by conventions how it ought to be performed (Goody;1977:30-31). As Platvoet and Van Der Toorn (1995:28) note, “the first group of rules are often accepted as normal and may be practiced

without reflection and discussion, especially when the social distance between the participants is great. It is then expressed in a rigorous enforcement of the proper form, of precedence and protocol.

The second group of rules may be the object of much discussion and even heated dissent.” Ritual normally proceeds along a set pattern established on earlier occasions and which has since become tradition. As such, it tends towards formality, stereotypy, and has distancing effects upon the participants: it prevents spontaneous expressions, and private emotions when they do not express the public ones required by the ritual. They also distance the attendees from their spontaneous selves, and from their private motives for, or interpretations of, the ritual (Platvoet and Van Der Toorn;1995:28-29).

For the duration of the ritual, the participants are reduced to the roles which it prescribes for them, and to the purpose and theory embedded in it. If a ritual allows for spontaneity and chaos, it does so in prescribed times and places, manners and styles (Plavoet: and Van Der Toorn; 1995: 28-29).

3. Social Drama/Performance

Within ritual, social drama or performance plays an important function in the creation, maintenance and reinforcement of cultural identity. The processual understanding of ritualization and performance illuminates the processual aspect of identity-making, in opposition to the conceptualization of identities as essential, fixed or homogeneous. The discussion below examines the ways in which performance aids in the creation of identities within specific contexts, and how they are affirmed over the course of time.

Performance theorists often base themselves on two interrelated points originated by Singer (1959:13). First, people think of their culture as encapsulated within discrete performances, which they can exhibit to outsiders as well as to themselves. Second, such performances constitute for the insider and outsider the most concrete observable units of the cultural structure - since each performance has a definitely limited time span, a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and a place and occasion of performance (Bell;1992:39;Shechner;1981:117) That is, performances are the ways in which cultural context of a particular culture is organized and transmitted on particular occasions (Bell;1992:39).

Moore and Myerhoff (1977:7-8) contend that, "Social Drama or performance is a basic quality of ritual that is not an essentially spontaneous activity, but rather most, if not all of it is self-consciously "acted" or "performed" like a part of a play by the use of stylization and an evocative, presentational style." By the first they mean that 'special' behavior which is constituted by actions or symbols that are extraordinary in themselves, or ordinary ones used in an unusual way. By the second, its altering quality, producing not only an attentive state of mind in the participants but often also an even greater commitment of some kind through manipulations of symbols and sensory stimuli. In some cases, they produce a concentration so extreme that there is a loss of self-consciousness, and a feeling of flow. They will also produce in the participants an awareness that they are different from the 'ordinary' everyday events. It is with this property that ritual becomes attention grabbing and attention commanding (Moore and Myerhoff;1977:7).

As just stated above, all performances defined or undefined share the fact that performance behavior isn't free and easy. Performance behavior is known and or practiced

behavior, “twice-behaved behavior,” or “restored behavior” either rehearsed, previously known, learned by since a younger age and revealed during the performance by masters, guides, gurus, or elders (Schechner;1981:118). It is usually very important that the performers have what Schechner calls “the whole performance sequence” when performing. This consists of having invested a great deal of time in training, rehearsing, taking part in workshops and lessons, as well as doing warm-ups and cool-downs to a performance (Schechner;1981:31).

Barbara Myerhoff (1980:7), has written that social dramas or performances together constitute the plural “self-knowledge” of both individuals and the group. Merhoff notes that, “Cultural performances are reflective in the sense of showing ourselves to ourselves. They are also capable of being reflexive, arousing consciousness of ourselves as we see ourselves. As heroes of or, in our own dramas, we are made self-aware, conscious of our consciousness. Geertz (1973:8) also contends that, “performance and social drama within ritual provides a base of common experience, to tell people about themselves, and that social dramas are embodied in ritual, where they have pragmatic functions that make clear the deepest values of the culture.”

Moore and Myerhoff (1977:200) also highlight that, “performed gestures and acts such as toasts, poems, salutes, dances, songs, pledges and oaths...provide opportunities for participants to establish their individual emotions, identities, motives and needs, and allow the ritual master-of-ceremony to convey the specific, idiosyncratic messages which are unique to the occasion at hand.”

Turner (1986:80) adds to this point by explaining that the process of “self knowledge” is achieved in two ways: “first, the actor may come to know himself better through acting or enactment; and secondly, one set of humans may come to know themselves better through

observing and or participating in performances generated and presented by another set of humans.” In the first instance, reflexivity is singular though enactment may be in a social context; in the second case, reflexivity is plural and is based on the assumption that though, for most purposes, we humans may divide ourselves between us and them, we and they share substance (Turner;1986:81).

Schechner (1981) notes that there is a great transmission of performance knowledge to the spectators at a ritual. Not only are traditions passed on from one generation to another, but everyone attending is taught about the culture they have come to see and understand. He points out that (1981:131), “spectators at transmission performances usually have a stake in seeing that the performance succeeds. Often they are made up of relatives of the performers, part of the same cultural background or community, as well as non-cultural members who are curious to learn or see what another culture is about.” Thus in transformation performances the attention of the transported and that of the spectators converge on the transformed. This convergence of attention and the direct stake spectators have in the performance is why so many transformation performances use audience participation (Schechner;1981:132).

Social Dramas in Turner’s view take place among those members of a given group for whom it is a “star group”. Only those who feel strongly about the membership in such a group are impelled to enter into relationships with others which become fully “meaningful” in the sense that the beliefs, values, norms and symbol “carried” in the groups culture become so internalized in a member that they constitute a major part of what he/she might regard as his or her identity, what makes that member a specific person (Turner;1986:46). The people involved in the ritual are agreeing upon and making authoritative the essential ideas that define them both individually and as a group. In these dramas the people involved not only develop an individual and

collective identity, but also, their interpretation of their world, themselves, and their values (Turner;1986:47).

Through explicit enactment of a culture's belief system, ritual works to preserve and to transmit that belief system, and so becomes an important force in the preservation and maintenance of the cultural society. Davis-Floyd in Grimes (1996:155) highlights that, "whenever this stabilizing characteristic of ritual is paramount, one usually will find that those in positions of power will have unique control over its performance."

Suffice it to say, it is through the use of social dramas and performances that ritual can be definitional. As earlier stated, performances aid in defining both an individual's and a cultural groups identity. Social dramas contain a process of definition and redefinition where crisis of belief and social relations are involved. Moore and Myerhoff (1977:32) highlights that, "of these definitional dramas, no social rearrangements are accomplished, but rather unquestionable truths are made unquestionable by being performed." Therefore, both social relations and belief are modified, created, transformed or reformulated, in almost all social dramas, whether only minimally or extensively (Moore and Myerhoff;1977:32).

One way in which improvisations within social drama are guided and coordinated in rituals is through the use of a mnemonic device in the form of a root metaphor. The guiding metaphor in ritual serves to remind all concerned who they are, where they are, and what they are doing there. It is essential that the metaphor have ample and emotionally vital referents, sufficiently specific to be used as the basis of enactment's. This is significant because metaphors are the mechanisms for intergenerational transfer of cultural identity and tradition (Deegan;1989:9)

Ritual drama is a complex form requiring precision, flow and details. Ritual drama must be fully staged, abounding in vocabulary and props to flesh them out, conceptually and sensually. The guiding metaphor provides these details as well as basic orientation. The dramatic metaphors and symbols of rituals create the human space for the generation of meaning and a lived experience of the communal (Moore and Myerhoff;1977:202).

Within ritual performance there is also the structuring of standpoint, and the structuring of context through the medium of presentation. The analysis of both aspects is critical to an understanding of how ritual establishes and transforms meaning and experience for participants and for understanding how ritual might create the potential for engaging participants in the one experience as well as enabling their reflection on that experience therefore helping with identity. Both of these aspects of performance are related in any one observed experience (Turner;1986:194).

Thus, rituals are composed of complex interweaving performance modes - music, song, dance, costumes and so forth, and it is the nature of their interweaving as well as their constituting properties as forms actualized through, and only apparent in, performance, which is integral to the structuring of standpoints and to the constitution of context. Through these aspects of performance, specific possibilities for the realization of experience and meaning of the ritual are created (Turner;1986:195).

Another important aspect of performance is that of rhythmicity, especially within Games and sport rituals. Rhythmicity, the patterning of movement is important for the proper affect or outcome of certain performances. Sometimes the pattern requires synchrony, others require certain or specific timing, or a special series of events to reproduce a pattern of movement. Such

specific movements may be social, requiring the coordinative movements of individuals in a social ceremonial setting, or the pattern of movement may affect a single individual. In order for sport or game events to reach their performance goals, this rhythmicity and patterning of movements are very important in not only achieving the goals, but affecting other people involved in, and watching the performance. (Miracle and Southard; 1993:129-131).

4. Experience and expression

Experience and expression within ritual, are a set of properties which also aid in the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of cultural identity. As expressions or performed texts, structured units of experience, such as stories or dramas, are socially constructed units of meaning. It is within the meaning of these experiences and expressions, that one's cultural identity can be affected.

Turner (1986:89) highlights that, "reality only exists for us in the facts of consciousness given by inner experience." Individuals actually experience their culture, that is, how events are received by consciousness. Experience not only comes to us verbally, but also in images and impressions. An experience is more personal than a behavior, as it refers to an active self, to a human being who not only engages in but shapes an action. We can have an experience but we cannot have a behavior. The idea of experience is difficult because we can only experience our own lives. In order to get past this, Turner (1986:96) says that we must "transcend the narrow sphere of experience by interpreting expressions: by "interpreting" he means understanding and by "expressions" he means representations, performances, objectification's and texts."

Moore and Meyerhof (1977:63) add to this point by highlighting that "ritual achieves its instrumental aims through its capacity to recognize the participants' experience of the

situation...symbolic forms provide external templates for inner experience and operations within the external, symbolic sphere are aimed (implicitly or explicitly) at adjusting internal orientations.”

Turner (1986:11) points out that, “it is in the performance of an expression that we re-experience, re-believe, re-create, re-tell, re-construct, and re-fashion our culture and identity.” The performance does not release a pre-existing meaning that lies dormant in the text - rather, the performance itself is constitutive. Meaning is always present, in the here and now, not in such past manifestations (Turner;1986:8). Once voice or expression is given to a ritual, it becomes alive and active. This is what Victor Turner (1986:12) calls, “putting experience into circulation.”

Tradition is a process of scanning the past until we identify a perceived similarity with the present. It is a triumph of re-experiencing when we believe ourselves to be confronted by a continuity. Cultural transmission is not simply just a replication of an old original, a mechanical transfer of the cultural heritage from generation to generation, but an experience of the culture as presented, with the addition of one's own life experiences added to it (Turner;1986:12).

Within ritual, there is not only individual experience, but the possibility of individuals sharing the same experiences (Turner;1986:190). Cultural ritual mediates the relations of individuals both to their material terms of existence and to each other. Individuals experience themselves - they experience their experience and reflect upon it - both from their standpoint and from the standpoint of others within their culture. The ritual context creates a meaning of the ritual, and this in turn creates the possibility for the mutual involvement of participants in the one

experience. It is through the aspects of performance, that the realization of experience and meaning, and their transformation, are created (Turner;1986:195).

Cultural change, continuity, and transmission all occur together in the experiences and expressions of social life. All are interpretive processes and ended are the experiences in which the subject discovers himself or his/her cultural identity.

5. The Collective Dimension

Ritual can be performed by one individual alone, or with many people (interaction ritual). Within the interaction type, the ritual needs a minimum of two participants - a 'sender' and a 'receiver' in terms of communication. All interaction rituals are collective in this minimal sense. Many rituals, however, are collective in a stronger sense when they engage, among the visible participants, actors of several kinds, such as officiates and those for whom a ritual is conducted. Rituals may be collective in the strongest sense when they engage a whole community. By definition, collective ritual has a very social meaning, and its very occurrence contains a social message of importance (Platvoet and Van Der Troon;1995:27-28).

6. Multi-Media

The "messages" and stimuli sent in ritual may be expressed by the numerous complex symbols that have been and are constantly being developed in each culture. They are clustered in verbal, facial, and other forms of body language; dress, ornaments and other symbolic modes of presenting oneself, such as music, dance, song, trance, the ritual objects used, the ordering of participants into groups, the places and role allotted to people, the order of the ritual, the manners in which the ritual space and time is ordered and so forth (Moore and Myerhoff;1977:9; Platvoet and Van Der Troon;1995:32).

The directionality of performance and the media of performance are structuring of the ritual context; together they constitute meaning of the ritual, variously enable the communication of its meaning, create the possibility for the mutual involvement of participants in the one experience, or else distance them and lead to their reflection on experience perhaps from a structured perspective outside the immediacy of the experience (Turner;1986:192).

7. Integration

By the characteristics of ritual already discussed and in several other characteristics to still be discussed, rituals often powerfully contribute towards the inclusion of members into their social groups. Moreover, many rituals, especially the collective or representative ones, express and re-create the solidarity, identity, and at times the boundaries of a group or a society by their being performed at a particular time and place, in the special manner in which its participants are ordered, and by the prominent display and manipulation of objects which express the unity and distinctiveness of that group. By thus expressing and stressing its solidarity, identity and boundaries, these rituals are normally strongly unitive and weakly diversive (Platvoet and Van Der Toorn; 1995:36; Bell;1992:210).

8. Communication

All ritual is communication. As communication, ritual speaks to our minds and spirits, and institutions by means of words, signs, sounds, and smell. The whole purpose of assembly, of coming together for public ritual engagements, is so that individuals may communicate those experiences that are most incommunicable, publicly, in standard symbolic patterns agreed upon by the group so that those experiences can be entered into, “put on”, affirmed and appropriated by the group as a whole (Shaughnessy;1973:158).

As interactive behavior, ritual also consists in the communication of messages of various kinds. They may be divided into explicit messages that are translated during the ritual, and implicit messages transmitted at the latent, or less than latent level. The latter messages mostly respect the socio-cultural relations between the participants in the ritual and as such express society (Platvoet and Van Der Toorn;1995:31). The explicit messages usually determine much of the content or apparent matter of a ritual. The implicit ones may, however, constitute a more important agenda. The way the participants receive these latter messages range from passing them over as if unnoticed to paying a great deal of attention to them and discussing them intensively. In the latter case, a socio-structural message or the manner in which it is expressed, may intrude into the manifest level of communication and compete for the attention of the participants with the emphatic messages of the ritual to be transacted (Bell;1992:43).

Frederick Bird (1995:28) points out, “whatever people are doing when they engage in ritual acts, they are communicating with each other and with themselves. Depending on the particular ritual, they communicate feelings, codes for conduct, beliefs, legends and so forth.” Typically, it is both compact and multidimensional. Through ritual, people communicate in several different ways at the same time, and as a result, ritual is a particularly rich medium in helping create, reinforce and maintain a sense of identity (Bird;1995:28).

Basil Bernstein (1971:34) talks about elaborate codes of communication and restricted codes of communication. He contends that, “restricted codes are what people use in ritual communication. These are symbols and gestures that are heavily weighed with commonly assumed meanings.” Bird (1995:29) refers to four forms of communication associated with ritual that help in the creation and maintenance of identity which are: “constitutive; self-representative;

expressive; and regulative.” It is through the function of communication that ritual affects social realities and perceptions of those realities (Bell;1992:43).

9. *Strategy*

By the condensation of meaning, together with the moral and emotive aspects, in focal symbols, and by other mechanisms such as repetition, redundancy, formality, rituals cause the participants to fail to perceive the arbitrariness of the cultural order expressed in them and to take it for their ‘natural world’ and their normal situation. In rituals, the fiction must be maintained that they are not made-up productions.

Bell (1992:93), who defines ritual as the ritualization of social acts, takes it as an effective strategy of power. Ritualization is a particularly ‘mute’ form of activity. It is designed to do what it does (in this case create and maintain and reinforce cultural identity) without bringing what it is doing across the threshold of discourse or systematic thinking. It produces expedient schemes that structure an environment in such a way that it appears to be the objective source of the subjective schemes and values that have created it’, thereby preventing the actors from recognizing its arbitrary nature. Bell (1992), therefore, refers to that environment as a redemptive reordering. It implies and demonstrates a relatively unified corporate body by suggesting more consensus among the participants than there might actually be (Bell;1992:140-142,210).

10. *The Aesthetic dimension*

From Leach’s (1968:523) point of view, ritual is a formal and therefore aesthetic mode of communication (about social structure). Authors adhering to the performative approach also stress that ritual as enacting and celebrating society, or as performatively creating it, must be

executed in not only traditional or proper ways but also in well formed and pleasing enraptured attention of the participants and or achieve its performative goal. It provokes participant criticism if its officiates fail to perform in a manner that is both well-styled and traditional (Platvoet and Van Der Toorn;1995:35;Moore and Myerhoff;1977:200).

11. *Symbols*

In rituals, expression and communication are achieved through symbolic action, in particular by the dense, core or pivotal symbols which present key aspects of a whole system of culture and belief in a way by clusters of cononant referents, the different meanings of which may become paramount at different times. Apart from their polysemous meanings, these symbols also possess strong normative and emotive aspects. Consequently, they carry and transmit a much heavier load than the multiple meanings they may or may not communicate as message (Turner and Turner;1978:246; Geertz;1971:28).

Symbolization is a universal human process. It is pervasive in communication, grounded in the very use of language, and it is part of the living stuff of humans and human relationships. Chapple and Coon (1942:70) define symbol as, “any object, person, condition, element of speech, etc., loaded with cultural meaning, which sets off a conditioned response,” and symbolization as, “the process by which symbols are formed.” Symbols serve as stimuli to which individuals are conditioned to respond, and thus they play an important and necessary part in human relations. A given symbol, however, does not act alone. Every symbol occurs in a context of a situation, and it is thus dependent for its effect upon its associated and secondary symbols, as well as upon its position in the habitual pattern of interaction, which is the fundamental element in any context (Firth;1973:25).

Ritual works by sending messages in the form of symbols to those who perform and those who receive or observe it. Out of the symbol's position comes its "meaning," that is, its power of evoking responses of varying strengths from the individuals conditioned to it. The ritual process involves the habitual use of specific objects, words and gestures to which the individuals have already been conditioned in other contexts. It therefore, represents not merely a combination of symbols, which have meaning for one individual, but rather one, which produces responses in a number of individuals. If it were not for this process, the interaction between groups of people necessary to restore equilibrium could not come about (Chapple and Coon;1948:569).

As Davis-Floyd (in Grimes;1996:149) notes, the left hemisphere of the brain decodes and analyzes straightforward verbal messages, enabling the recipient to either accept or reject ritual content. Symbols however, are received by the right hemisphere of the brain, where they are interpreted holistically. Instead of being analyzed intellectually, a symbol's message will be felt in its totality through the body and emotions. Thus, even though the recipient may be unaware of the incorporation of the symbol's message, its ultimate effect may be extremely powerful.

Turner (1982) believed that the key to understanding ritual lies in the dynamics of symbols because they very often condense systems. He believes that ritual symbolism has three characteristics wherever it occurs: first, each culture has a very limited number of basic elementary symbols. These occur over and over again in rites directed to very different social ends; second, each symbol has a wide spectrum of referents which are in themselves diverse and ambiguous; and thirdly, the particular meaning of a symbol in a rite depends on which of its many referents are mobilized. This in turn reflects the social context in which it is utilized the effect of other symbols in the immediate ceremonial environment (Turner;1982:15).

Turner (1969:52) points out that, “symbols exhibit the properties of condensation, unification of desperate referents, and polarization of meaning. Turner emphasizes as a very important property of symbols their capacity for a single symbol to encapsulate many meanings - to represent many different things in different contexts or at different levels of understanding in the same context. Turner refers to this as the *polysemy* or *multivocality* of a symbol, which become centers of interaction and interpretation. Its referents are not all of the same logical order but drawn from many domains of social experience and ethical evaluation.” Its referents also tend to cluster around opposite semantic poles. At one end, the referents are social and moral facts and, at the other physiological facts. Turner (1969:53) highlights that, “symbols are the resultants and the instigators of the ritual process, and encapsulate all of its properties.”

Suffice it to say, a symbol is a device for enabling us to make abstractions, but with some end in view, a symbol has great instrumental value. Here, I will briefly touch on symbols as instruments of expression, of communication, of knowledge and of control (Firth:1973)

As an instrument of expression - Symbols are, to a supreme degree, tools of the artist. For example, in dancing, music performances, poetry etc., in many different types of societies, clearly expressing values regarded emotionally and intellectually as important by the people who assert them. The instrumental nature of symbols as a means of expression is especially clear with national cultural symbols. Flags, national anthems, national dress, even style of headgear can evoke powerful emotions of identification with individuals and with a group of people (Firth;1973:77)

The element of individual variation in expressive symbols also takes place. A private symbol created for one's self out of their own interpretation can be seen along side of a group's

interpretation as a whole. Firth (1973:79) also adds that, “the expressive value of what is called a collective symbol may in fact lie in a set of variations on a common theme than in any uniform conceptualization.”

As an instrument of communication - A major function of symbols in ritual is in communication. Utterance of words - a basic form of symbolic action allows us to dispense with many kinds of manual and bodily actions in providing stimulus or conveying meanings. As Firth (1973:79) highlights, “in ritual, performance of a symbolic act allows ideas to be shared and reformulated without the use of words, or minimal verbalization.

Symbols also serve as stores of meaning in communication. Symbols as stores of meaning help to cope with problems of communication over time, aiding recall and obviating to some extent some need for reformation of ideas. As such, Firth (1973:81) describes them as being, “a cultural asset.” Condensation, the encapsulation of many forms, or many meanings, in one symbol by process of contraction, suppression, transformation can also facilitate communication by giving a common reference point for a variety of originally disparate ideas (Firth 1973:810). If a symbol is to be an effective instrument of communication, it is essential that it should convey much the same thing to all of the people involved or that the range of variation in their interpretations should not inhibit the action desired (Firth; 1973:81).

As an instrument of knowledge - That symbols and the process of symbolization help create knowledge cannot be denied. What the process of symbolic representation presumably does is abstract some quality common to both the referent and symbol and allow one to perceive more clearly, more imaginatively, a particular type of relationship uncluttered by details of the referent

or reduced in magnitude to comprehend dimensions (Firth;1973:83). Firth highlights that, “symbols reveal certain aspects of reality, the deepest aspects, which defy any other knowledge.” *As an instrument of control* - Consideration of symbols as instruments of control, or more bluntly, as an instrument of power has a major aspect. That is, as instruments for transforming subjective experience.

The emphasis here is not so much upon the way in which recognition of symbols affects overt behavior, as upon the way in which it transforms or conditions the intellectual and emotional framework or basis from which that behavior proceeds (Firth;1973:85). By a series of identifications, reversals and transformations, it is held, there is coding of experiences in symbolic form which serves to organize the individual’s relation to the society and provide him or her with communized forms of identity (Firth;1973:85).

It is through these formal properties of ritual that one attains many messages, and that they come to understand the meaning of the ritual. Turner (1969:97) highlights that, “meaning is by definition inclusive, laying hold of the factors making for integration in a given situation or phenomenon; whereby the whole, the total socio-cultural phenomenon becomes intelligible, of which value and end were but aspects.” Meaning is apprehended by looking back over a process in time and events. We assess the meaning of every part of the process by its contribution to the total result (Turner;1969:96). In his essay on “Deep Play,” Geertz (1973;12) also explicitly approaches ritualized activities as a text to be decoded in order to understand the meaning..

The repetitious bombardment of symbolic messages will often, in ritual, intensify toward a climax, heightening the emotional effect of the event. Behavioral psychologists have long understood that people are far more likely to remember, and to absorb lessons from, those events

that carry an emotional intense charge. The order and stylization of ritual, combined with rhythmic repetitiveness and the intensification of its messages, methodically create just the sort of highly charged atmosphere that works to ensure long term learning (Davis-Floyd in Grimes;1996:155).

Through explicit enactment's of a culture's belief system, ritual works both to preserve and to transmit that belief system, and so becomes an important force in the preservation of the status quo in any society. Whenever this stabilizing characteristic of ritual is paramount, one usually will find that those in positions of power will have unique control over its performance. They utilize the effectiveness of ritual to reinforce both their own importance and the importance of the belief system which legitimates their positions.(Davis-Floyd in Grimes;1996:155).

The rite of intensification in which a cultural group restores its ways of life, and reinforces and maintains its habitual relations as well as cultural identity, is made possible through the above discussed properties of ritual: repetition; the customary dimension; social drama and performance; experience and expression; the collective dimension; multi-media; interaction; communication; strategy; and symbols. It is through the intertwined and combined efforts of all of these ritual properties, that a ritual can be intensified to such a degree as to powerfully affect the entire cultural group as a whole as well as to affect each individual who attends or participates in the ritual. It is through this intensified ritual that Scottish cultural identity can be created, reinforced and maintained for both the individual as well as the entire group as a whole.

Field Research at the Glengarry Highland Games

In order to gain entry into the research context, I attended the Glengarry Highland Games and experienced them for myself. Due to the fact that my ancestors and family have lived in Glengarry county since the first Scottish settlers came to North America, I have a great deal of personal knowledge of the Highland Games and their history. As Glengarrians, it has been routine for my family to attend the Games every year; I have done so most of the twenty-six years of my life.

Before beginning my actual field research, I contacted Jim McEwen, chief organizer and president of the Highland Games to obtain his approval for administering a written questionnaire and carrying out personal interviews at the Games. With that permission, I conducted my formal field research at the Glengarry Highland Games on August 1st and 2nd 1998.

Purpose of the field research

The purpose of this field research was to gather data that would help evaluate and explore my theory that the Glengarry Highland Games operate to create, maintain and reinforce Scottish cultural identity within individuals and the social group as a whole.

Methodology

When conducting this research, I used three methods to help obtain a rich volume of information. These methods consisted of a formal questionnaire (for the audience only), informal interviews for the participants and participant observation. These methods and their results shall be examined separately in detail below.

A) The Questionnaire

I chose the method of a formal written questionnaire for the audience/attendees due to the fact that I believed it to be the best method of collecting information from such a large group of people. Out of the approximately 25,000 people who attended the Games, I was able to collect **750 completed questionnaires** over the two-day period.

The method of distributing these questionnaires was in random fashion throughout the Games grounds. There were a number of people helping me distribute these questionnaires, with everyone covering different areas of the Games grounds, in order to get a large variety of replies from attendees. For example, attendees with different interests would be in different sections of the Games grounds according to their preferences. When handing these questionnaires out, it was also done in a particular way to try to avoid getting a couple or a group of people that came together. This way, I could obtain information from everyone, not just one large group at a musical event or sporting event and the like; this also avoided duplicate answers from people who came together.

The questionnaire was two pages in length, and consisted of eleven questions (see appendix). The majority of the questions were multiple choice, apart from a couple “fill in the blanks”, and one question that asked for a detailed written reply. This questionnaire not only helped to identify the types of people who attend the Games but also provided an insight into the reasons why they attend. It also described the significant ways in which the attendees identify with their Scottish heritage.

Initially, my purpose for conducting this questionnaire was for reasons slightly different that my present thesis study. However, many of the questions on the questionnaire have

significant relevance to my current thesis topic and therefore provide significant data to help test my theory that the Glengarry Highland Games help create, maintain and reinforce Scottish cultural identity within individuals and the social cultural group as a whole.

Results and Analysis

1. Number of Scottish descendants in attendance:

Of the 750 completed questionnaires, 555 attendees were of Scottish descent. These 555 attendees did not just travel from the surrounding area of Glengarry, but came from various locations from around the globe (these locations will be discussed further on).

Raw Numbers and Percentage of Scottish and non-Scottish descendants who attended the Games:

	Number	%
Scottish descendants	555	74%
Non-Scottish descendants	195	26%

This data shows that the majority of people who attend the Glengarry Highland Games are of Scottish heritage. Also, the fact that the attendees travel not just from the surrounding area, but from all over North America and around the globe strongly reflects that the reinforcement and maintenance of these people's Scottish identity (which the Games provide) is very important to them. The other 27% of attendees are people who are interested in different cultural events, and are curious to see how the Glengarry Highland Games showcase and celebrate Highland Scottish culture.

2. How far people traveled to attend the Glengarry Highland Games

When specifically asked on the questionnaire, where do you live?, there were literally hundreds of different answers. They ranged from cities, towns and villages from across Canada, the United States, Scotland, England, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. The fact that people traveled from so far away to attend these Games shows the strong affect that the Glengarry Games have on people and on the promotion and celebration of Scottish culture. It is through the attendance of people from around the globe (from both near and far) that the Scottish culture is even stronger maintained, reinforced and created.

Locations from around the world of which attendees have traveled from to attend the Glengarry Highland Games:

- Canada
- United States
- Scotland
- England
- Ireland
- Australia
- New Zealand

3. Ages of attendees at the Games

The following chart is a breakdown in raw numbers and percentage of the number of attendees at the Games by age category.

AGE	Number	%
0-20 years	113	15%
21-30 years	150	20%
31-40 years	105	14%
41-50 years	135	18%
51-60 years	142	19%
60 years +	105	14%

The information in the preceding chart shows that there is an almost even distribution of ages attending the Glengarry Highland Games. This information is important because it indicates that Scottish culture is not a dying heritage, and that it is being maintained through all age groups from young to old.

As shown, the largest age category of attendees is the 21 to 30 year age group (20%). However, it is my belief that the youngest age group (0-20 years) could actually be the largest group in percentage of attendees. This is because this particular age group most likely has a skewed percentage due to the fact that many young people are not fully capable of filling out a questionnaire. Therefore, a great number of young people are partaking of this Scottish ritual, which means that Scottish culture and identity through the Games will most likely be maintained for at least the next 60 years or so due to the very high interest of younger people attending. Not only is this a very strong indicator that Scottish cultural identity is being maintained, but also created.

The younger generations showing interest in the Games, indicates that they are learning about Scottish culture at a very young age, which helps build their link to Scottish identity. Through their attendance and interest in learning, identity can be created for them, reinforced while they are at the Games, and later maintained through their attendance at the Games in the future.

This data also shows an even distribution of attendees above the 30+ age group level, which indicates that there is a very stable amount of people continuing to respect and maintain the Scottish cultural identity as they get older.

4. Number of years Scottish descendants have attended the Games

The longevity with which some of the attendees have attended the Glengarry Highland Games is truly amazing considering the transient population. When asked how many years they had been attending these Games, some actually said that they had never missed the Games since its inception in 1948. The following charts compare the average years attended per age group to the total possible attendance in percentage per age group.

Chart A

Chart B

Chart A makes it appear that the older age groups attend more often than the younger ones.

However, this is deceiving because the older groups have had more years than the younger groups to attend the Games. However, my data in chart B shows in fact, that it is the younger age

groups that actually attend the Games more frequently than that of the older groups. This indicates that the Scottish culture is being very strongly maintained through the younger generations, which is extremely vital for the survival of any culture.

5. Will Scottish descendants attend the Games again?

When asked the question “will you return to the Glengarry Highland Games next year?”, the answer was an overwhelming “yes”. The following statistics in the charts below, are the results to this question broken down into answers by both the Scottish descendants and non-Scottish descendants. Both the raw number and the percentage is shown.

Scottish descendants

	Number	%
yes	494	89%
maybe	55	10%
no	6	1%

Non-Scottish descendants

	Number	%
yes	149	76%
maybe	37	19%
no	9	5%

This data strongly indicates that the Glengarry Highland Games definitely creates, maintains and reinforces Scottish cultural identity. The fact alone that 89% of Scottish decent attendees said that they would return next year shows that the Games have the power to reinforce Scottish identity. It also shows that it maintains the Scottish cultural identity because people want to, and

do come back to partake in the Games year after year. Therefore, this data indicates that the Games must also create this Scottish identity while the attendees actually attend the Games themselves.

The data also indicates that 76% of non-Scottish descendants said that they too would return to the Games next year. This means that Scottish cultural identity is being well portrayed for some of the people attending these Games that are of non-Scottish decent, making them take interest in this culture to such an extent that they would want to return and aid in the ongoing maintenance of the Scottish culture and identity at these Games.

6. Did attending the Highland Games encourage people to take part in or join other Scottish activities?

Scottish Descendants:

	Number	%
Yes	378	68%
No	177	32%

Non Scottish descendants:

	Number	%
Yes	90	46%
No	105	54%

This data shows that a large amount (68%) of the Scottish descendent attendees feel that the Glengarry Highland Games encourages them to join other Scottish activities during the year. This means that, these Games definitely reinforce Scottish cultural identity, and, for first time

attendees that answered “yes” to this question, the data shows that the Games actually creates Scottish identity for and in them. This is so because, as a first time attendee, if you feel the urge to join other Scottish events once leaving the Glengarry Games, that Scottish cultural identity has been created and reinforced in the person, who then feels a need to maintain it through other activities during the year.

The data for the non-Scottish attendees who felt that the Glengarry Games encouraged them to take part in other Scottish activities was very interesting. My questionnaires showed that 46% of these attendees felt that the Games encouraged them to do so. This point strengthens the notion of that the Glengarry Games do help create Scottish cultural identity for people, and reinforces it to such a degree that non-Scottish people are interested in pursuing more activities of this culture.

For both the Scottish and non-Scottish descent attendees, by being encouraged to partake and or join other Scottish activities, events or organizations Scottish identity will be reinforced and maintained via the Games.

7. Why people thought that the Glengarry Highland Games were important and significant

More than ninety percent of the people who filled out the questionnaire gave a response as to why they felt the Games were important or significant. The following quotes are a small sample of what most of the attendees answers to this question indicated. The quotes are grouped by age category.

0-20 years age group

- “Its important to remember who you are and to take pride in your heritage”

- “To learn about the history and culture of Scotland, and to know where we as a cultural group come from.”
- ”Because it represents our strong Scottish heritage and it makes me very proud to be Scottish”
- “The Games keep the Scottish heritage alive and makes me feel more connected to my Scottish roots.
- ”It is important for people to learn about their Scottish background...to know where they have come from and who they are connected to...it keeps the culture alive in a country that now has many cultures living in it.”
- “It is important for people of the same culture to be able to gather together to celebrate us being Scottish and feel close to our ancestral roots once a year.”
- “It allows all of us Scots to gather and remember who we are...to keep up traditions and the heritage alive...and for those who are not Scottish, it allows them to learn about and experience the Scottish culture.”
- “Allows the opportunity to share interest in ancestry with others of similar interests.”
- “This kind of event can bring people from all over the world together to do something that is enjoyable for everyone of the same cultural background...they will also have the chance to learn more about the Scottish ways of life and culture.”
- “Because it is a reunion of all of the Scottish people or descendants that are present in North America.”
- “It helps keep the culture alive, and acknowledges the Scottish people of our North American society.”

21-30 years age group

- “It celebrates Scottish heritage in North America.”
- “It is very important to keep the Games going for everyone to learn about their heritage and culture...if Games like this didn’t exist, maybe our Scottish culture would be forgotten with time.”
- “To help people learn about their heritage and culture.”
- “I think that Scottish heritage is very unique. I like to encourage the continuation of the traditional Scottish activities and traditions. The Games brings a culture together and makes me proud to be Scottish.”

- “To keep people of a world wide Scottish community coming together to celebrate who we are. They are fun and interesting...good to meet people who enjoy the same things (music and traditions). It is also important to keep the culture alive and kicking.”
- “Just to maintain our heritage and culture so that the future generations will know their roots and who they are. It is also a good way to show your own Scottish pride.”
- “Important to preserve and promote Scottish traditions and culture...it also strengthens the community ties.”
- “A great time, and a chance for me to meet and have fun with other proud Scots”
- “Important because they educate people on who they are, where their ancestors have come from and it preserves our culture in a large multi-cultural country.”
- “The Games are a connection to peoples heritage and culture.”
- “It is a great cultural venue...lots of important history (i.e. Heavily Scottish area)...makes sure that Scottish traditions like piping and dancing are kept alive and also brings it to the general public to educate them on this culture.”
- “For all Scots to come together and celebrate our traditions and educate the non Scots about who we are.”
- “An excellent social event for people of the same backgrounds and who enjoy the same interests...promotes pride in our heritage.”
- “Its important for our Scottish culture to stay alive and be remembered.”
- “It is one of the few activities in this area that caters to local and Ontario heritage and culture. It is very important so that it can educate people of the Scottish history in Canada and abroad and keep up the traditions. ”Its nice to keep traditions alive. Cultural events of any kind are important as they preserve our heritage and share it with other generations to come.
- “It keeps me in touch with my heritage, and reminds me where I come from.”
- “Is an activity that gives a connection to the past and it is important to remember things that have happened a long time ago.”
- “To keep our traditions alive and for them to stay alive to teach the generations to come about who they are and who our ancestors were.”
- “Its important to stay in touch with ones heritage and culture. ”It preserves heritage and allows us to share it with others reuniting with friends...people can see what being Scottish is all about.”

31-40 years age group

- “To maintain and encourage our heritage.”
- It perpetuates the deep seeded Scottish heritage in the eastern counties. Scottish settlers played an integral role in developing this nation and these honor that effort. It makes me proud to be here and be a Scot.”
- “They promote a sense of cultural identity, and they are great fun.”
- “These Games are very important for the keeping up of Scottish culture and heritage. These are the best Games in the world and being from this area, we are very proud of that fact.”
- “As an English Canadian living in Quebec, any connection to our British heritage is significant. As the social landscape of Canada changes it becomes more important to maintain links to our Celtic roots. These Games keep that tradition alive in Canada and makes you proud to be Scottish when you attend them.”
- “Good to keep your history alive -maintain ties to the past and to our ancestors. Its also lots of fun.”
- “Helps the youth realize more about their heritage and keeps part of it alive in the Games and activities.”
- “Maintains heritage of Scottish people.”
- “I think that they are important because they are the North American champion supreme Games. They are the most organized and well-attended Games in North America. They promote Scottish heritage and keep the traditions going for younger generations to enjoy.”
- “Carries on the Scottish traditions.
- “Important because it teaches people about their culture.”

41-50 years age group

- “It keeps the Scottish identity in Canada alive.”
- “It provides a connection to heritage that many people would not be exposed to without the Games.”
- “Keeps the traditions and heritage of the Scots alive and well in Canada.”
- “This is an opportunity to immerse one self in Scottish traditions and heritage and to remember who you are and who your ancestors were.”
- “I think any activities celebrating the past give us grounding and a framework to face the future. People need these kinds of events to celebrate who they are-their culture and heritage.”

- “To promote Scottish heritage and culture.”
- “Keeps the traditions alive and teaches others about who we are.”
- “It maintains and reinforces Scottish identity and heritage.”
- “Its important that cultures survive in any type of manner i.e. The Games.”
- “They are important because it’s good for the younger generations to see and follow in their steps.”
- “Its important for the youth of our culture to learn and keep up the traditions as they get older.”
- “In a society that is changing all the time and so fast, I feel it is important for us to keep in touch with our past and for our children to know how and why they came to be in the country that they are in.”
- “Important to remember your roots and cultural heritage.”
- “It keeps the Celtic spirit alive and well.”
- “Maintaining Scottish heritage for others to see.”
- “It keeps the culture alive and involves children in their heritage.”
- “It is really wonderful to see the Scottish celebrate in such a fashion, it kind of brings one back in time.”

51-60 years age group

- “They perpetuate Scottish culture and tradition in Canada.”
- “To promote and maintain the strong Scottish traditions in our area and I think it is very important for our young people to be part of the traditions and the Scottish culture.”
- In keeping with other cultures, it is important for the Scots to preserve their national heritage. The Scots played a significant part in the “survey” of Canada and should maintain their historical links as all countries through out the world become multi-cultural.”
- “Keeping Scottish heritage alive.”
- “It brings people together with a common interest and background to share the culture.”

60 years and over

- “It is important for the younger generations to learn about their culture and to keep it alive. It is a time to celebrate the traditions of Scotland, and gather with old friends.”
- “Its very important for people of young and old to come together to preserve and keep alive Scottish heritage.”
- “It helps maintain our Scottish heritage in Canada. It is also important to teach the young about where they are from and the ways of the culture both past and present day.”
- “It keeps the blood alive and next generations need it to flourish.”

The above comments really speak for themselves. They show that all of the age groups believe the Games are important for creating, maintaining and reinforcing Scottish cultural identity. The comments from the younger age groups are geared more towards maintaining and keeping the Scottish culture alive, where as the older age groups are this as well, but they also comment more on the importance of it for the younger generations in order to keep the culture alive and well for the future to come. I will now turn to some of the comments written by the non-Scottish descendants on why they thought the Games were of significance or importance to them.

Non-Scottish Attendee Comments

- “Promote Scottish traditions and culture - to strengthen cultural ties.”
- “To keep people in touch with their culture.”
- “Promotes pride in a persons heritage.”
- “To maintain and encourage the promotion of Scottish culture.”
- “To teach people about Scottish culture.”
- ‘Its important because it keeps people interested and connected to their heritage.”
- “The Games preserve the Scottish traditions and culture - since attending for the first time three years ago, my son is now learning to play the bagpipes.”

- “They maintain Scottish culture for Scottish descendants, as well as for others to see and learn from.”
- “They perpetuate Scottish culture and tradition in North America.”
- “To carry on traditions of this wonderful and colorful Scottish heritage.”
- “Remembering and educating people of their heritage - my husband is of a Scottish background, and I want my children to know what they are part of. It is important to teach your young these things so that they stay alive and well in the generations to come.”
- “Bringing together people internationally for the enjoyment and education of Scottish culture. Coming to the Games encouraged my husband and I to join a Celtic choir. We have met lots of new people and learned new skills even at our age! A great event!”
- “I believe that ones roots are very important and the Games are a great way of encouraging our youth as well as ourselves.”
- “Any activity that teaches history, and strengthens a cultures identity is very beneficial for individuals and the greater Scottish community.”
- “To keep the Scottish culture alive and well for everyone to enjoy. “Its important for people to express their culture. These festivities are an example of that expression. As an objective observer, I enjoy sharing in and experiencing other culture.”

These comments show that even the non-Scottish attendees believe that the Games are an important tool in maintaining and reinforcing Scottish cultural identity. They also show that they believe the Games are an excellent way of teaching non-Scottish descendants about Scottish culture and ways of life. This is another important method of reinforcing and maintaining Scottish identity. By teaching others about your culture, and making people aware that it’s alive and well, it can only help it flourish and stay alive longer.

B) Informal Interviews

During the two-day period that the Games took place, I also did a few informal interviews with participants. Unlike the attendees who take time out once a year to attend these Games, the participants take part in these events all year round. The participants at the Glengarry

Highland Games range in age from around six years and up, and consist of both males and females.

When doing my informal interviews, I chose participants of different events (athletes, pipers, dancers, singers etc.) as well as of different ages, and sexes. I believe that by doing this it has given me a broad perspective on what the majority of participants at these Games think.

Because these interviews were of an informal manner, many of the participants I spoke to talked for quite some time on their experience and views on the Glengarry Highland Games. Some of the questions or inquiries that I tried to keep the same when interviewing these participants were as follows: What got them involved? How long they have been doing it for? How long they intend to do it for? Why they do it? Do they get satisfaction from participating in the event that they do? What keeps them going? Is it the money, culture, enjoyment? Why are events like the Games important to them? And so forth.

Due to the time limit of two days, and the limited availability time of the participants at these Games, I was only capable of interviewing eight people. The age, sex and event of each of the participants I spoke to are listed below.

9 year old - male - a junior heavy weight competitor

13 year old - female - a Highland dancer

17 year old - male - solo piper

26 year old - male - heavy weight competitor

34 year old - female - drummer in a Highland band

42 year old - female - Gaelic singer

51 year old - male - fiddler

58 year old - male - piper in a Highland band

Results and Analysis

A. The Young Participants

The younger (9-17 years of age) participants I spoke to all had similar reasons for taking part in Scottish events. They all said that going to the Glengarry Highland Games influenced them to want to take up a Scottish event, and that peers that performed encouraged or inspired them to take part. As one male piper commented,

“I came to the Games with my mom and dad when I was little and always wanted to try to play the pipes. After a few years of coming, and them finally realizing that I was serious, they let me take lessons, and I have competed here now for the last five years.”

Because all of the younger participants are so young, they have only been able to perform at the Games for a short number of years. However, when asked about how long they intended to take part in the Games or their particular events, all of them replied with a similar response of wanting to perform until they are too old to physically do it. One even indicated that she would like to open up her own Scottish dance studio and teach when she gets good enough and is old enough to do so.

When asked about how often they practice, and why they continue to practice and take part in the events, once again, all of these participants had similar answers. The dancer and piper both said that they practice all year round. Both of these participants take lessons once a week, the piper saying that he practices almost everyday of the year. The heavy weight competitor does not practice as much, but said that when he gets older, and the competition is more serious, that he would be working out and practicing all year round. Both the dancer and piper also indicated that they travel to take part in other highland Games during the year as well. The heavyweight

competitor said that he would also love to do this, but no other Games offer the junior category in the heavy events. All these young participants had the exact same answer to the question of why they continue to perform, which was because they love it, and its fun.

When asked why they think the Glengarry Highland Games are important, here are the three answers that I received from these young participants:

9 year old - "Because they are lots of fun and they teach people about Scottish culture."

13 year old - "they are important because they celebrate and keep alive the Scottish heritage. Without them, people might not be influenced to take up dancing or whatever, and keep the culture going. Its also lots of fun."

17 year old - "the Games are a way of not only celebrating Scottish life, but a very important way of preserving these ways of life and teaching people about who they are and where they come from. They are very educational, but in a fun way."

B. The Older Participants

The older participants (26-58 years) that I spoke to had reasons similar to the younger participants for getting involved in Scottish events at the Glengarry Highland Games. Some of them indicated that it was the influence of attending the Glengarry Highland Games that got them started, some said that it was family members who taught and inspired them to take up a Scottish event and to perform and compete, and others said that it was by attending other Scottish events and Games that developed their interest.

In response to the question concerning the length of time participants had been involved with Scottish events, time varied from six to forty-seven years. All of these participants apart from one (the 34 year old) had been involved with their event since their youth. The 34 year old had been inspired at the age of 28 while attending a Games in the U.S. to take up drumming and join a band. He has been traveling and competing for the last three years. All of these

participants also said that they wanted to stay involved with their Scottish talents until they were too old to do it.

When I asked how often these participants practice, and why they partake in the event that they do, the answers were once again similar. All of them are heavily involved in their particular talent. The two band members practiced weekly with their band; the singer practiced two times a week with her choir; the solo piper practiced at least four days a week; the fiddler practiced around four days a week, and the heavy competitor worked out on a daily routine, and practiced his events weeks before competition. Every one of these participants travel and take part in many Scottish events and Games all year round - some local, some national and some even abroad. When answering to why they participate to this degree, some of the answers were as follows:

- 58 year old - "I've enjoyed piping my entire life. Its in my blood and I would be lost without it. I love to travel and compete because you get to meet other people who share your interest, and you get to entertain and teach others about Scottish culture."
- 42 year old - "The Games is what inspired me to learn Gaelic in the first place. I have traveled and performed with the Gaelic choir for years, and love it. Its a fun social hobby, that allows me to enjoy performing for myself as well as others. Maybe it'll inspire someone else to learn about the Gaelic language, and Gaelic songs."
- 26 year old - "I do these events because I like the athletic competition, its a great challenge to compete against the best from around the world, and being around other guys who do this stuff is a good time. I also do it because I think its important to show people what the traditional sporting events of Scotland are, and to keep them going strong for now and the future."

When these participants were asked why they thought the Glengarry Highland Games were important, the responses were as follows:

- 26 year old - "the Games are important because they educate people about Scottish culture, and keep the traditions alive."

34 year old - "the Games are a way of teaching people about Scottish culture and ways of life. It is especially important for the younger generations because it is through big events like these that one takes interest in their heritage."

42 year old - "they are important because they are an educating event that teach all ages about Scottish heritage. The Scottish culture is preserved through all of the events and activities that are performed here."

51 year old - "by traveling around and performing at Games like these, it not only keeps the Scottish piping alive, but teaches people and makes them aware of Scottish culture as a whole. I especially think that its important for the younger generations to learn from gatherings like this."

58 year old - "the Games are important because they preserve and promote Scottish culture."
The above information indicates that both the young and old participants perform at these Games

not just because it is fun and entertaining, but to educate people about Scottish culture, and keep it alive. They want to instill in the attendees at the Games, a certain pride in their Scottish heritage, and teach those of non-Scottish decent about the culture. The older participants also indicated that they felt their performing was important for teaching the youth, and hopefully inspiring them to take something up themselves, or have them return to observe and be part of the social gathering of the Scottish events in order to preserve the culture. Therefore, the participants definitely play a key role in reinforcing, maintaining as well as creating Scottish culture for the attendees of the gathering.

3. Participatory Observation

Another method of research I used while at the Games was my own participatory observation. As I have mentioned before, I have always attended the Glengarry Highland Games as a regular attendee who wanted to enjoy the performances, have a good time and express my attachment to my Scottish roots. This time however, I went in as an attendee who spent most of my time observing other attendees very closely in order to see how they act, react, and take part. I wanted to observe the emotions and expressions of the attendees, and I also wanted to try to observe what kind of effect the Games have on them if any.

My first main observation at the Games was that it is an event for everyone, young, old, of Scottish decent and not, etc. It was also evident that it is very much a family event. There were many parents with their children all dressed up in Scottish garb and having fun. It seems that it is an event which is passed down through the generations to learn about and enjoy. This very much indicates that Scottish identity is created for many young children that attend with their parents. It also seems that this event is a meeting place for new friends and old. Many attendees and participants flock from a far to come back to Glengarry in order to see all the people that they have met over the years, as well as to meet new friends (a social gathering).

Throughout the two day event, I noticed that many of the performances had very powerful effects on people. The variety of Celtic music, poetry, dancing, singing, speeches, and so forth affected people dramatically. I witnessed a great variety of emotions and expressions that ranged from people laughing, cheering, being very happy and smiling, to people feeling a great sense of sadness which was accompanied by many heart felt tears, it was all very moving to observe. In fact, my emotions at the Games this time round more effected because I was not only observing the performances, but the people watching them. It indicated to me that people really do take a great sense of pride in their Scottish roots and are more than willing to partake in the Games to learn as well as to show it off at such an event.

When it comes to how the attendees act and react, not only are the emotions just mentioned obvious, but people really get into the performances they are watching. Many of them really take part in the events by cheering, dancing, singing along and have fun with the performers as well. It is an event where not just the participants take part and perform, but everyone can and does join in as well. In the evenings, there are huge ceilidhs, and musical

events where many attendees lose their shyness and participate in dancing, singing, drinking, and other traditional Scottish customs.

Through the years of attending and experiencing the Games, and especially after taking great notice in the attendees reactions and emotions, it is more than obvious to me that the Glengarry Highland Games most definitely help in creating, reinforcing and maintaining Scottish cultural identity for everyone that attends.

Ethics

When conducting this research, I made sure that all of my informants were well aware of what I was doing, and what my research would be used for. On all of the Questionnaires, there was a statement at the top of the page indicating that all of these things as well as a sentence or two telling people that all of their responses are anonymous and confidential. The same ethical consideration was taken for all of my informal interviews as well, but here, I informed them by word of mouth - no formal documents were signed. Throughout the entire research conduct, I always considered my informants concerns first. If there was anything at any time that they did not want me to use for my research, I honored that request. All of the people who took part in this study, were also informed as to how to access the final project if they wished to do so, and that it was available for them to read freely if they wished to do so.

Methodological Pitfalls

There were a few methodological pitfalls with my field research. First of all, with regards to the questionnaire, there was the problem of not knowing if everyone interpreted the questions the way I meant for them to be understood, as well as not being able to get answers from really young children which as mentioned earlier most likely skewed the data as a result.

There was also the small problem of not being able to use my questionnaire to its fullest potential. Because I changed my ideas slightly after conducting the research, it left a few details on the questionnaire unusable and denied me the opportunity to ask questions more specifically related to my study.

Analysis of how the Glengarry Highland Games Reflect the Properties of Ritual

This chapter will demonstrate how the Glengarry Highland Games is a rite of intensification. It will also illustrate how each formal property of ritual is an integral part of how the Glengarry Highland Games creates, maintains and reinforces Scottish cultural identity within both the individual and the social group as a whole.

Rites of Intensification

As outlined in chapter one, Glengarry County is the result of many Scottish Highlanders immigrating to North America during difficult times. Some left Scotland by choice, others left because they felt forced to leave. The Highlanders who felt that they had no choice but to leave, were displaced due to the British setting in and changing the way of life they had been use to.

Once arrived and settled in Glengarry, these Scottish Highlanders never forgot or gave up their traditional ways of life. They wore their kilts, tartan, kept up the music, the song, dance, sports, the Gaelic language etc. Not only were these traditions kept up, they were passed down to new generations and celebrated with local Highland Games on and off in the area for a number of years. These Games eventually became a permanent traditional celebration for Glengarry in 1947, and was a way of permanently restoring the way of life that some felt had been destroyed by the British back in Scotland.

The experience of change for both the Highlanders who left Scotland willingly and those who felt forced to leave follow the rites of intensification's three-fold sequence. The first stage, was the separation from their home in Scotland and traditional way of life. It was a huge environmental and for many an identity crisis. The transition stage, was the settling into a new home in Canada and making sure that the traditions and Scottish ways of life were kept up and

taught to new generations. Thirdly, the incorporation stage, has taken place through the celebrating of Highland ways by holding the Glengarry Highland Games, which is a very intensified celebration of all the Scottish ways and traditions.

It is through the acting out of and the attendance of cultural members (as well as non-cultural members) that Scottish cultural identity is reinforced and intensified at these Games. They prevent the extinction of the Highland way of life, as well as promote the learning and training of these ways, which reinforces and maintains Scottish identity and culture.

Properties of Ritual

1. *Repetition*

The Glengarry Highland Games is a ritual that has repetition of occasion, content, and form. The Games have taken place once a year for the last fifty years, at the same time of year (first weekend in August), at the same location (Maxville, Ontario), and with the exact same time schedule each year (i.e. start time, opening of the ceremony, finish time, the locations of and time of the events performed). The actual set up of the Games ground is also almost identical every year, with set places for the performances, beer tents, camping, concessions, etc.

Within the actual *content* of the Games, there is constant repetition of performers throughout the entire celebration...Highland dancers, bagpipers, heavy weight and lightweight events, Celtic bands, fiddlers etc. There are performers for competition and performers for entertaining. Both types of performances take place continuously throughout the day and some into the night. The hundreds of dance and piping performances emphasize Scottish traditions and ways of life. Everywhere one walks, one is stimulated by some element of Scottish culture.

At all corners of the Games ground you are surrounded by the many types of Scottish music performed by numerous musical talents over and over throughout the event. Specific main attractions of the Games are also repeated a number of times throughout the ritual; for example, the playing of the massed bands, or the massed Highland fling, in which all the bands and dancers taking part in the Games, march, play and dance in full highland dress to the traditional sounds of Scotland. These main attractions are performed at the same time and in the same location every year.

A few other examples include the repetition of over sixty pipe bands performing for both competition and entertainment, as well as close to two hundred Highland dancers competing and displaying the same dances numerous times throughout the event. Heavyweight and Lightweight competitions take turns repeating the same events (caber toss, hammer throws etc.) until there is a winner and so forth.

There is also repetition of the opening and closing ceremonies every year in which the same order of things are done and displayed. For example, the massed bands perform, the massed Highland dancers perform, there are parachuter's that fly down with flags as the National anthems are being sung, awards, speeches, the honoring of guests and so forth.

There is also repetition of *who* is performing, competing, and hosting the Games each year. The Glengarry Gaelic choir, the Glengarry Fiddlers, the Brigadoons Scottish Band, The Morris Family Singers, the McCulloch Dancers etc. entertain the crowds each year at the same time and at the locations on the grounds. As well, the vast majority of people who compete at the Games (pipe bands, solo pipers and drummers, dancers, athletes) return each year with a few newcomers added. The honor of opening the Games each year is always given to a prominent

official; for example, the Canadian Prime Minister, or a Clan chief (see appendix for guests of honor), and the Games host is always the same from year to year.

There is so much repetition of Scottish music, traditions and pageantry at the Glengarry Highland Games, that one can rely on seeing and enjoying the same performances and musical entertainment as well as experience the same emotions every year. This repetition of occasion, content, and form has been a constant since the inception of the Games in 1947 and is part of the secret to its success. Repetition is very much one characteristic of ritual that aids in the reinforcement of Scottish culture. This reinforcement creates and maintains the Scottish culture

2. Customary dimension

The Glengarry Highland Games has a very ordered flow of social interaction, which is conventionalized and formalized by the structural repetition of events mentioned above. It has a very set pattern of events established from the inception of the Games of which the performers, organizers and attendees all have a set role to play. The *organizers* put the event together in order to keep the traditions alive and to teach and celebrate the Scottish culture. The *participants* are there to perform, entertain and educate the attendees in a set pattern of rules and events. The *attendees* are there to watch, enjoy, learn, and take away from the Games an understanding of Scottish culture and ways of life.

Like most rituals, the Games have times during the event for set rules and structures, which must be followed by the organizers and performers. In addition however, they also have prescribed times (late night ceilidhs, tent dances, beer tents and buildings during the day and night in which one can dance, drink and listen to live music) in which the performers and attendees can “play” together in a spontaneous and free manner.

Due to the ordered flow of rules at the Games and the cooperation of the participants, the events run smoothly and on a timely basis. Thus the attendees enjoy the uninterrupted flow of Scottish performances. This customary structure also aids in the reinforcement and maintenance of Scottish culture. If the Games were not well structured and organized, the affects on the attendees would not be the same.

3. Social Drama/Performance

Performance in the Glengarry Highland Games also plays a vital role in the creation, maintenance, and reinforcement of Scottish cultural identity. The Highland Games is enhanced by the fact that it is highly stylized and self-consciously acted, like part of a play, and those who perform in the ritual are very often fully aware of their dramatic elements.

The Highland dancing, the athletic and musical events (pipe bands, singers, fiddlers, Celtic bands etc.) are all performances that take place throughout the entire celebration in all parts of the Games grounds. The piper, the dancer, and the athletes who perform become the protagonists in the so-called “play”. The Games ground or special performance prop is the stage upon which they perform for the appreciative audience of attendees who are made up of people of all ages and of Scottish and non-Scottish decent. For example, a grand performance at the Games such as the playing of the massed bands takes place three times during the Games -once Friday night, and twice on Saturday. This performance starts with all of the bands entering onto the center field (center stage) through a large built castle wall (prop) which at night is lit with torches and has a rising fog (smoky) dramatic effect to it. Once through the castle wall, the thousands of pipers march in full highland dress playing traditional Scottish songs like “Scotland the Brave”, “Bonnie Dundee” and “Amazing Grace.” This performance, which lasts for approximately half an hour has a tremendous effect on the audience members.

It is through the numerous performances throughout the Games grounds, each with its own time span, an organized program of activity, a set of performers, special costumes and a specific location that the attendees inhale and absorb the Scottish culture. Although each attendee most likely has a different experience while and after watching these performances, they all work to instill in the attendees, the traditions of Highland Scottish culture. It is also through all of the performances at the Games that both the insider and outsider observe the most concrete units of the cultural structure.

Some of the events at the Games include performed gestures such as toasts, poems, salutes, stories, etc., which also provide opportunities for participants to establish their individual emotions, identities, motives and needs. For example, when the master-of-ceremony (the host) performs his opening speech, narration of the entire Games events, and closing speech he sends out specific messages to the attendees specifically regarding to the Scottish culture and ways of life. This kind of constant repetitive performance throughout the Games can also have a strong impact upon the attendees in many ways.

It is therefore through the many complex interweaving performance modes at the Games - music, song, dance, costumes/dress, poems, pledges etc., that one can take in the ways of Scottish heritage, and reflect and learn from their experiences.

4. Experience and expression

During the celebration of the Glengarry Highland Games, attendees are continuously experiencing through the expressions of performances. The performances can become structured units of experience which are socially constructed units of meaning, and it is through this

meaning that ones cultural identity can be affected. Just by attending and watching the performances at the Games, one experiences many ideas and feelings.

It is through watching a Highland piper, a Highland dancer, the Heavy events, or listening to all the Celtic music in the air that one can re-create, re-believe, re-tell, re-construct and re-experience a culture and ones personal identity. In fact, it is very possible for many people attending the Games to encounter very similar experiences due to the fact that the ritual context creates a meaning of the ritual, which in turn creates the possibility for the mutual involvement of attendees in the same experience. It is through the performances that the realization of experience and meaning and the transformation are created.

5. Collective dimension

The Glengarry Highland Games has a very strong collective dimension. There are hundreds of participants from around the world who perform each year in numerous events, and tens of thousands of attendees from around the world who attend to watch and take part in the celebration. Due to the fact that Glengarry county was a large Scottish settlement, which has not lost its strong sense of Scottish heritage over the years, residence of the area are passionate about their culture and show this by volunteering, organizing and holding the Games each year. It is because this community is so strong and passionate about its Scottish culture, that the Glengarry Highland Games is the success that it is, not to mention that it is estimated to be the largest Highland Games in the world.

Not only does the local community of Glengarry put their hearts into the Games, but thousands of Glengarrians who no longer live in the area flock every year to take part in and attend these Games. Glengarry county has made such an impact on the

celebration and maintenance of Scottish culture, that it also attracts participants and attendees from across Canada, the United States, Scotland, Ireland, England, Australia and New Zealand. This travel from distant locations to attend and participate in these Games shows that the Games have a very social meaning and that their very occurrence contains a strong social message of importance.

7. Multi-Media

The media through which the “messages” of the Games are transferred consist of numerous complex symbols that are performed and displayed within the Scottish surroundings of the Games grounds. They are clustered and interwoven in verbal and facial expressions such as a strain and grimous as an athlete tosses the caber, or a happy or sad expression on one’s face while listening to an emotional song, or other forms of body language such as the pride in the march of a pipe band member.

Costume and dress play a large role. There are many worn and displayed forms of traditional and modern highland dress (i.e. plaids, kilts, trews etc.), as well as numerous tartan wear, Scottish paraphernalia, T-shirts, hats etc. There are also many Scottish ornaments such as clan badges, kilt pins, skindews, sporrans, claymores etc. worn and for sale.

There are many other symbolic modes of presenting oneself; such as through music (pipers, fiddlers, drummers), song (Celtic, Gaelic, traditional, modern), dance (Highland fling, sword dance etc.), and ritual objects (such as the bagpipes, cabers, swords etc.).

It is through the ordering of participants in groups, the places and roles allotted to people, the order of the ritual, the manners in which the ritual space and time is ordered and so forth, that experiences are developed and messages and meaning can then be transferred to attendees.

8. Integration

The Glengarry Highland Games is a large celebration of Scottish culture that is open for anyone to attend. However, some of the people who do attend the Games will be more affected by them than others. They might feel a very strong connection to the culture, and experience a feeling of closeness and belonging to the people there and the Scottish culture. The Games have a very powerful way of creating a strong pride and unity among the participants and attendees and often creates the inclusion of members into the Scottish social group as a whole, as well as the creation of this strong affiliation to the group once the ritual is over and they have returned to everyday life. It is this social bond or unity that not only causes people to return year after year, but to also take part in other Scottish events and activities during the year.

9. Communication

The entire ritual of the Games is about communication. It is a particular ritual that is held in order to communicate experiences to people in an intensified manner which is incommunicable to them on a regular day to day basis. Attendees experience the communication through all of the multi-media discussed above, through performances and through socializing with other people at the ritual.

Some of the communication that is received at the Games is very explicit (such as bagpipe music and highland dancing), while other forms of communication is very implicit (such as the overall inner personal feeling one may experience when leaving the Games). It is through

a combination of these that one can be affected so as to feel very much a part of the social group or to reaffirm their identity. It is through the entire groups agreement of the types of communication and the fact that it is affirmed and appropriated by the group as a whole that the Games is a strong intensified ritual which maintains and reinforces the Scottish traditions and heritage.

10 *Strategy*

Due to the fact that the Glengarry Highland Games is such a large and intensified display of Scottish culture, individuals who attend can easily forget that it is a made up production that only lasts two days a year and that when its done, they must go back to everyday life.

The organizers of the event have set up the Games grounds in a specific manner so that no matter where you are, or where you turn, you see, feel, hear and smell Scottish Highland culture. All of the mechanisms used within the ritual, such as the repetition of performances, the symbols, the music, the actions, the formality, the time schedule, the grounds layout and so forth are all designed to make the attendees forget that it is a made up event; this allows the audience to get carried away and forget that the ritual has an actual purpose to it (in this case to create, maintain and reinforce Scottish cultural identity).

11. *Aesthetic dimension*

All of the performers at the Glengarry Highland Games are of the utmost professional quality; for example, the Glengarry Highland Games are the home of the North American Pipe Band Championship, as well as the home of the Solo Piper Championship. Performances at the Games have been rehearsed to the point of perfection and they are executed with a tasteful artistic flare. As a result, attendees enjoy the performances, take them seriously, and relate to the

messages being portrayed about Scottish culture and tradition. For a few brief hours, these performances transform the attendees back to an earlier time and place that they can relate to in a very satisfying manner.

12. *Symbols*

The Glengarry Highland Games consists of numerous symbols. These symbols are used as instruments of communication, expression, knowledge and control to create, maintain and reinforce Scottish cultural identity within both the individual and the entire cultural group as a whole. The most *visual* symbols at the Games are the massive numbers of pipebands and highland dancers all outfitted in their Highland clan tartans, Scottish flags (both the Lion Rampant and St. Andrews Cross) prominently and proudly displayed, concession stalls selling everything Scottish, and tartan everywhere you look or turn. These visual symbols are an intensified experience heightening the emotional effect of the event, creating a highly charged atmosphere that works to ensure the enforcement of Scottish culture.

There are many symbolic *figures* at the Glengarry Highland Games, including Highland dancers, highland athletes, Highland bagpipers and drummers, and clan chiefs. All of these figures represent a part of Scottish Highland history and culture, and are easily recognizable to even a non-Scottish first-time attendee of the Games. These figures and their expressive dancing, athletic, and musical performances, evoke strong emotional and intellectual experiences for the attendees. It is through not only watching and learning from the performances, but through the visual effects such as the highland dress, the clan tartans, and the Scottish heavyweight athletic gear (cabers, shot-puts etc.) that the attendees can have personal experiences which can cause one to feel part of an entire cultural group.

The Games also consist of the symbolic *sounds* of Scotland. The skirl of the bagpipes, the beat of the drums, the sounds of the fiddles, violins, harps, and Gaelic singers are all loaded with stimulating cultural meaning, and convey a strong response within the attendees.

The Glengarry Highland Games have a repetitious bombardment of messages conveyed through its many symbols. It is through these symbols that are portrayed at different times and in different ways over and over again throughout the ritual, that the attendees are more likely to be emotionally affected, absorb, and remember the intense messages and meanings that they get from the symbols. This is one way in which the Scottish culture is both transmitted and reassured by not just individuals, but the entire cultural group.

It is therefore, through the combination of the many formal properties of ritual in an intensified manner, that the Glengarry Highland Games is able to create, maintain and reinforce Scottish cultural identity within both the individual and the cultural group as a whole.

Conclusion

As a child, I attended the Glengarry Highland Games every year with my family.

As a youngster, I went only because my parents took me; I did not fully understand what they were about although I always had fun and looked forward to attending them. Little did I know but the Games were getting into my body and soul! As I grew older, I came to understand that the Games were about honouring and celebrating our family's cultural heritage and identity.

Now as an adult, the Games are still an annual ritual for me and I continue to come away with such a feeling of pride that I immediately start planning my trip back for the next Games. Over the years, I have brought many friends of both Scottish and non-Scottish descent to the Games with me. All have had such an enjoyable experience that they too return each year. Each has their own favoured activity – music, sports or socializing – but all enjoy the fun and cultural experience of Scottish ways of life.

As presented in Chapter two and illustrated in Chapter four, it is through the combination of functions and the ritual properties (repetition; the collective dimension; multi-media; integration; communication; strategy; the aesthetic dimension; and symbols) that Scottish cultural identity as presented and illustrated is able to be created, maintained and reinforced. My fieldwork as outlined in Chapter three, supports this theory in relation to the Glengarry Highland Games.

The Games held in Glengarry are able to restore equilibrium for the Scottish community not just locally, but for Scottish culture world-wide. By holding these Games and through the optimal level of intensity through which the precision of events affect and unify the individuals in their cultural relationships, the Scottish culture and tradition not only survives, but also speaks loudly and proudly.

References

- Babcock, Robert
1974 Ritual in industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Bell, Catherine
1992 Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice. Oxford University Press., New York.
- Bird, F. and Lightstone, J.
1995 Ritual and Ethnic Identity. Wilfrid Laurier Press.
- Chapple, Eliot
1970 Cultural and Biological Man: Explorations in Behavioral Anthropology. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Chapple, E. and Carleton S. Coon
1942 Principles in Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Coppet, Daniel De
1992 Understanding Rituals. Chaplan and Hall Inc. New York, N.Y.
- Deegan, Mary Jo
1992 American Ritual Dramas: Social Rituals and Cultural Meanings. Greenwood Press, New York.
- Firth, Raymond
1973 Symbols: Private and Public. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. New York.
- Geertz, Clifford
1971 Myth , Symbol and Culture. W.W. Norton and company Inc., New York
- Geertz, Clifford
1972 The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books
- Goody, J.
1977 Against Ritual: Loose Structured Thought on a Loosely Defined Subject., in Moore and Myerhoff 1977 25-30
- Grimes, Ronald L.
1982 Beginnings in Ritual Studies. University of South Carolina Press. USA
- Grimes, Ronald L.
1996 Readings in Ritual Studies. Prentice-Hall, Inc. New Jersey.
- Groves, C.R., and A. Stewart
1993 A Guide to the Highland Games. Appin Press., Blowing Rock, N.C.

- Hunter, James
1993 A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands the United States and Canada.
Mainstream Publishing Ltd. Edinburgh.
- Isajiw, W.W.
1991 Ethnic Identity Retention. Centre of Urban Studies, University of Toronto.
- Jarvie, Grant
1991 Highland Games: The Making of the Myth. The Edinburgh University Press.
- Laing, Bonnie
1997 A Hundred Thousand Welcomes: Fifty Years of the Glengarry Highland Games.
Tyrell Press, Ottawa.
- Leach, E.R.
1969 Ritual. In D. Sills, (Ed.), In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.
Vol. 13. New York: MacMillan and the Free Press.
- McLean
1991 The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820., McGill-
Queen's University Press.
- Manning, Frank
1983 The Celebration of Society: Perspective on Contemporary Cultural Performance.
Bowling Green University Popular Press., Ohio.
- Moore S. and Myerhoff, B.
1977 Secular Ritual. Van Gorcum and Comp. Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Platvoet, Jan and Karel Van Der Toorn
1994 Pluralism and Identity: Studies in Ritual Behaviour. E.J. Brill, Leiden
Publishers, the Neatherlands.
- Reid, Stanford W.
1975 The Scottish Tradition in Canada. McCLelland and Stewart Publishers.,
Toronto.
- Schechner, Richard
1981 Between Theater and Anthropology. University of Pennsylvania Press.,
Philadelphia
- Shaughnessy, James D.
1973 The Roots of Ritual. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan.
- Turner, Victor
1966 The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. Chicago: Aldine.
- Turner, Victor
1967 The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor
1968 The Anthropology of Performance. PAJ Publications., New York.

Turner, Victor
1972 Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor
1982 Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual. Smithsonian Institution Press,
Washington D.C.

Turner, V. and Bruner, E.
1986 The Anthropology of Experience. University of Illinois. Chicago.

Webster, David
1973 Scottish Highland Games. MacDonald Printers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Programs
Glengarry Highland Games Souvenir Programs 1977-1999

Appendix

Questionnaire

Please take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire. I am a student at Carleton University and am conducting research for my Master's Degree in Anthropology. The focus of this study is the Glengarry Highland Games and how Scottish identity is expressed through this event. Your responses are anonymous and confidential.

1. What is your connection to Glengarry?

- A) native Glengarrarian
- B) descendant of a Glengarrarian
- C) other

It "other", please specify _____

2. Where do you live? _____

3. How many years have you attended the Glengarry Highland Games? _____

4. Are you of Scottish descent?

- A) yes
- B) no

5. Which of the following activities or events at the Games interest you the most?

A) Pre Games Tattoo	H) Massed bands	O) Gaelic Choir
B) Bagpipe music	I) Track and Field	P) Concessions
C) Highland dancing	J) Heavy Weight events	Q) Genealogy
D) Solo piping contest	K) Junior heavy weight events	R) Ceilidhs
E) Drumming contest	L) Clan Societies	S) Other _____
F) Pipe band contest	M) Historical Society	
G) Fiddling music	N) Celtic Band music	

6. Which category applies to your age?

A) 0-20 years	D) 41-50 years
B) 21-30 years	E) 51-60 years
C) 31-40 years	F) 60 years and over

7. Are you a member of any Scottish organization or societies?

- A) yes
- B) no

8. Do you attend any other Highland Games during the year?

- A) yes
- B) no

9. Will you return to the Glengarry Highland Games and or Pre Games Tattoo next year?

- A) yes
- B) no

10. Does attending the Glengarry Highland Games encourage you to join other Scottish activities?

- A) yes
- B) no

11. Why do you think that the Glengarry Highland Games are important or significant?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Your assistance is appreciated.

Grounds Directory

The Glengarry Highland Games 1948 - 1997

PRESIDENT

1948 Peter MacInnes
 1949 A.S. MacIntosh
 1950 C.L. MacGregor
 1951 Ken Barton
 1952 D.D. MacKinnon
 1953 H.A. Quart
 1954 John Jamieson
 1955 John Jamieson
 1956 John Jamieson
 1957 D.N. MacRae
 1958 D.N. MacRae
 1959 Cecil MacRae
 1960 Cecil MacRae
 1961 Dr. D.M. Gamble
 1962 Dr. D.M. Gamble
 1963 Wm. R. MacEwen
 1964 Wm. R. MacEwen
 1965 Leslie Clark
 1966 Leslie Clark
 1967 Hugh Smith
 1968 Hugh Smith
 1969 R.W. MacLennan
 1970 R.W. MacLennan
 1971 Walter Blaney
 1972 Walter Blaney
 1973 Garry Smith
 1974 Garry Smith
 1975 D.E. MacMaster
 1976 D.E. MacMaster
 1977 D.E. MacMaster
 1978 Ian MacLeod
 1979 Ian MacLeod
 1980 Brian Arkinstall
 1981 Brian Arkinstall
 1982 James Campbell
 1983 James Campbell
 1984 David Munro
 1985 David Munro
 1986 Murray S. MacQueen
 1987 Murray S. MacQueen
 1988 Allan MacEwen
 1989 Allan MacEwen
 1990 Connie (Kippen) Blaney
 1991 Connie (Kippen) Blaney
 1992 Don Bond
 1993 Don Bond
 1994 Finlay McDonnell
 1995 Finlay McDonnell
 1996 Jean Campbell
 1997 Jean Campbell

OPENED GAMES

The Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, P.M. of Canada
 Lt. Col. W.J. Franklin, M.C.V.D.
 The Hon. Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario
 The Rt. Hon. James G. Gardiner
 The Hon. Angus L. MacDonald, Premier of Nova Scotia
 John Fisher
 Robert H. Saunders, C.B.E., Q.C., Chairman of Ontario Hydro
 Dave Grundie, Canadian Grand Chief of The Sons of Scotland
 Elmer Ferguson, Montreal Newspaper Columnist
 10th Anniversary - The Hon. John Diefenbaker, P.M. of Canada
 Grant Campbell, M.P. for Stormont
 W.A. McPherson, Organizer of First Glengarry Highland Games
 King Gordon, Son of Ralph Connor
 Dame Flora MacLeod of MacLeod
 General Sir Gordon H.A. MacMillan, Clan Chiefton
 The Rt. Hon. L.B. Pearson, P.M. of Canada
 Angus H. McDonnell, Chairman of the Glengarry Highland Games
 Mrs. Kathleen Ryan, wife of the late Frank Ryan
 T.C. Douglas, M.P., N.D.P. Leader
 Kathy MacEwen, Maxville Centennial Queen
 The Hon. Robert Stanfield, Conservative Party Leader
 David MacDonald Stewart of Clan Stewart
 Alex Hutchison, President of St. Andrew's Society of Montreal
 George MacMillan, son of Sir Gordon, The Clan Chief
 Senator George James McIlraith
 Jean Belliveau, Sportsman & Gentleman
 Chief Justice Kenneth Charles MacKay
 The Hon. John Diefenbaker, Former P.M. of Canada
 Mrs. Alice MacNab of MacNab of Clan MacLeod
 Terry Kielty, Vice-President & General Manager of Radio Station CFRA
 Larry Robinson, Sportsman & Gentleman
 James J. MacDonell, Auditor General of Canada
 Allan J. MacEachen, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
 John Jamieson, Secretary for 25 years
 James Laird Erskine, Commissioner, Ontario Provincial Police
 The Rt. Hon. Edward Schreyer, Governor General of Canada
 Paul Heron Robinson Jr., Ambassador of the United States to Canada
 The Honourable Flora MacDonald, Minister of Employment and Immigration
 The Honourable Lincoln M. Alexander, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario
 The Hon. John Ekins, Minister of Tourism, MLA, Victoria-Haliburton
 Maureen McTeer, Noted Lawyer and Author
 Ken "The General" Grant, 25th Anniversary as Master of Ceremonies
 The Honourable John A. Fraser, Speaker of the House of Commons of Canada
 General A. John G.D. de Chastelain CMM, CD Chief of The Defence Staff
 Max Keeping, Vice President News and Public Affairs CJOH TV
 Lloyd Robertson, C.T.V. News Anchor and C.T.V. Radio News
 Major General Lewis MacKenzie (Ret.)
 Col. The Hon. Henry Newton Rowell Jackman, Lieutenant Governor of Ont.
 Russell S. Jackson, Sportsman and Educator
 Lord Macdonald, Macdonald of Macdonald, Chief of Clan Donald