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The Scottish mind: Glaswegian social structure and its relationship to the Scottish character

Anthony J. McCaffrey

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THE SCOTTISH MIND : GLASWEGIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ITS
RELATIONSHIP TO THE SCOTTISH CHARACTER

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by

Anthony J. McCaffrey

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ABSTRACT

OF THESIS ENTITLED

"THE SCOTTISH MIND"

This thesis is an attempt to describe Scottish
National Character in Structuralist terms, working at that
level of abstraction concerning the Social. It commences
by taking a synchronic view of one Scottish city, Glasgow,
which would at first sight appear to be atypical, and
analysing it as a Dual Organisation. The flaws and
inadequacies of the model in dealing with the Glasgow data
give a firm directional base from which to extend the
boundaries of analysis both spatially and historically.
Scottish History is examined for signs of Dualism outwith
the modern Glasgow era. It is found that a propensity for
dualism can be observed in several periods of history,
especially at times of societal stress, but is not quite so
marked at other times. However, underlying the thread of
Scottish History, there is found a constant factor, a certain
"style" of which dualism is an extreme manifestation. The
style is termed "defensiveness". The specificity of Scottish
history and character is found to lie in the fact that when
society perceives things going wrong, blame is laid on
outsiders or anomalous insiders. When life is perceived as
proceeding well, the Scots are more tolerant, but a propensity
towards xenophobia is always dormant, awaiting activation
when bad times arrive. An attempt is made to elucidate the
generator of this style, and the concept of "template" is
used. A Scottish Template is discerned which satisfactorily
explains the above characteristics, and which also allows one
 a rethink of the Glasgow data, showing Glaswegian behaviour
to be one particular manifestation of the general pattern,
thus securely anchoring Glasgow in the total Scottish context.

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I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Nick Allen for his guidance and encouragement. I would also like to thank Professor Eric Sunderland and his staff for helpful advice and support. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Margie, for her Job-like patience, and Mary Hamden who introduced me to the term "Anthropology".

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, British Anthropology has had a
prediliction to study non-Western societies. The
Anthropological student is well versed in the reasons for
this direction of study, e.g. the historical momentum within
the subject, and more explicitly, the need for"Objectivity",
the ability of studies of "Otherness" to reflect light on
one's own society, etc. However, it can be argued that we
have gone too far in this direction. As Douglas has indicated,
unless we can bring our knowledge to bear on our own
predicament, on our own lives as we live them, then the
discipline is doomed to remain an academic desert, as arid
in potentialities for human development as the surface of the
moon. I was, therefore, drawn to studying my own society,
my own family and friends, living in their milieu, a milieu
that was once my own, hopeful of finding that my anthropological
training had given me the required degree of objectivity.
This, unfortunately, proved to be a far from easy task,
bringing me up against some cruelly pertinent philosophical
difficulties, whose apparent lack of solution reflects badly
on the discipline as a whole.

The central difficulty I encountered was the problem
of Relativity. When viewing other cultures, it is noble and
wise not to make value judgements. But the unwanted implication
of adopting a Relativist position is that it contains within
it the seeds of its own ideology - constructs its own
peculiar world view, which militates against citizenship
of the Human Race. The Anthropologist is detached from the
rest of man by the nature of his outlook. By the nature of
his Relativistic viewpoint, the anthropologist is morally
neutral - a fence sitter. To come off the fence, as Vonnegut
has cogently observed, gives one a 50% chance of being right,
but to remain on the fence means that one can never be right!
Relativity removes one from the Political sphere, the sphere
of process in which the actual living of life is carried out.

The particular Relativist approach which I adopt,

and which I never sought to question until I turned it onto my "airfolk", the people of Glasgow, is Structuralism. Structuralism is the most sophisticated and coherent Relativist philosophical position yet devised in the Social Sciences. The Structuralist takes as doctrine the apparently powerful idea that no social fact can be understood on its own, but only in relation to other social facts. He therefore looks for relations between facts, and then for relations between relations. Somewhere in this convoluted, often implicit process, the social facts themselves are apt to lose the poignancy and vividness they have for those who live through and in them. The Structuralist does not question the rightness or morality of social fact "A", but merely slots it into its place in the plethora of relations he is building. The result of this abstraction, this rape of the social fact, is a curiously static detached ideological position. Life is lived just beyond his grasp; he is trapped forever on a Moebius Strip, which tends to make him believe that the world is changeless and unchanging - a depressing and manifestly erroneous world view when stated baldly. The Structuralist Ideology has no place whatsoever for the existentialist dilemmas of the participants in the processes of history.

By turning an anthropological gaze on my own society, Glasgow, I was immediately tripped up by this impossible difficulty, and the resulting, rather convoluted thesis contains within it an attempt to come to terms with this difficulty. I found that I could not ignore the social facts from the moral viewpoint. Inevitably questions arise in my mind as to what possible use a thesis like this might be in changing, alleviating a Glaswegian situation which I find personally to be intolerable. The more usual Anthropological aloofness was found to be out of the question.

Thus the picture I paint is vast and sprawling. I attempt to utilize the undoubted power of the Structuralist approach but in a fashion that attempts to cut right through its timelessness. I can hardly hope to have succeeded in all

respects. Critics have said and will continue to say,
that one can ask too much from anthropology, that it is
the task of the Anthropologist to understand man, to increase
Human Knowledge, but not to change society. If this be so,
then I cannot continue to call myself an Anthropologist.
A discipline which has so much to offer mankind in terms
of mutual understanding and tolerance, fails itself miserably
if it cannot ACT on its understanding.

A second problem related to the first is the
problem of Subjectivity. I, as an insider, knew too much
about the city, about its people and problems. I therefore
decided to treat Glasgow as if it were an isolated jungle
tribe, and examine it with forced rigidity, using well
established Anthropological models, and ignoring initially
the fact that it is a cosmopolitan city, located spatially
and historically in Western civilization. The benefit of
this technique was that it forced me to work in "Anthropological
Categories", allowing me to eschew the more seductive
"Sociological Categories" such as "social class", normally
applicable in Western studies. This approach produced an
initial Social Structure which would be unrecognisable to
many of the natives, but which gave a firm base from which
to broaden the boundaries of analysis in an unusual manner,
and locate Glasgow in its Scottish setting. The initial
anthropological model which I adopt is the dualist model.
I argue that Glasgow life can only be understood in terms
of the conceptual polarity of Catholic and Protestant.
Much of the data I have to fuel this model derives from my
own personal experience, and thus it behoves me to lay down
clearly my life history, to exemplify the subjective depth
on which many of my observations are based.

I was born twenty eight years ago in the post-war
"baby boom", of Catholic parents, on the outskirts of Glasgow.
I was the third child in a family of four. My paternal
Grandfather and Grandmother were both Irish immigrants into
Glasgow, and had originated in Ulster. My Grandfather was

by occupation a cobbler. My father was the eighth child of twelve, all of whom were born and brought up in Glasgow as Catholics. Of my father's siblings,two died at an early age, and with two more exceptions, all the family followed their parents into manual, non-professional occupations. Of the two exceptions, the elder became a Jesuit Priest, and the younger, my father who had shown a marked talent in Art, won himself a scholarship to a large Catholic, fee-paying school in Glasgow. He made good use of his chance, and after a subsequent spell at Art College in Glasgow, eventually emerged as a teacher of Art.

My maternal Grandfather was also of Irish extraction, being the son of an Ulster immigrant, who had settled in Lancashire. He was a plumber by trade, who travelled around the country a great deal installing central heating systems in the homes of the wealthy. He married a Catholic, English girl, settled down in Preston, Lancs., and proceeded to bring up eight children as devout Catholics. My mother, the second born, left school at fourteen to take up an apprenticeship with a tailoring firm. Two of her brothers eventually became priests. During the Depression my Grandfather brought his family North to Glasgow to seek work, settling in an old part of the town, in the same street as my father's family.

My father and mother met during this period when he was experiencing several years of unemployment, due to the Depression, and the restrictive practices of the Education Department in Glasgow. According to my father, at that time, only four Catholic Art teachers per year were granted employment. My mother had found a tailoring job, manufacturing red huntsmen's jackets.

My father finally found a job in the Catholic sector of Education (in which he worked until his retirement), married my mother and settled down and proceeded to bring up a family. Two daughters were born, and there then followed a six year gap caused by the Hitlerian war. I was born in 1947 and a

younger brother followed me in 1951.

We lived on a small estate of tiny box-like houses on the outskirts of Glasgow, just across the city boundary in Renfrewshire. My early years were uneventful, playing out in the street with all the neighbours' children, the vast majority of whom were Protestant. At the age of five, I commenced my schooling. This had the effect of separating me from my infant playmates, with myself going to the local Catholic school, and the others to the local Protestant school. From this point on, I lived in suspicion and fear of my erstwhile Protestant friends, each of us imbibing deeply of the religious mythology promulgated by our respective schools. I remember being taunted mercilessly by my neighbouring agemates - the cry being "Papist, Papist!" or "Catholic-Jew!" and taking consolation in that fact that I had gleaned at school - that they were all going to Hell anyway - since only Catholics went to Heaven! My close friends were therefore exclusively Catholic.

At twelve, having surmounted the barrier of the "Eleven-plus" I was sent to Secondary School. There was no convenient Catholic secondary school in the locality, so the Education Authority carried out its now discontinued policy of paying "Boundary Fees" to Glasgow, to allow me to go to school over the Boundary in a large Glasgow Catholic Comprehensive. This had the effect of distancing me further from my neighbouring Protestant agemates, and I passed through Secondary School without making, or needing, a single Protestant friend.

At age eighteen, and with a motley assortment of "H-levels" and "O-levels" under my belt, I was accepted as a Student of Chemistry at Strathclyde University. Here, in this supposedly non-sectarian environment, I met my first close Protestant friend in a thoroughly fortuitous and arbitrary fashion. We were placed together at the lab bench by the logic of the alphabet. He was McB and I was McC!

He had had no previous Catholic friends, his life having been, in a sense, a mirror image of my own. His brothers were apparently fanatical Orangemen and would, he claimed, have thrashed him if he was found to be consorting with Catholics. I never visited his home in four years, and he never visited mine.

During those four years, while playing the role of Chemist rather badly, I had about fifteen temporary jobs in the Glasgow area, ranging from building sites through to teaching, and I began to waken up to the facts of life as they are in Glasgow. One of my most pleasant interludes occurred one summer when I worked as a "navvy" with Glasgow Corporation Highways Department. The squad to which I was attached, being composed of both Catholic and Protestant men, worked fairly well as a unit, apart from two occasions on the calendar. The first was the Orange Walk on the 17th July. The week preceding, and that following the Walk were weeks of tension in which the squad visibly split into two halves, one Protestant and the other Catholic, the only possible social interaction being brusque, stacatto technical requests concerning the job. The second occurred in early September - the first Rangers/Celtic football clash of the season. The driver of our squad's truck being Catholic, all the Celtic supporters were offered a lift to the ground on the back of the vehicle; while the Rangers fans were pointedly advised to go by bus - to the same match.

In my final year at University, I finally destroyed my mother's fondest hope - the hope that I would get a vocation to the priesthood, by announcing my intention to marry, albeit to a good Catholic girl!

Upon graduation from University, my wife and I spent two years in Uganda as V.S.O's, and on my return I worked again in Glasgow for several months as a Commonwealth Institute lecturer, touring the schools, giving illustrated talks on life in East Africa. After two years break, the

grim reality of sectarianism was thrust at me on my return, even though I felt I would have been protected by my August employers. When organising which schools I should visit, the Glasgow Education Department noted my _name_, and automatically assumed that I would be wanting to visit Catholic schools only. Upon protesting that such an idea was incredible, the Department was thrown into a state of confusion, but finally emerged triumphant, with a list of 50% Catholic and 50% Protestant schools - fortuitous in the extreme!

My next few years were spent in England, with a short sojourn in Central America during my Anthropological training. Finally, during 1974 - 75 while working on the Scottish material which forms the basis of this thesis, I spent much time in Glasgow collecting data, but this time attempting to be an outsider - an observer.

It is of interest to conclude, by discussing the fate of my family. My elder sister became a teacher, married a Catholic, and in spite of spending five years in a variety of exotic foreign locales, is now living within the Glasgow orbit, and bringing up a family of three children as devout Catholics. My second sister became a nun. My brother, engaged to a Catholic girl, is at present employed in the Weights and Measures Department of Glasgow Corporation. My parents are still devout Catholics. I myself am reckoned as the "black sheep" of the family, having moved away and renounced "the Faith". Although I hold no further belief in Catholicism as a _religious_ doctrine, when I return to Glasgow, I find it extremely difficult to avoid being dragged back into the social and cultural milieu in which I was brought up.

Thus I have, I hope, been explicit, clear and detailed in this sketch of my life history, to enable the reader to gauge for himself the effect my own background has on the issues dealt with in this thesis.

As to the actual work itself, I am well aware that the topic is vast and would be considered ambitious even by Ph.D. standards. I was, however, faced with the choice of a narrowly restricted anthropological treatment of one small topic, frustrated continuously by the lack of source material - there has, surprisingly, been very little scholarly work done in Scotland in any relevant area - or, taking my courage in both hands and painting in the vast canvas of what is in effect an attempt to describe Scottish National character, by using what little information there was available, by plundering any discipline which seemed to offer any aid. (Even so I have not been able to use much primary material as will be obvious from the text, having been severely limited by the time factor of one year. I was also anxiously aware of the shadow of Evans-Pritchard, with his stern denunciations of Anthropologists who are uniritical in their use of non-Anthropological source material). Thus I scoured through the anthropology of Industrial Scotland, (non-existant); the history of Scotland, (patchy, uncertain and ethnocentric); the history of Glasgow, (virtually non-existant in scholarly form); the work of Political Scientists in Scotland, (sketchy, narrow in theoretical base, concerned with much, to the anthropologist, irrelevant questioning); Scottish Art History, (nil material, but delivered with characteristic self-indulgence and aggression); Scottish Art and Literature, (a vast subject, difficult to process in the summary fashion that was required); Scottish Sociology (Marxist orientated in the main) and the back files of a variety of old newspapers. In a single year I have not had enough time to process the material as thoroughly as I should have wished. A much more intensive analysis of Scottish History would be required for example, to make the case more strongly. I am in the position of a man wrestling to make sense of a vast jigsaw of which 90% of the pieces are missing, and yet whose 10%

available pieces give such a cohesive and insistent
pattern, that he is compelled to proceed at all costs.
In doing this I have taken courage in the words of the
Grandfather of Structuralism, Alfred L. Kroeber. My thesis
"----- has turned out to be an endeavour in applied
anthropology of the long range variety. It leans ----- a
great deal on History. Only it asks that History be viewed
now and then with a maximum of elbow room, and freedom of
perspective, with emphasis for the time being, not on the
mere events of History, which are as unending as the waves
on the sea, but on the qualities of its secular trends; and
that these trends be constructed as far as possible in terms
of the style-like patterns which so largely characterize
civilization, and in terms of the developmental flow,
interaction and integration of these patterns" (Kroeber
1951 ii p. 408).

        This then will be my answer to those who might say
that I have spread my net too widely. One of the widest
holes in the argument is the lack of reference I make to the
vast body of work done by American Anthropologists on
National Character. I am in fact by no means unaware of
this work, admiring particularly Benedict's "The Chrysanthemum
and the Sword". However, from the outset, I have rejected
these approaches since I would argue that they are working
at a different level of abstraction to that chosen by the
Structuralist. American studies of National Character, are
all located conceptually at the Psychological level of
analysis, whereas in my approach, I have opted to work at
the level of the Social. I have, therefore, found the work
of the American Anthropologists to be unhelpful as an aid
to answering my questions. Hence the emphasis of my title -
"The Scottish Mind", rather than "The Scottish Character"-
with "mind" used in the Levi-Straussian collective sense.
The theorists whom I have found to be of particular use to
me in the analysis, Kroeber, Levi-Strauss, Ardener and

Douglas, are all fully cited in the text whenever used.

The argument proceeds as follows. I am interested in finding out why Glaswegians behave as they do. To start with, I treat Glasgow in isolation, and examine it synchronically as a Dual Organisation. From this base, I indicate where the model falls down, and extend the boundaries of analysis both spatially and temporally by examining Scottish history for other examples of dualism. I note that throughout history there is a continuity - a Scottish style which is evident down through the ages, but especially at times when society is undergoing severe "stress" for whatever reason. This style, I characterize as "DEFENSIVENESS". Critics may argue that the word is too woolly and vague to stand in analysis. I would retort that it is this vagueness which gives it such power. It is of the nature of a Wittgensteinian "Odd-Job Word". It has many references, all of which are not consonant with each other. Therefore, defensiveness means fear of the "outsider"; fear of some "insiders"; vigilance in protecting boundaries, both physical and symbolic, sometimes by flight but more often by aggression; defensiveness is being quick to take offence, an anxious monitoring of social interaction for real and imagined slight etc.

When I have worked at the concept of Scottish style, I argue that it is not rigorous enough to deal with the problem of Scottish National Character, and search instead for the "generator" of that style. Here I introduce the work of Ardener on "The Template" - "a repetitive distinctive structuring tendency". This template is extremely difficult to isolate, so I comb the available material for clues, for indices with which a "language shadow" may be built. As a result of this, I am able to suggest a model for Scottish National Character, which I endeavour to show generates the various examples of Scottish style spatially and historically in general, but also specifically generates a clear picture

of Social Reality in Glasgow today.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that this
Scottish template bears the same relationship to reality
that Levi-Strauss' "Social Structure" does (as discussed in
Chapter I). It is built up after reality. It is a heuristic
guess at the nature of Scottish National Character - not
a factual statement of the way things are. If viewed in
this fashion the template produced can be used as a starting
point in an argument about the nature of Scottishness, and
if viewed in this sense, it is possible that it will not be
consigned to the scrap-heap of separate "realities" which
litter the pedestal of Anthropology.

CHAPTER I
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter is an affirmation of the theoretical perspective in which I choose to work. In it, I will examine the current state of Social Anthropology, emphasising the welter of possible theoretical positions which are at present taken, and showing with regard to my current interests, that one particular approach is more useful than the others. I then develop this approach, the Structuralist approach, implicitly defending it against the others.

In a recent and most stimulating paper, Rodney Needham despairs for the future of Social Anthropology as a discipline on the grounds that it has neither a coherent present or a coherent past (Needham 1970). He notes that the various subject categories within Social Anthropology as it now stands, for example Kinship and Religion etc., are meaningless, since the supposed subdivisions themselves are impossible to define. Similarly the distinction between Social Anthropology and other social sciences is extremely difficult to draw. If the present is nebulous, the past is even more so. Different British Anthropologists choose different intellectual ancestors as guides for present work, but there is no uniform agreement as to what the relationships between the various "Gurus" may be. Thus some develop the ideas of Weber; others seek inspiration from Durkheim and Comte; still others look to the Scottish Moralists. As Pocock has shown one can trace Social Anthropology right back to Aristotle and Plato (Pocock 1961). The implication is obvious: if there is no uniform past or present, the answer to the question "ought Anthropology exist at all ?" is clearly NO. Needham goes on to claim that if it exists at present, it exists merely as an academic institution, with the usual university type structure.

Entertaining as Needham's paper is, it may be argued that he is being a trifle pessimistic. If nothing

else, Anthropologists have been assiduous collectors of
social facts from a variety of societies, and British
Anthropologists, working in a loosely knit scientific
paradigm, in T. S. Kuhn's sense, have achieved much.
Theoretical movement has occurred in British Anthropology,
and this can be exemplified by reference to Kuhn's ideas.
However, one thing must be made clear. I am unconvinced
that any Kuhnian paradigms exist in Social Anthropology in
a pure form. The important component of the paradigm, as
Kuhn insists, is the Theory, and, as yet, none exist in
Social Anthropology in a pure form. Instead, as Needham
points out in the introduction to "Primitive Classification",
our "Theoretical Capital" consists merely of guiding notions
such as "Exchange", "Transformation", "Opposition", etc.
Thus Social Anthropology can only be claimed to have
Scientific Paradigms in the loosest sense. It is with this
proviso that Kuhn's model can be applied.

        T. S. Kuhn, in his "The Structure of Scientific
Revolutions", argues that science must be conceived of as
being practised in two clearly distinct modes. Firstly he
distinguishes "Normal Science", and secondly "Revolutionary
Science". Normal Science is the science which is practised
within the boundaries of a given theory. The work done by
"Normal Scientists" is characterized as "puzzle solving".
Scientists in a discipline form a social community, and like
other social communities are held together by beliefs, rules
and practises - a world view and a method of proceeding
within the world view - which he calls a paradigm. Now as
Douglas has shown, societies in general tend to reject the
unclassifiable, the anomalous (Douglas 1966). Kuhn argues
that the same thing happens in the community of scientists.
Anomalous experimented results are suppressed and ignored.
How, then, does scientific progress occur ? Kuhn reckons
that the change occurs through the practice of Revolutionary
Science, the science of problem solving, which deals squarely
with the anomalies present in a given theory, and generates
new theories. These new theories often take a long time to

catch on, especially amongst the established members of
the profession, because, in a sense, someone who has been
trained in, and who has worked within a particular paradigm
has made an economic commitment to this paradigm, and to
throw it over requires a complete reorganisation, and
reorientation of world view, and methods of procedure.
Thus scientific progress is not a smooth succession of
"Discoveries", but rather works in fits and starts, leaving
considerable numbers of scientists trailing in its wake -
unable and unwilling to change.

     I will argue that a similar process has occurred
in British Anthropology. The dominant paradigm of the last
half century has been the Empiricist "Structural - Functional"
paradigm, and much anthropological work is <u>still</u> being done
within its confines. However, much ignored by the
Empiricists, Anthropology has moved on. As Douglas points
out "There is a recognisable epistemologist viewpoint
working through European literature, philosophy, linguistics,
and sociology which strikes some students as novel when they
meet it. It is not novel, it is old. It is not trivial but
important. Its recent foundations were in anthropology at
the turn of the century. A conversation started in Europe
then between philosophers and social scientists. The
speakers started from a common concern with problems of
commitment, solidarity, and aberation ----- they drove the
study of meaning straight into the study of social relations.
----- But the dialogue was broken off as the community of
scholars was dispersed either forcibly by the wars, or
voluntarily because they turned to speak more exclusively
to their disciples. ----- The theme goes back to Hegel and
Marx; that reality is socially constructed" (Douglas 1973,
P. 9).

     Thus although the perspective is old it has only
recently broken through as a useful approach, due to the
resistance it has met at the hands of the Empiricist paradigm
which has been dominant. Ardener terms this breakthrough

- 3 -

"The New Anthropology". He points out that there is still
much confusion about the essence of this New Anthropology
due to the wide range of positions from which the debate
begins. There are the differences between Structuralists
and Functionalists, differences between different brands of
Structuralism and criticism of Structuralism by Marxists and
Cultural Materialists. "Somewhere in the middle of it all
comes a genuine split. It runs like a crack in an arctic
ice flow separating colleague from colleague, and department
from department ----- there has occurred an epistemological
break of an important kind. So far and in that sense there
are now a "new" and an "old" anthropology. There is a
position, acquainted with neighbouring disciplines which
sees the new anthropological movement as part of a change in
the mind of science itself" (Ardener 1971 (c)).

I will now attempt to characterize clearly the
difference between the two approaches, the Old and the New.
Firstly we must ask the question "How do social scientists
attempt to apprehend society ?". The answer is that they
attempt to do this through the use of models. The models
used by the old anthropologists, who include all the Empiricist
approaches such as Functionalism, Structural Functionalism,
and its derivations such as Actor Orientated Perspective
Network Analysis, Situational Analysis etc., are based on
the metaphor that society is like an organism with all the
parts functionally inter-related. Social Structure for the
Old Anthropologists is real, a "bleeding chink of the natural
order" as Ardener picturesquely puts it, an assumption that
arises, as we will see, from its empiricist base. Ardener
likens Social Science to the apprehension of the movements
of tables and chairs in a dining room. The functional and
empiricist approach has been to study the movements by
physical measuring devices. Society for them is real,
static, exists out there and can be apprehended using tools
of observation. The various parts of society are inter-
related functionally. However there is another approach to
the problem of the movements of the tables and chairs. If

we say "this is a dining room", then all the sorts of
movements that the tables and chairs make are generated.
Thus while the men with the rulers will be completely
flummoxed when the tables are reorganised in a seemingly
arbitrary fashion, the possessors of the statement that
"this is a dining room" have the qualitative ability to
say - "Yes because it's a wedding", or "Yes because it's
Burn's night", etc. In Ardener's terms, the statement that
"this is a dining room" has the status of a _programme_ while
the actual physical movement of the tables and chairs is
the _output_. A programme is sufficient to account for the
movement of the individual chairs; it condenses the
essential relationships within the most flexible limits of
measurement. No relationships of quantity are necessary.
The programme in this philosophical sense is uncalibrated
to events. As Ardener points out, "the programmes for
human events are self-transforming. They embody innumerable
meta levels ----- Certain programmatic distinctions are
calques upon divisions in the most behaviourist reality:
sex differences, body laterality, geographical directions.
Nevertheless establish one level of categorization, and
human beings build a metaphorical level upon it, then upon
this level yet another. The number of possible structures
one inside the other is thus bewilderingly great. It is no
wonder that concentrations instead upon the plane or field
of social events as they are generated was for long so
attractive. Functionalists have in fact been used to
ordering this plane through rudimentary structures of another
type; call them syntagmatic in opposition to the paradigmatic
structures of the programme. Functionalists did not always
grasp their arbitrary nature, for syntagmatic structures
frequently approximate to our positivist analogues for
reality itself". "The situational logic of Popper, the
functional inter-relationships of Radcliffe-Brown: they
feel real" (Ardener 1971 (c)). The Empiricist's perception
of society is therefore skewed by his metaphysical assumptions.

Thus Old Anthropologists have tended to be
interested in the output, the syntagmatic chains
generated in social life. Their focus can be summed up
with the question, "What are the facts ?". The New
Anthropologists, on the other hand, are interested in
the programme - focusing on the question "What kinds of
facts are there ?".

The paradigmatic/syntagmatic distinction is
borrowed from Linguistics, and this gives us a key to
the basic metaphor of the New Anthropologists; i.e.
that society is like a language, creative and open ended.
Let me explain more fully the terms paradigmatic and
syntagmatic. To explicate their use let us look at a
linguistic example: See Fig. I.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF PARADIGMATIC TO SYNTAGMATIC

FIG. I

		(were	(blessing
Paradigmatic	(The working class	(is	(curse
Axis	(Royalty	(will be	(burden on
	(Anthropologists	(are a	(the State
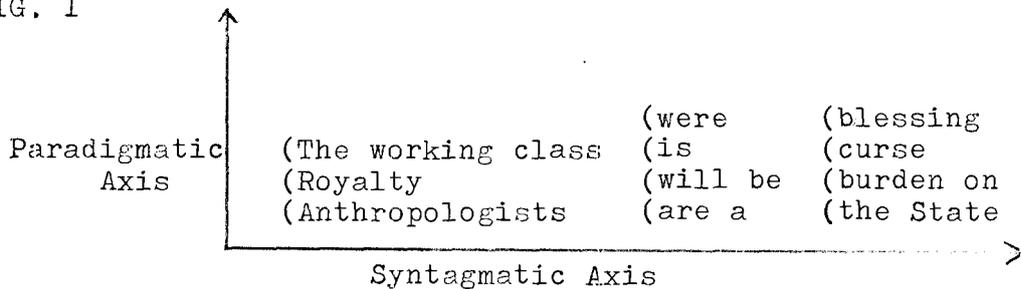
Syntagmatic Axis

Take the basic sentence "anthropologists are a burden on
the State". The syntagmatic axis deals with the relation-
ships between the words, the grammatical rules which allow,
say, the word "burden" to be preceded by "a" and followed
by "on". It is by using rules of this kind that the
perceiver of the sentence extracts meaning and the speaker
expresses it. However at the same time the sentence is a
many possibility thing, and is apprehended by the paradigmatic
axis as shown. For example, the noun "Anthropologists" is
only one of many possible nouns that could take the same
position in the sentence and still allow the sentence to
make grammatical sense. Therefore the human being, in

perceiving a symbolic statement attains meaning by a
combination of these means.

Thus we can see that the "programme" is both
paradigmatic and syntagmatic, while the "output" is
merely syntagmatic. The Structuralist approach to social
phenomena (to use the most fashionable term for the New
Anthropology) is characterised by an interest in the
workings of the human mind. It is a structuring mechanism
in the mind of the individual that underlies the symbolic
organisation of society. This can be shown as follows :-
See Fig. II

THE GENERATION OF CONSONANT LEVELS
BY THE DEEP STRUCTURE

FIG. II   Present in individual   Social Expressions
                                  mind
                                            Paradigmatic
                                              Axis

Deep | M |→ Structure of language ---- Language as spoken
  Structure | I |→   "   "   myth ------- Myth as expressed
Producer of | N |→   "   "   jokes ----- Jokes as told
  Programme | D |⇉   "   "   marriage
                  →   "   "   rules ---- Marriage behaviour
                            "   "   rituals -- Rituals as carried
                          etc.   out
                                            Syntagmatic Axis
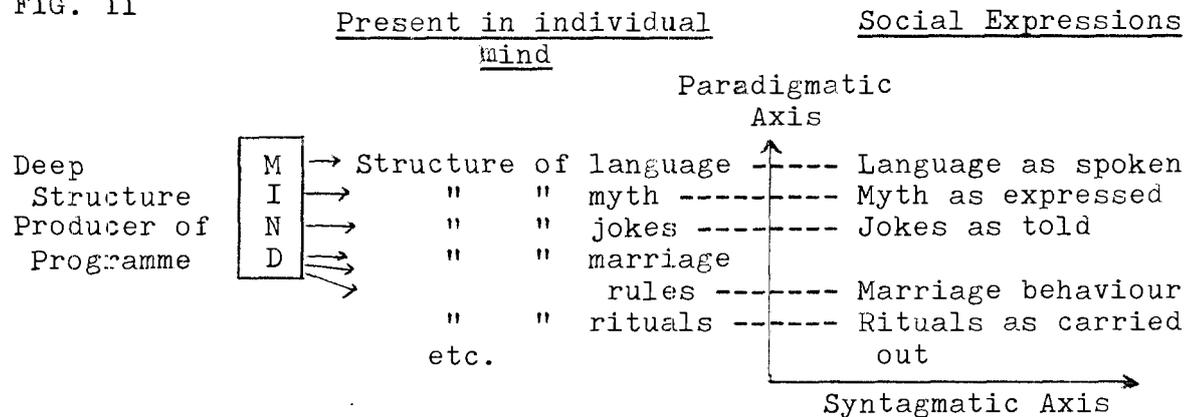
Since the same deep structure or programme generates the
various syntagmatic chains, it is postulated by Structuralists
that the various levels will be consonant, each being a
metaphorical transformation of the others.

We must now deal with the notion of "Social
Structure". For Structuralists, "The term 'Social Structure'
has nothing to do with empirical reality, but with models
which are built up after it" (Levi Strauss, 1963). In other
words, Social Structure is a model or logical construct in
the mind of the anthropologist. The Structuralist does not
study Social Structure, but instead studies social relations
and social institutions. When he orders the data collected

in the form of a model which purports to demonstrate certain crucial relationships in the society studied, the model could then be called the Social Structure of the society. Thus the social structure is simply a guess at the programme of the society.

This approach differs radically from the Radcliffe-Brownian view of structure which has dominated the Old Anthropology. Radcliffe Brown suggested that Social Structure should be viewed as: "a network of relationships connecting the inhabitants (of any convenient locality of suitable size) amongst themselves, and with people of other regions" (Radcliffe Brown, 1952). Unlike Culture which he described as a "vague abstraction", structure was a concrete reality which could be directly apprehended by the observer and therefore described in a proper scientific spirit. From this followed his assumption that every society had a structure which could be determined by inspection, much as the bone structure of a vertebrate may be described by examining its skeleton - thus the organic analogy mentioned earlier. The implication of this view, i.e. that structure is real, is that when structure is discovered for a particular society no other view is possible, since it would by definition be wrong. The merit of the New Anthropological view as Maybury-Lewis points out, is that "it offers a way out of this dilemma by positively inviting anthropologists to break away from their customary and often apriori views about the significance of social institutions, and to see whether, by thinking them out anew in formal terms, they can come to fresh conclusions" (Maybury-Lewis, 1974). The social structure of a society is taken as an explanatory hypothesis about it not as a descriptive device. It should further be noted that such a hypothesis is usually only one of a number of possible hypothesis. Some societies may to all intents and purposes be rendered intelligible by a single model. Even so this single model is never the only explanation of the

data, merely the best possible, at a given place, and a given time.

Thus to summarize the New Anthropological approach, we can say that structuralism, commencing with the metaphor that society is like a language, is concerned to apprehend the deep structure or programme of the society, which generates paradigmatically, the various syntagmatic chains of social phenomena extant in the society. The heuristic model, or guess at the programme is the Social Structure.

CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF GLASGOW

I propose therefore, to order the data on Glasgow from the Structuralist viewpoint. The important cultural categories in Glasgow are "Catholic" and "Protestant" which are conceptually opposed. I will argue that this opposition is an integral part of the programme which generates the various forms of social phenomena. I will argue therefore, that Glasgow can be usefully studied as an example of Dual Organisation. I will then give some attention to painting a picture of the background of the city - discussing the history, and indicating briefly the pervasiveness of the dualism. A more comprehensive examination of the dualism will be carried out in Chapters III and IV.

There has been much debate in anthropology on the use of the notion of Dual Organisation (see for example Levi-Strauss, 1963, Maybury-Lewis, 1960). There would seem to be two extreme positions that it is possible to take up when considering these societies -

1. Much of the debate has centred on the assumption that Dual Organisations are defined by moiety exogamy. However as Maybury-Lewis has shown this creates havoc with attempts to order the Social features of the Central Brazilian Tribes. The criterion is too specific (one is reminded of Leach's Butterflies (Leach, 1961). For example by this criterion, the Sherente and Western Shavante are examples of Dual Organisation, but the Apinayé, Kayapó and Eastern Shavante are not. This distinction is not useful. The Apinayé, for example, share a set of symbolic and spatial ideas associated with agamous moieties very similar to the Sherente. Maybury-Lewis suggests that a more fruitful line of approach is to treat them all as variations of a single institutional complex.

2. However, if the notion of Dual Organisation

defined by moiety exogamy is restrictive, then it is possible
to go too far in the opposite direction. It can be claimed
that Dual Organisation is merely the sociological expression
of a dyadic principle. This would mean that every society
has Dual Organisational tendencies, for as Maybury-Lewis
points out "--- to distinguish by means of antithesis is one
of the most fundamental procedures of human thought --- in
fact the notion of cosmic dualism permeates the whole of
Western Philosophy from Heraclitus to Hegel and Marx, and is
hardly absent from Eastern Philosophy either. It was
specifically taken up in the study of categories of thought
by the French sociologists of the early 20th Century (e.g.
Durkheim Mauss Hertz). It follows from this that most human
societies could be expected to give conceptual or institutional
expression to some sort of dyadic principle. A conclusion
that most human societies were therefore Dual Organisations,
would be as the philosophers say "only trivially true"
(Maybury-Lewis, 1974). To save the concept of Dual Organisation,
Maybury-Lewis redefines it as follows. He reckons that "a
more useful concept of Dual Organisation is that it is an
ideal type corresponding to a theoretical society in which
every aspect of the social life of its members is ordered
according to a single antithetical formula. The discussion
of whether or not a given society is a Dual Organisation or
whether Dual Organisations exist then becomes irrelevant.
Instead Anthropologists might consider how far a particular
dyadic model was explanatory of a given society; or to put
it another way, what range of rules, ideas and actions was
rendered intelligible by the model, and equally significantly
what range was not" (ibid p.298).

Thus I do not claim that Glasgow is a Dual
Organisation; rather that the Dual Organisational model is
the best model for dealing with the Glasgow data. As I noted
earlier, it is not the only possible model, simply the one
that as a first approximation orders most of the data. Before

progressing to an examination of the data I would like to
briefly examine the history and present social situation of
Glasgow.

In a broad sense, the history of Glasgow parellels
the history of Scotland. Except that Glasgow was the shrine
of St. Kentigern, a Scottish Saint, nothing much was known
of the city's history until the 12th Century, when the
ancient ecclesiastical see of Glasgow was re-established.
In the same century it became a burgh, and three hundred years
later acquired the second Scottish university. Nevertheless,
it still remained a small town until its transformation in
the 18th Century into Scotland's largest city. The important
factor was the development of the New World, and the city's
strategic position on the Western seaboard. Glasgow's first
merchants were the "Tobacco Lords". In the years before the
American Revolution over one half of the British Tobacco
Trade firmly established Glasgow as an industrial and
commercial centre. By the early 19th Century, heavy industries
such as engineering and shipbuilding became the basis for
Glasgow's prosperity. Even today they are still regarded as
the life blood of the city's economy. The long tradition in
these two industries has caused a separation between the
workers in each. Shipbuilding especially has developed its
own way of life, its own ethos. Thus workers in shipyards
tend to be the sons of former shipyard workers, and would be
loath to work in a different industry. (The importance of
this distinction will be dealt with later). The industrial
development attracted many immigrants, particularly from
Ireland, and this was to prove to be of crucial importance in
subsequent Scottish history.

The large influx of immigrants, the economic
uncertainty and the presence of a cholera epidemic, made the
middle years of the 19th Century a time of continuous social
strife. However, by the end of the century, a temporary

- 12 -

period of economic plenty bloomed. Glasgow became the
second city of the British empire. Much of the city was
rebuilt, seeing the introduction of some well laid out
streets, and many acres of public parkland. However, by
1918 Glasgow was beginning to pay the penalty for its
dependence upon the heavy engineering industries;
unemployment and uncertainty, and pessimism about the
future undermined most people. Frustration and boredom,
assisted by the closely packed ranks of tenement dwelling,
exacerbated religious and political strife, producing the
reality and the myths of Red Clydeside, and the deadly
increase in Catholic/Protestant hatred. These were also
the conditions which produced the endemic gang warfare of
the late twenties and early thirties, based partly on
religious cleavage between Catholic and Protestant, and
partly on territory.

        In the period since the second world war, efforts
have been made to mitigate the conditions which have produced
this social and political conflict. Vast rehousing and
overspill programmes have been initiated by the Labour
dominated corporation, which also intensified in local
politics the bitterly fought issue of Corporation housing -
Glasgow has the highest percentage of its citizens living
in council houses outside the Soviet Union - approximately
55%. Attempts were made to introduce fresh industry and
diversify the city's industrial basis. However, in spite
of the Corporation's efforts, Glasgow has amassed a heavy
industrial city, and has a perenial unemployment problem,
usually an unemployment rate of twice the national average.
The frantic rehousing programmes, the building of vast
sprawling housing schemes, heralded with such gusto by the
planners when new, have gone sour. These "deserts wi windaes"
as they are known colloquially, are quickly turned into new
slums. For example, the building of Houselwood in 1958 was
hailed as the Brave New Answer to slum clearance. Corporation
officials talked blissfully of the build up of community

spirit, the hopes for the future. As I write, in 1975,

Houselwood is being demolished, having been given up by
the Corporation as unsavable. Tortured by fear and vandalism
the inhabitants of what is locally known as "Vietnam", are
having to be rehoused elsewhere, and the ravaged, destroyed
buildings are being razed. The city as a whole is still
dominated by the black stone cliffs of its tenements and
offices. In short Glasgow is a city created by the 19th
Century.

The city of Glasgow contains approximately one
million inhabitants, out of the 5¼ million people living in
Scotland. Together with the urban areas contiguous to it,
its connurbation contains approximately two million. These
figures are sufficient to emphasise the importance of
Glasgow in the Scottish setting. Table I represents the
social data of the city (after Budge and Irwin 1966, p. 42).

TABLE I

Population of the city of Glasgow:
Basic social characteristics

Characteristics	Glasgow Population N	%	Characteristics	Glasgow Population N	%
Sex (1961)			Religion * (1958)		
Men	505,716	48	Presbyterian	179,779	25
Women	549,307	52	Episcopal	6,641	1
			Catholic	194,550	27
Occupation (1951)			Other	22,809	3
I Professional	10,105	2			
II Intermediate	59,284	"	Vote (1964)		
III Skilled	302,391	55	Unionist/		
IV & V Semi and			Conservative	183,558	28
unskilled	175,467	32	Labour	286,113	43
			Liberal	7,113	1
Education Ended (1958)			Other	8,952	1
			Did not vote	179,446	27
Under 15	388,000	76			
15 to 18	112,900	22			
19 and over	12,270	2			
Age (1961)					
20 to 34	211,759	30			
35 to 49	202,855	29			
50 to 60	132,745	19			
60 and over	150,948	22			

(* Percentages give church members as a proportion of the

total of adults aged 20 and over. The figures for protestants refer to communicants only, while the catholic figures relate to all those baptized into the Catholic church).

The city motto is "Let Glasgow Flourish". Unfortunately, far from flourishing economically, the only aspect of life to follow this injunction in the last century has been the flourishing of a devisive Religious Ideology. The city can now be seen as being divided against itself by an invisible barrier. It should be noted here that this division extends beyond Glasgow's boundaries to take in the whole industrial connurbation of West-Central Scotland. Behind symbolic ramparts the two sections of the city rest uneasily. This basic division is ostensibly based on religion, but is in fact a cultural and social divide. The Glasgow situation is a close parellel with the Ulster situation (indeed there are historical grounds for arguing that they form one continuous society) (see Leyton, 1974). The society is divided between Catholic and Protestant. The Protestants in Glasgow are the native Scots, the Catholics tending to be Irish immigrants. The Protestants of Ulster are the descendants of Scottish presbyterian colonists, "planted" there during the reign of James I and VI whereas the Ulster Catholics are native Irish. The major influx of Irish Catholic influence occurred during the catastrophic potato famine of Ireland in 1845 - 1855.

I submit then, that Glaswegians perceive society as being divided in two, and order their relationships to take account of this. Each group uses religion as a visible badge of identification. Both the history of Ireland and Scotland are characterized by this religious duality. The Irish, who were Catholics by tradition, were systematically denied access to power by their English overlords. Thus the tradition from whence they came to Scotland defined reality in terms of this dualism (Heslinga, 1962). So also for the Lowland Scots. Knoxian

Presbyterianism remained at odds with the Catholic
and Anglican Churches, and every Protestant schoolboy
is familiar with Covenanting Martyrology. As Glasgow
expanded, both sections of the community were used to
defining reality in terms of inside v outside, them v us,
Catholic v Protestant, and in terms of colour - the usual
method of verbalizing the dichotomy.- "The Orange and the
Green", where Orange is the symbol of Protestantism and
Green the symbol of Catholicism. The Catholics, as they
arrived from Ireland, were met with a stone wall of
indifference and discrimination mounted by the natives,
who feared the economic effects of the vast influx, thus
encouraging social introversion, and a strengthening of
the deep symbolic boundaries. Meanwhile, the Orange Order,
the extreme Protestant organisation, founded in Ulster in
1798, and with very strong links in West-Central Scotland,
flourished and expanded during and after the partition of
Ireland, thus effectively reciprocating the feelings of the
Catholics. On this basis Glasgow was built, a city divided
against itself.

It is interesting that each new wave of immigrants
has tended to follow the conceptual polarity; racial tension,
"pakki bashing" etc. are unknown. Instead newcomers are
sucked into the existing Catholic/non Catholic system.
Thus have Jews, Pakistanis (Protestant) and Poles, Lithuanians,
Italians (Catholic) been integrated into Glasgow life.

Thus I have argued that the most useful model for
organising the Glasgow data is the Dualist model. I have
introduced the history of the city and indicated very
briefly where the dualism manifests itself. In the
following chapters, I will examine specific examples of
the dualism in the thought and behaviour of Glaswegians.

CHAPTER III
THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DUALISM IN BEHAVIOUR

In this chapter I examine the dualism as it is manifested in the various spheres of thought and action. In succession, I will examine mythology, territoriality, education, political behaviour, economic behaviour, marriage patterns, football and finally secret societies, indicating in each case the limitations of the data.

1. Mythology

It is instructive to examine the Religious myths of Glaswegians, as religion is the marker used to distinguish the two groups. The Protestant Myth is as follows. Jesus Christ came to Earth to save Mankind and founded the first Christian church - the Catholic church. However evil men conspired, through greed and worldliness, to destroy the message of Christ, and they succeeded in turning the Church away from the path of righteousness. These men, the Pope and his clergy, were overthrown by a number of spiritually pure religious heroes during the Reformation, and the true Church of God, the Protestant church, was re-established, pledged to be "true" followers of Light and Truth. The Catholics, blinded by lies and idolatrous habits failed, or refused, to see the Light and remained Catholics, thereby being doomed to "Hell Fire".

The Catholic Myth differs from the Protestant one in its interpretation of the Reformation. The Reformers were a bunch of evil heretics who led simple minded people out of the aura of God's Grace by denying them access to those direct channels of Grace, the Sacraments. These deluded people, the Protestants, are doomed to Hell Fire, because of their lack of Grace, their opposition to the Pope and his clergy (the true descendants of St. Peter) who have kept the true religion alive, and their spiritual stupidity.

(The power of the myths, their place in the
definition of reality of Glaswegians, can perhaps best be
demonstrated by the following example. A young informant,
the daughter of Catholic Glaswegian parents, and six years
old, was sitting beside me as I browsed through a book of
Indian Photography, which belonged to her father. She
stopped me at a picture of Buddha. "Who's that ?" she
asked. "That's Buddha - the God of the Indians", I replied,
simplifying recklessly. "Do they not believe in Jesus then ?"
she queried. "No" I countered. "Are they Protestants
then?" --------- !!)

Thus both sides make use of the same body of
historical data, but interpret it in different ways. Battles,
dates and personalities are freely juxtaposed and distorted
to make the evidence fit the world view. A crucial period
in English history, the overthrow of the Stewarts by the
House of Orange is a rich and evocative realm, from which to
build religious fictions. King "Billy", the victor in this
period is the paradigmatic figure-head of Protestant
aspirations, usually contrasted with the Catholic figure-
head, the Pope (any and all popes). Ironically, the historical
fact is that the Pope and King Billy were in league when
William fought the Battle of the Boyne. James II was backed
by Philip of France, who was a rival to Papal power in
Europe. Hence the logic of the then pope's support of
William. This is completely ignored by both sides in
Glasgow who prefer their own interpretation i.e. Catholic
James was defeated by Protestant William - a titanic landmark
in the struggle of "Good over Evil" (Protestant interpretation)
or "Evil over Good" (Catholic interpretation). Both sides
are therefore using history as "myth with dates" in Levi-
Strauss' terms.

2. Territoriality

Until recently there was a marked territoriality
in residence patterns. Within the city, some areas like
Bridgeton, were markedly Protestant while other areas, such

as Gorbals, were markedly Catholic. However, as the
rehousing programme has been carried out, it has had the
effect of breaking down this physical separation.

3. Education:

Schooling is completely segregated, with two
parallel state run school systems existing simultaneously.
Catholics go to Catholic schools, Protestants to Protestant
schools. In normal social interaction it is important to
discover which side of the fence a participant belongs to.
This is usually done by enquiring which school one went to.
All Catholic schools have a religious nomenclature, e.g.
St. Augustine's, St. Patrick's, Holycross etc., whereas
Protestant schools have a strictly secular nomenclature,
named after the street or area in which they are situated,
e.g. Whitehill, Calder Street, King's Park, etc. The
process by which this situation arose is as follows.
Scotland has been obsessed with education since the
Reformation. It is the most oft-repeated boast of Scotsmen
that their Education system is the best in the world. The
truth of this claim is neither here nor there, but the
frequency with which it is repeated speaks volumes for the
importance attached to Education by all Scotsmen. In the
aftermath of the Reformation, the Kirk outlined a strategy
to attain its aim of 1 state, 1 church, and even more
importantly 1 state = 1 church. To assure the success of
the equation, the Kirk demanded, and received, the right to
control Education. Thus most schools were church schools,
and everywhere the curriculum was dominated by religious
instruction, and an obsession with good behaviour. "The
fear of the lord is the beginning of wisdom" was the
implicit philosophy of the education system (quoted in
Smout 1969, p.86). Although unsuccessful in many of its
other schemes, the Reformed Church did set up a successful
universal educational system.

The Irish, arriving in large numbers in the mid
19th Century, were also used to the equation of Chapel and

School. Given their ideology, they could no sooner send
their children to Protestant schools, than vice versa.
Thus the Catholics established their own schools, financed
at first mainly by funds, collected amongst Irish Americans
in U.S.A. and then later by the introduction of a second
monetary collection at Sunday Mass. By 1863 there were
23 Catholic schools in Glasgow i.e. 16 Parochial, 3 "Upper
Schools" - supplements to orthodox instruction and run by
non-professional teachers, such as cobblers, tailors etc.

In 1872, the Education (Scotland) Act, took
education out of the hands of the Church (Presbyterian)
Authorities and placed the burden on the broad back of the
State. However, this Act refused to recognise the Catholic
schools. The Catholics, for whom Protestant education was
unthinkable, were faced with the prospect of paying twice
for the education of their children. They would firstly have
to pay the taxes which entitled their children to be
educated at "State" i.e. Protestant schools, and secondly
have to pay for the "private" i.e. Catholic schools to which
their children actually went. The Westminster Government
was unable to solve the problem: neither side was prepared
to mix with the other. The solution of one secular education
for all with separate religious instruction outside of school
hours was also unworkable, because both sides stuck firmly
to the equation of education and religion.

In the meantime, the Catholic population i.e.
the Irish, set up a series of night classes for adults,
concentrating on aspects of Irish Gaelic culture. Around
the focus of these classes, county associations and the like
were formed, thus strengthening the Irish Catholic sub-
culture.

The Catholics had to finance their own schools
until 1897. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1897 gave a
grant of three shillings per head to Catholic schools.
This, however, did not compare fairly with the state school

grant of seventeen and sixpence per head. On the eve of
the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, the role in Catholic
Schools stood at 85,000 (25 years previously it had stood
at 47,000). Catholic schools were thus educating 10% of
Scotland's children - and as high as 1 in 6 in Glasgow
(Handley, p.44). The 1908 Act made provision for free
books, food and clothes to poor pupils, regular medical
inspection of schools, teachers' pensions and other forms
of social services. The Glasgow school board decided to
include the Catholic schools in the provision of free books,
but uneasiness still reigned due to the continuance of the
unfair balance of payments.

By 1912 moves were afoot to bring the Catholic
schools into the system, but with the intervention of the
war, it was not accomplished until 1919. However, with its
integration, the religious autonomy was institutionally
recognised, creating the situation still in operation today.

The most ludicrous example of the division of the
schools occurs in a small Lanarkshire town in the Connurbation.
There, to save money, and due to the shortage of building
land, a common building was produced for the children of
both sides. This single building has been split into a
Protestant half and a Catholic half. Although sharing many
facilities such as central heating, kitchen etc., the
children have to play in a divided school yard, and are
taught by their own co-religionist staff.

The schools thus play an exceedingly active part
in the perpetualism of the dualism. Although explicit
Religious instruction is now only emphasised in the Catholic
schools, the children in both schools imbibe deeply the
atmosphere and ideology of religious distrust and fear.

4. Political Behaviour

The Dualism affects voting behaviour. This has
been well documented by Budge and Irwin in their study of
"Scottish Political Behaviour". Budge and Irwin are Political

Scientists whose aim is to test the "Thesis of British Political Homogeneity" in the Scottish setting. In brief the theory assumes that processes of cultural and political assimilation in Britain have gone so far that regional variation can be discounted. Thus tenet is based on the following assumptions and evidence. Firstly, British people as a whole are exposed to a common mass culture, with all that that entails (a rather serious example of the comical Gresham's Law which states that all English speaking people are conforming rapidly to the tastes current in the least discriminating part of the United States!). The second assumption is more directly based upon political and quantitative evidence. It is that social class assumes such importance as the main divisive force in British Politics, in every area of the country, that regional, religious or other variations in political behaviour, which could exist independently of class, must be comparatively unimportant, and can be ignored.

If we look at recent Scottish history, the power of these assumptions, especially the second, seems obvious. The general picture of Scottish political life, especially in West-Central Scotland, has been one of extreme class consciousness. The paradigmatic case is the so-called "Red Clydeside" movement - lasting from 1914 - 1924, and situated in Western Scotland. However, Historical and Political scholars have had difficulties in dealing effectively with the "Red Clydeside"data. If there was such a comprehensive left wing movement, as the myth proclaims, where was the revolution ?, and why did the so-called "leaders" of the "Revolution" all end up perfectly happily as Labour M.P.s rather than as Commissars of the Brave New Soviet Scotland ?, and what was the true import of the martyr-in-chief John McLean, a shadowy figure, a school teacher, thrown out of work for his left wing sympathies - to die later in prison, for urging "fellow workers" to desert from the Army during the 1914 - 1918 war ?

Budge and Irwin's results have a major import
for the class based theories of Scottish political behaviour,
and do much to shed light on the above mentioned problems.
"A factor which must be admitted as having a different
impact upon voting in Scotland is Religion. This is to
be expected in view of the strong influence of religion
upon Scottish history and traditions" (Budge and Irwin,
p.60). They show that in Cathcart, a Glasgow parliamentary
constituency, and one picked for its "typicality", "-----
a significant correlation appears between religion and
voting behaviour. Catholics vote disproportionately for
the Labour Party, while amongst the Protestants there is a
less marked tendency to vote for the Unionists -----.   In
the English national sample no such tendency can be observed"
(Budge and Irwin, p.61). "It is true that this difference
in the political effects of religious allegiance is to some
extent related to the influence of class. The lower class
position of Catholics in Scotland, however, may itself
derive from cultural differences between countries. The
more intransigent Protestantism of the Church of Scotland
may have hampered the upward mobility of Catholics in a way
that the outlook of the Anglican Church did not (ibid, p.62).
Budge and Irwin's results can be summarized as follows.

Voting choice in 1964 General Election	Middle Class		Working Class	
	Prot. %	Cath. %	Prot. %	Cath. %
Unionist (Scottish term for Conservative)	80	20	44	25
Labour	20	80	56	75
Total	100	100	100	100

As Budge and Irwin point out, "this finding constitutes a
rebuttal of the assertion that class is the strongest
influence upon voting among all groups of British electors.
For Scottish Catholics, religion appears as a more powerful
influence" (p.63) and "----- different factors may not be at
work in the different kinds of election, but one important

influence, religion, does seem to carry a different and
strange weight among Scottish Electors". Budge and Irwin
are unable to offer a hypothesis as to why this should be,
seemingly quite content with disputing the theory of
homogeneity etc. However, within the framework offered
by Structuralism, as I have indicated, the results are
wholely understandable.

Before we progress further, let us re-examine the
problem of Red Clydeside - the contradiction between political
myth and political reality. The myth of "Red Clydeside" has
just been exploded by the work of the political scientist
Iain McLean (McLean 1975, unpublished Ph.D Thesis). McLean
has done exhaustive work on the period 1914 - 1924 and has
come up with startling results. He has shown that the series
of Strikes and Stoppages, lumped together, and known as the
"Red Clydeside" movement by the British Left Wing, were all
isolated incidents, having no relationships one to the other,
and involving different sections of the working class. For
example the 1915 Clyde Workers' Committee, a Marxist
organisation, was supposedly behind the famous 1915 rent
strike. McLean shows that the evidence for this is meagre;
that the rent strike was a commercial and not a political
undertaking, and that it was concerned with the increase of
rents in Fairfield and Govan, i.e. shipyard Glasgow, imposed
upon the wives of men who were off fighting the war. He
stresses that only shipyard Glasgow was involved, neither
engineering Glasgow, nor Marxist groups having anything to
do with it. This rent strike is usually linked with the
Dilution Campaign of 1915, but again McLean shows that this
concerned the status of tradesmen, and was concerned solely
with engineering Glasgow. Thus there was no continuity
between the two. In like manner, McLean picks off the
Red Clydeside incidents, one by one, and shows their
contingent character. Finally, his most effective piece of
demolition is done on his namesake John McLean. Far from
being a leader of Red Clydeside, John McLean was in fact an

anomalous outsider, shunned by the various working class
and left wing groups in Glasgow. He _was_ sacked by his
school board, but not for his political views. His sacking
was brought about by his insistence that his headmaster was
having an affair with the school secretary! The thrust of
Iain McLean's work is that Red Clydeside as a movement
did not exist. No political movement was perceived at the
time by the participants. It was only with the hindsight of
Labour martyrologists, that a movement was perceived. It is
of further interest that the myth has far greater potency
amongst left wing elements in England, than it does in its
native Scotland. A recent "resurgence" of Red Clydeside,
the upper Clyde shipbuilders' "Work-in" in 1971 was
certainly a "class conflict". However, the fall of Jimmy Reid
from all positions of political power two short years later,
bears investigation. We find in fact that his fall stems
directly from the denunciation of the man as a lapsed
Catholic and a communist (hence not Catholic and not Labour)
by pulpit thumping Catholic priests, and not from a rejection
by class consciousness).

It should be noted here that I am not rejecting
the notion of class in Glasgow. The notion is useful and
much can be explained in Glasgow using a class model.
However, I am arguing that Glaswegians perceive society
dualistically, and that a Dual Organisational model explains
more than a class model.

As a rider to this consideration of voting behaviour,
we must ask why the Catholics vote Labour. The Irish in
Scotland have always voted en bloc. "One striking feature
about the Irish in Scotland in the half century that
proceeded the first world war was their capacity for working
in harmony - a characteristic that has not always been
conspicuously in evidence in their history" (Handley 1948,
p.281). Handley argued very reasonably that given their
defensive situation as immigrants and the failure of the
Liberals, who originally took the Irish vote, to ameliorate

the Irish condition, the emergence of a new Party gave the
Irish a platform from which they could demand their rights.
Therefore Handley argues, the tie up between Labour and
Irish is fortuitous rather than philosophical. From the
available evidence I would tend to agree .

This being so, it is instructive to examine
contemporary political behaviour. To the Glaswegian, all
political forces and events are forced through the dualistic
conceptual framework - even at the international level. For
example the election of J. F. Kennedy as the U.S. president
caused jubilation among Catholic Glaswegians, and gloom and
despondency amongst the Protestants. In Catholic homes, the
photo of J. F. K. was often given a place of honour on the
wall, level with the Pope, and "The Sacred heart of Jesus".
Since Budge and Irwin's study in 1966, a new force has
entered Scottish politics the Scottish National movement, a
movement that aims to separate Scotland from England
politically, economically and culturally. This movement
expresses itself most coherently through the Scottish National
Party, an Eastern party, based in Edinburgh. It is interesting
to examine the effect they have had in Western Scotland.

From my own research, I have found that Catholics
in West-Central Scotland are convinced that the S.N.P. is a
front for the Orange Order. Thus, as can be seen from the
voting figures of the last General Election: while the
S.N.P. swept into power in the rural areas, the urban areas
refused to change with the tide. Catholics refused to vote
S.N.P. due to the supposed Orange links. Protestants of the
Orange persuasion are loath to vote for a party that opposes
unionism - the link with the Crown. Hence Labour retained
control of West-Central Scotland, the S.N.P.took the rural
areas and the Conservatives were almost obliterated. Many
Catholics believe that devolution will produce an Ulster-like
situation in Scotland, arguing that the reaction to nationalism
in the West has, as we have observed, polarized between Orange
and Green.

5. Economic Sphere

Job discrimination occurs. Each side believes that they are excluded from certain jobs because of their religion. Some firms actually do seem to discriminate. For example one large West of Scotland sugar refinery, a major employer of labour is reputed to be Protestant only. Certainly the fact that their wagons are coloured orange and blue <u>cannot</u> be a coincidence, colour symbolism being a vital part of life. Catholics believe that they can rise no higher than a certain rank in the Police, in National companies like I.C.I. etc. Even in Bureaucratic institutions the division is observable. Thus trainee Weights and Measures Inspectors tend to be trained by their co-religionists. This being mainly a Library thesis I have managed to get very little concrete data on this topic. Intensive fieldwork will be required to enter networks, to ascertain just how the religious weighting works in practice.

6. Marriage

The same observations must be made about marriage behaviour. It is immediately observable that endogamy is preferred within each section. So called "mixed marriages" have never been very common, and when they do occur they cause extreme stress, both to the luckless couple and their families. Marriage is still an important ritual for the expression of Group solidarity. Only intensive fieldwork - i.e. case studies of particular mixed marriages will allow us to understand the full significance, the change in trend, if any, in marriage patterns. Certainly, in the small amount of literature written on Glasgow, a disproportionate amount is concerned with mixed marriage and its attendent problems. See for example the subtle sexual overtones of Hector MacMillan's "The Sash" - a play about a day in the life of an orangeman, and his Catholic neighbours. This play which concentrated explicitly on the Orange/Green division was the most successful play ever staged in Glasgow.

7. Football

The most visually spectacular example of the
dualism is the association of the two major football clubs,
Celtic and Rangers, with Catholic and Protestant. These
clubs serve as extremely important and powerful symbols,
and when they meet produce a fanatical reaction in their
supporters. The atmosphere at their matches is one of ritual
violence. These clubs are not passive symbols. They realize
exactly what they represent to their supporters, and pander
to demands they make. As a result they are both extremely
wealthy. Rangers will not sign a Catholic player. Celtic
continually flies the Irish Tri-colour. Further "beliefs"
help to cloud the issue even more. Rangers are reputed to
give large cash donations to the Orange Lodge. Celtic are
reputed to plant a square of genuine Irish turf on their
playing field each season. In a football situation where
the average gate outside "The Old Firm" (as Celtic and
Rangers are known) is approximately 3,000 people, when
they meet, Celtic and Rangers frequently draw 100,000 fans.
The fans voluntarily segregate themselves and hurl religious
taunts at each other. The football is almost forgotten in
the pandemonium; it is not riveting enough to produce "a
spectacle" in Barthes' sense (Barthes 1972). Hence only the
result is important, a vindication of the religion of the
victors. The Celtic-Rangers match is perceived by the
people of Glasgow as a culturally licenced occasion when
"uncivilized" behaviour is acceptable. Perfectly sane and
reasonable men, become berserk, and behave with complete
disregard for the norms of Glasgow behaviour. (It should
be noted that football hooliganism in England is a pale
immitation, a sociologically separate phenomenon involving
only youths). The violence of the "Old Firm" match is
calculated, ritualized and participated in by a minority of
supporters composed of all ages. Although the authorities are
always berating the fans for their disgusting behaviour,
and taking "measures" against the "hooligans", such as

putting 1,000 policemen on duty to control the crowds, they
are "blind" to the obvious solution, the complete banning of
the match. Glasgow without its "Old Firm" would be inconceivable.
Glaswegians are used to the violence surrounding the games,
and it is only the very obvious comments of unfortunate
foreign visitors which occasionally sting Glaswegians into
an awareness of the barbarity of their fellow citizens. I
would like to quote two newspaper articles - the after-match
comments from the first "Old Firm" game of the 1975-76 season.
The first article is the editorial comment, the second is
the reaction of an American female visitor. They need no
further comment.

1. "Terror of Old Firm Game"

"Rival fans fought a pitched battle with rocks, bottles and
beer cans minutes after the end of the Old Firm game yesterday.
About 100 men, chanting Rangers and Celtic slogans went for
each cther. A lone policeman was mobbed as he tried to break
them up. Minutes later, with police reinforcements arriving,
the rioters - many with blood pouring from wounds - disappeared
up side streets near the Ibrox (Rangers) ground. There were
58 arrests before and during the game. Almost 80 people had
to be treated for injuries - one of them a stab wound. A
Senior Police spokesman said last night "The number of those
arrested was about average for an "Old Firm" game, and possibly
less than was expected in view of the League Flag Ceremony,
and the fact that it was the first game of the season",
(Sunday Mail p.3, 31/8/75, my emphasis).

2. "I've felt safer in a riot"

"----- I was just about to declare myself a football fan, when
one team scored a goal and the razzamatazz (sic) took over.
Fights broke out all around, and men with stretchers started
hauling out the wounded. Hate was in everyone's eyes.
Nobody was still watching the game. A teenage boy with what
looked like a stab wound in the stomach was carried past me.
He was writhing in agony and his blue and white scarf was

covered in blood. His mates walked along with the stretcher,
still yelling obscenities at the Celtic fans. Men too drunk
to know the game had even started were puking all over each
other and when the shoving began were sent sprawling face
down in their own vomit. I was too disgusted and too scared
to care who won the game, or how I left. I'll never go again,
(Sunday Mail, p.3, 31/8/75).

        As far as a study of Glasgow through fieldwork is
concerned, football is a key area, an obsessive topic of
conversation among men everywhere. Each team has a complex
system of supporters' clubs, Rangers supporters' clubs
having ill-defined links with the Orange Lodges, and the
Freemasons, Celtic supporters' clubs having a similar link
up with Catholic parishes and the chapters of the Knights
of St. Columba etc. There is a third team in Glasgow with
a significant support, Partick Thistle. Supporters of Thistle
are often people who explicitly reject the dualism. It would
therefore be most beneficial to study the small Partick Thistle
Supporters' Club; it is composed of those who try to stand
outside the dualism.

8. Secret Societies

        As became clear in the above discussion of the role
of the Football Clubs, secret societies play a large part in
Glasgow life. Both sections of the community have their own
secret societies. The Protestants, broadly speaking, have
two secret organisations: The Orange order (which splinters
into several smaller groups, but which will be dealt with
here as one homogeneous group) and the order of Freemasons.
The Orange order, apart from the political expression of the
hard line Protestant ideology, acts as a social focus for
many Protestants. Much of the Orangeman's life is centred
on his lodge. It is an extremely working class organisation,
apparently unlike the equivalent sister organisation in
Ulster, which has a large leavening of middle class members,
because the most fruitful channel for political advancement

there, is through the lodges (cf. Leyton 1974). In Glasgow, entrepreneurial and middle class professional Protestants seem to prefer to join the Freemasons. It is important to note that both the Orange order and the Freemasons are single sex organisations. Both have subsiduary women's branches but these are separate organisations, having nothing to do with policy or ideology. In other words the secret societies are a strictly male preserve.

It is understandably difficult for an outsider to gather concrete data on these two secret organisations - they are extremely cagey about divulging any information on any subject - especially with the contemporary Ulster situation in focus. But both admit categorically that their enemy is Catholicism, and Catholics are completely excluded from membership of either. Detailed (and courageous!) fieldwork is required to find out exactly what these organisations are; who joins them; what their expectations are on joining; what their social backgrounds are; the purpose and aims of the two organisations; their inter-relation; the exact mechanism by which they rig employment; their precise impact on local and national politics. The Orangemen are apparently much more numerous. Each year they express their solidarity in the famous "Orange Walk", when they march to commemorate the victory of Protestant "King Billy" over Catholic King James II at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. This famous ritual occasion is the quintessence of Protestanism for Glaswegians, both Catholic and Protestant.

The Catholics are not as concerned as the Protestants to have secret societies. They seem to feel less need for the rituals and practices of secrecy so necessary for their opponents. They do have "The Knights of St. Columba" which is a secret society, but of apparently very small membership - tiny in comparison to the Orange Order. When discussing their organisation, it is striking to the observer, that "the Knights" lack the explicit ideological unity manifested by

the Orangemen. Rather, they view their role as simply a
reaction to the all pervading secret network of the
Protestant organisations. From my observations (again
limited by lack of concrete data due to the secrecy
surrounding the organisation) the Knights are almost
exclusively working class, but only a small minority of
the Catholic working class. The Catholic middle class have
apparently no need for an equivalent to the Freemasons.
Their wheeling and dealing is done openly in a conventional,
Catholic only, but non-secret environment - e.g. School
Former Pupils' Clubs etc. - unlike the Protestants, who
cloak their activities in the secrecy and ritual of
Freemasonry.

At one time the Catholics had a "walk" comparable
to the Orangemen's - the Hibernian walk, or "Hib's Walk" as
it was known colloquially. However, this is now discontinued.
Occasionally the Catholics stage a walk to commemorate Blessed
John Ogilvie. Blessed John Ogilvie was a Jesuit priest
martyred in the Post Reformation period, and Glasgow
Catholics have waged a long campaign to have the man canonised
a Saint. However, these walks are very poorly attended,
and explicitly religious in tone, and therefore bear very
little relationship to the Orange walks.

The division of cosmology can also be illustrated
by examining the way in which both sides perceive Mary Queen
of Scots. Mary is without doubt the most romantic and written
about figure in Scottish history. The reasons for her fame/
notoriety rest with her structural position in the society
of her time rather than in her personality. The larger
issues of her lifetime were those of the titanic struggle in
the sixteenth century between the forces of Catholicism and
Protestantism for the control of Europe. In relation to
this struggle, Mary was destined to become a powerful symbol.
She was born and raised as a loyal Roman Catholic, and died
one; she was the rightful queen of Presbyterian Scotland;

and because of her descent from Henry VII she could claim to be in line of succession to the throne of England. These basically were the qualifications that made her a cause for hope amongst contemporary Catholics, and of fear among the Protestants - and a symbol for both.

The arguments for and against the lady are debated hotly in both Catholic and Protestant schools. As a teenager, I was given the Catholic interpretation by the history teacher - but warned not to write about Mary in the "O-levels", since it was impossible to predict the religion of the examiner! As a result, two quite different contradictory images of the Queen of Scots are current amongst educated Glaswegians - one of a Circe, the other of a Saint.

In this chapter, I have thus looked at the manifestations of the dualism observable in the thought and behaviour of Glaswegians. I have pointed out where the data is weak and suggested where and in what direction fieldwork could be useful. There is, however, enough material between the various fields examined, to show clearly the extent and pervasiveness of the dualism in Glasgow society.

CHAPTER IV
THE MANIFESTATION OF THE DUALISM IN GLASGOW JOKING

To continue our examination of the Dualism it is instructive to examine an activity which expresses and highlights many of the cases mentioned in the last chapter i.e. Glasgow Joking.

Humour would seem to be a universal phenomenon. Its manifestations vary cross culturally, with different forms of humour being relevant to different kinds of societies. It is therefore exceedingly strange that British anthropologists in the main have failed to tackle this phenomenon, preferring it seems to leave it in the domain of psychology. Here I propose to examine one form of humour - the joke, and to examine how it works in one society i.e. Glasgow.

The pioneering work in anthropology with regard to joking was done by Radcliffe-Brown, who isolated "Joking Relationships" i.e. relationships of individuals between whom there exists structural tension (Radcliffe-Brown 1958). This structural-functional approach to joking was good of its kind, but had severe limitations. The elucidation of points of strain between varying portions of the social structure (in the structural functional sense) and the use made by participants to highlight these, and thus provide a ritual means for diffusing this tension, is but a first step. Why Joking ? What is a Joke ? Does the form of the actual joke relate in any way to the pattern of social relations in the society ? Radcliffe-Brown was not interested in the answers to these questions, and yet it now seems obvious, given the Structuralist approach in Anthropology, that a deeper under-standing can only be made available by reference to these questions.

A Structuralist approach to Joking has been made by Douglas. She addresses herself to the question of what constitutes a joke. The Joke, she claims, is a play on form.

The structure of the joke will be consonant with the other
structural forms found in the same society. Thus to under-
stand a joke, and how it works, one has to have a thorough
knowledge of the social context. At the level of the joke,
an accepted pattern is challenged by a second pattern which
is in some sense hidden from the first. These patterns relate
to the structure of social relations obtaining in the society.
A joke challenges an accepted pattern of social relations.
Thus the joke provides an insight into the social organisation
of the jokers (Douglas 1968). Douglas further argues that
the joke works on four separate levels which are all
consonant - the vertical dimension of Structural Analysis
as she calls it. There is the structure of the joke itself -
each joke has a certain form; there is the Social Structure;
there is the physical experience of the joke expressed in
laughter; and finally there is psychological release of
tension, in the Freudian sense. The joking experience is
the union of all four. Douglas therefore goes much further
than Radcliffe-Brown. She developes her analysis in one
particular direction i.e. the social control of the perception
of the joke. Hence she examines the question of bad taste e.g.
when a joke fails, and its relationship to verbal abuse. She
clearly characterizes the boundaries and rule mechanisms
surrounding the process of joking including the relationship
of the joke to the rite; and the position of the "Jokester"
in society.

She continues by making a distinction between
spontaneous jokes and standarized jokes. The spontaneous
joke is the joke which arises in a social situation in which
one of the participants, the jokester, perceives ambiguity
or contradiction in the structure of the situation, and
brings it to light. The essence of this joke is its spontaneity.
It is only funny to the participants and wholely dependent
on the social situation in which they find themselves.
Related at a later time, it is in general no longer funny.
The standarized joke, on the other hand, has a particular

form instantly recognisable within the society as "a Joke"
(and it may be verbal or non-verbal). In our society the
standardized joke has the following ingredients. Firstly
there is a scene setting device on the lines of "Have you
heard this one ?". This creates an atmosphere, keys the
listener into the frame of mind necessary for the expectation
and reception of the joke, and places one, as it were, in a
Schutzian "province of meaning" (Schutz 1967). The second
element we may call the build up, i.e. the actual unfolding
of the narrative. Finally comes the punch line. Thus the
form of the western joke can be shown crudely as follows
in Fig. III.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STANDARDIZED JOKE
FIG.III

Scene setting device	← The build up →	← The punch line →
	The joke, a province hedged off from common sense world.	
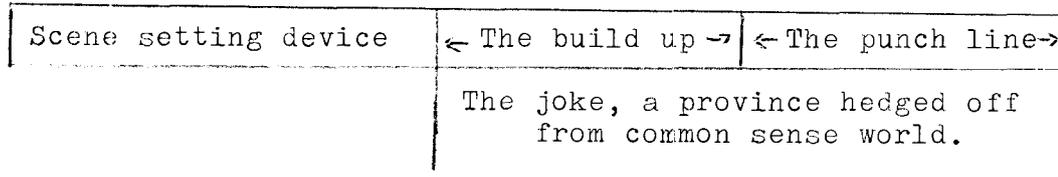
I mentioned above that standardized jokes can be
verbal or non-verbal. Non-verbal standardized jokes in
western society have been best developed in the art of the
cinema. Various devices such as the "gag" or "slap-stick
routine" have a recognisable form. Non-western examples
include a variety of dramatic forms incorporating mime
which are present in many societies. For the purposes of
the present analysis, I propose to examine some verbal
standardized jokes, all of which I recorded in Glasgow.

(a) Catholic Jokes

A Mother Superior is sitting in her office in the
convent. There is a knock at the door, and the youngest
novice comes in.
"Yes my child ?" asks the Mother Superior.
"I want to leave the convent. I want to be a Prostitute!"
At this the Mother Superior faints, and all the other nuns
come rushing in and revive her with smelling salts. As she

comes round she croaks, "What did you say, my child".

"I said I want to be a Prostitute".

The Reverent Mother sighs with relief "That's O.K. I thought
for a minute you said Protestant".

Analysis

Firstly we must note Douglas' point that the joke works by
the challenge of an accepted pattern by a second pattern,
which is in some sense hidden from the first. The first
pattern set up by the joke is as follows:

      1. NUN: PROSTITUTE:: PURE: IMPURE:: SUPERIOR: INFERIOR

Through the verbal shift prostitute ----> protestant, the
second structure is uncovered.

      2. CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT:: PURE: IMPURE:: SUPERIOR: INFERIOR

The perception of the joke by the receiver derives from the
implication that "Protestant" always suggests "Catholic"
thereby uncovering the second structure. Thus in this joke
the oppositions involved reflect the Catholic perception of
social reality, and is in a sense, a re-affirmation of that
reality with regard to notions of purity and hierarchy.

(b) (This joke is a football joke dating from the time when
Celtic were at their peak in 1967-70). Army General (G)
talks to foot soldier (S).

G. "Soldier, what church do you belong to ?".

S. "C of E Sir!"

G. "Then why didn't I see you at service on Sunday ?".

S. "I'm C of E - Champions of Europe!"

Analysis

The semantic structure of the joke focusses upon the twin
interpretation of C of E i.e. C of E ----> Church of England,
and Champions of Europe. Thus we have the following structures:

1. S: G: INFERIOR: SUPERIOR:: CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT

Due to the above mentioned ambiguity a reversal occurs.

2. CHAMPS OF EUROPE: CHURCH OF ENGLAND:: SUPERIOR: INFERIOR::
                       CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT

The elements in this joke make a statement about the position
of Catholics vis a vis Protestants, and the position of
Celtic Football Club vis a vis Rangers, and finally a
statement about the role of Catholicism with respect to
the state authorities.

(c) (A football riddle from the same period)
Q. What's green and works miracles ?
A. Jesus Stein.

Analysis

The semantic shifts or extrapolations required here are
as follows:

Miracle worker --→ Jesus; and Green --→ Celtic --→ Celtic's
Manager Jock Stein.

The joke again is a statement about relative positions.
Remember that Celtic exists in opposition to Rangers, as
Catholics exist in opposition to Protestants. The combination
of Jesus and Stein produce the following:

1. CELTIC: RANGERS::CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT::PURE: IMPURE
2. CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT::SUPERIOR: INFERIOR

Protestant Jokes

(a) A Catholic cowboy, five feet tall, rides into town,
tethers his horse outside the saloon and goes into the
general store. When he comes out he finds that his horse
has been painted orange. Enraged, he loads his gun and strides
into the saloon bellowing "Right, who's the guy that thinks
he's a painter ?". A Protestant cowboy, seven feet tall
stands up, faces the little Catholic grinning and says "It
was me, want to make anything of it ?". "Well sir", replies
the little Catholic, looking up "I just wanted to tell you
that the first coat is dry!"

Analysis

As a general point, the morality tale is reinforced by
imposing the confrontation onto the framework of the American
Western myth. The Western has a particular form, very well

known all over the world. The grafting of the Glasgow
situation onto this frame serves to strengthen the narrative.
A clear structure is shown based on Catholic v Protestant.
Challenge implies hierarchy (and challenge of this kind is a
standard feature of the Western). The challenger is making
a statement about his own superior status by the _fact_ of his
challenge. Therefore, the first structure is as follows:
1. CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT:: GREEN: ORANGE:: SUPERIOR: INFERIOR
The joke works by means of a reversal, caused by the juxtaposition
of physical sizes such that greater size --> greater superiority.
Thus the second structure is
2. CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT:: INFERIORITY: SUPERIORITY

(b) An Irishman gets on the boat at Larne to come across to
Stranraer. He goes into the bar. "Tell me" he asks the
barman, "Where I come from the top people all drink Guinness!
What do the top people in Scotland drink ?".
"Well", replies the barman, "usually Lager and Lime".
"And where will you get that, begorrah ?" queries the Irishman.
"Any bar at all" replies the barman.
The Irishman disembarks at Stranraer and takes the train to
Glasgow. Coming out of Central Station, he enters the
nearest pub.
"A lager and lime please!"
"And how much lime do you require ?"
"Oh just a couple of shovelfuls!"

Analysis
The structures present are as follows:
1. OUTSIDER: INSIDER:: GUINNESS: LAGER & LIME:: IRISH: SCOTTISH
2. IRISH: SCOTTISH:: INFERIOR: SUPERIOR:: CATHOLIC: PROTESTANT
A standardized joke does not reflect the totality of ideas in
a society. It takes a few symbolic elements present in the
ideology of the society and plays with them. All the elements
are present, as it were, in a pool from which they may be
drawn. A joke gives an insider a few sparse clues from which
he can extrapolate, or interpolate - to build the necessary

structures for the mechanism of the joke.

Thus the dualistic ideology of Glaswegians, the pool from which they combine and recombine the elements to state and restate their ideological vision is as follows in Table II.

TABLE II

THE GLASWEGIAN PERCEPTION OF REALITY

	PROTESTANT	CATHOLIC
World View couched in terms of :-	Good v evil :: Protestant v Catholic :: High Status v Low Status	Good v evil :: Catholic v Protestant :: High Status v Low Status
Prominent Symbols	Orange, King Billy, Queen, Union Jack, Rangers Football Club, Scotland.	Green, the Pope, Irish Tricolour, Celtic Football Club, Mary Mother of Jesus, Attendance at Mass, Ireland. Until recently, prohibition of meat on Friday.
Own Attributes	Divine approval, high morality, righteousness, industrious, cleanliness.	do
Other's Attributes	Divine disapproval, Immorality, Laziness, Dirtiness, Treachery, Religious Bigotry.	do
Secret Societies	Orange order Masonic order	Knights of St. Columba
Public Rituals	The Orange "walk" (which celebrates the victory of Protestant King William III over Catholic King James II in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne).	John Ogilvie "walk" (a Catholic martyr in post-reformation Glasgow). Hibernian "walk" (now discontinued).

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

In this chapter I will examine where the dualist model fails. I will then suggest a different approach, an approach that makes much more explicit use of historical data. I will examine Scottish History to determine whether Scotland as a whole has exhibited dualism before the present day, and suggest that a dualistic tendency is apparent at four separate periods of Scottish History: during the 11th Century, the 14th Century; the 17th Century and the 19th-20th Century.

We have seen that for many aspects of life, the Dual Organisational model is useful for ordering the Glasgow data. But is the model good enough, are there any loopholes which it fails to apprehend ?

The major difficulty with the model is that unlike the perfect ideal type dualistic society, the Catholics and Protestants of Glasgow are not complementary in their world views. Their cosmologies differ subtly. They order and re-order reality in curiously different ways.

The Glasgow Protestants are aggressively Scottish, as Scottish as other parts of the country, yet other parts of the country do not exhibit this dualism at present. The Catholics, by their own definition, are still outsiders, often considering themselves to be Irish. If the dualism only operates in West-Central Scotland, how are we to explain the obvious continuity and kinship of Glasgow Protestants and the rest of the Scottish population outside the West-Central Conurbation.

Then there are difficulties in dealing with the observable differences in the manner in which the two communities form symbolic boundaries to protect, hedge off and defend themselves. The Protestants, as we shall see, although numerically a majority, behave as a beleaguered minority hence the emphasis on the secret societies. The

Catholics, on the other hand, a numerical minority, behave
as a triumphant majority - expanding outwards geographically,
and upwards socially and politically, in Scottish life.
Again, as we will see, the mechanism for boundary formation
by the Protestants depends on an orientation towards
the individual. Individual failure for example is deemed
harmful for the group. Thus individualism is manifest in
their religious cosmology - the classical hard line puritanical
Presbyterianism discussed by Weber in "The Protestant Ethic".
The Catholics, on the other hand, are group orientated.
Their Christ is not so much an individual, but rather
"Christness" permeates the social whole. For the Catholics,
"life" is Catholic (in the sense of Hocart, 1936) and all
aspects of life are suffused with Catholicism. As an example
we may quote the rigour with which the Catholics demand and
defend the right to separate education for their children.
Education is all embracing. It is curious that the
sociological importance of educating their own children is
implicitly recognised by the Catholic authorities. As one
spokesman pointed out recently in a Television discussion
on this issue, the school child, when he grows up, will
possibly forget the maths - but never forget the maths teacher.
Therefore that teacher must be Catholic, his Catholicism
being more important than his mathematical ability. This
idea shadows Bernstein's discussions on the framing of
Educational Knowledge (Bernstein 1971). The forthcoming
analysis will, I hope, be able to explicate this difference
in each group's definition of reality.

Thus far we have tackled the question of Dualism
in the West of Scotland by assuming that it came into being
with the arrival of the Irish in the middle of the 19th
Century. In the historical context, this model, although
working well for Glasgow, enables us, as noted above, to
say nothing about the relationship of the city to the rest
of Scotland. This brings us squarely to face one of the
perennial problems for anthropologists, the problem of
boundaries of analysis. How do we draw the line between
the society being studied and the next. Unfortunately, the

implication of both Functionalist and Structuralist analyses
is that each society is assumed to be a discreet entity which
can be physically separated from its neighbours. This
tendency is made inevitable, and often exacerbated by the
synchronic nature of the models - they are unable to
apprehend "Process". With my approach to Glasgow, I isolated
one major sociological phenomenon - the religious ideology -
and emphasised this, using it as a marker for separating off
Glasgow from the rest of the country.

While useful analytically, and correct from the
synchronic point of view, this approach cannot be close
enough to reality, in that it fails to apprehend the
difficulties indicated above. Scotland is, de facto a
nation, a social unit with perceptually and geographically
agreed boundaries by both insiders and outsiders, and was a
nation, de jure, until a mere two hundred and fifty years
ago. In these circumstances, unless we can relate the
situation obtaining in Glasgow to the situation nationally
we have failed in our sociological task. Thus the plain
dualist model of religious ideology - while useful as a first
approximation, must be put aside, and we must develop a new
model which encompasses and generates the dualist model;
which is able to place Glasgow in its Scottish context, and
which views the situation in Glasgow as a local development
in the general sociological situation in Scotland.

As a means of expanding the analysis, I propose to
examine a dimension usually forever lost to Functionalist
and Structuralist anthropologists - the Historical Dimension
of Scotland. Before plunging into the diachronic, however,
a precautionary preamble must be made. Kroeber's warning
that the greater part of a society's culture is borrowed
is especially relevant in the context of a Western European
Study (Kroeber 1963 i). Scotland is first of all a part of
the United Kingdom which is itself a part of Europe, which
in turn is a part of Western Civilization. To isolate the
uniquely "Scottish" characteristics of the culture of Scotland

we must discern first that which is borrowed, that which
belongs to the civilization as a whole. We must put Scotland
in its historical context.

As an initial framework, it is useful to use the
general description of historical development of Kroeber
(Kroeber 1952 ii). He points out the general synchronic
bias in anthropological studies, showing how the boundaries
of analysis in such a scheme are contingent. If we are
dealing with a large scale concept like civilization we must
take into account the historical dimension. He utilizes,
therefore, an evolutionary analogy, likening a civilization
to an organism which is born, lives and dies. In other words
he applies the tools developed to deal with Developmental
Cycles to whole civilizations. He argues that civilizations
are the residue of History, when one has abstracted the
events. Thus the problem of the definition and delimitation
of civilizations is a generically and genuinely historical
one, even though the methods of conventional historiography
as such hardly extend to its solution. For instance, the
historical problems of gradation, continuity, and inter-
connectism hold for civilizations much as they do for
historic flows. Culture is therefore a historic product
whose history can be gradually reconstructed. Bearing in
mind, as noted, that the large part of a culture is borrowed,
how can we delimit different civilizations ? What criteria
could possibly be applicable ? The first and most obvious
is discontinuity in space and time. Thus the civilization
of the pre-Columbian Americans is different and separate
from the civilization of 5th Century China. A second
criterion that is fairly useful is language. There is often,
but not always a super-language, spoken throughout the
civilization. As an example we may note "H-register"
Arabic. Corresponding to the super-language, as a third
criterion, we may find a common religious ideology in the
civilization - e.g. Christianity in Western Civilization.
There are no worthwhile criteria in the fields of Political

and military power, there being no correlation between Political strength and creativity for example.

Kroeber concludes that the best indicators of a civilization are the activities subject to the factor of <u>style</u>. These are the cultural activities that are most overtly creative, most markedly qualitative, and also most transient in diachronic terms. (I will return to this in greater detail later).

Bearing these factors in mind, Western Civilization can be distinguished as follows by Kroeber's distinctive developmental model. This model owes most to the works of Spengler and Toynbee who proposed cyclical models to discuss the "rise and fall" of Graeco-Roman Civilization and of "Ancient History". Kroeber cleverly avoids the implications of doom inherent in the evolutionary historians' theories (e.g. the terminology of Rise and Fall). He sees the Dark Ages of European history not as a reverse, a retracing of the flow, but rather as a borderline between two phases - the phase of Ancient History dominated by Graeco-Roman Culture, and the phase of medieval culture dominated by Feudalism. In these medieval times - from 900 AD onwards - we see the emergence of a definite form and style. Kroeber characterizes this style as follows. Firstly Christianity became the universal religion; secondly we observe the solidification of European National boundaries; thirdly the political expression of the boundaries in the Feudal system; fourthly the development of Romanesque/Gothic style in art and architecture and finally the development of scholastic philosophy and vernacular writing. Kroeber places the peak of High Medieval Western Civilization at approximately 1250 AD.

High Medieval Civilization did not whittle away as Ancient Civilization did leading to the "Dark Ages". Rather its patterns loosened and partly dissolved but as they broke down, they were also reconstituting. By 1500 - 1600 AD) we have the start of "Modern History" - a new

civilization again. Why did the change occur ? Kroeber
argues that by 1300 AD an alternative was visible. Firstly
they could have continued within the pre-set patterns of
900 AD onwards, until life became repetitious; creativity
would have been checked, and atrophy would have followed.
The second choice available was to stretch their cultural
patterns to accommodate the widely increasing flow of
knowledge, and create a civilization of larger scope.
Kroeber likens medieval civilization to its own architecture:
high flying but of narrow base. As against the parochialism
of High Medievalism, the 14th - 16th Centuries brought a
wide knowledge of firstly Asia (e.g. the travels of Marco Polo);
secondly Africa (the voyages of Vasco da Gama) and finally
America (e.g. Columbus). Expansion followed, a civilian
architecture arose in Italy and the hold of the church
loosened leading to the Reformation.

All this was certainly a process of disintegration
of what had been firmly fitted around the church in the true
middle ages. In philosophy, the scholastic system was
simultaneously disrupted by the sceptical negativism of
Occam, or dissolved into mysticism by the Germans, after which
its field lay fallow. Science awoke after 1000 years' sleep
due to the work of Copernicus.

Of this general approach to civilization Kroeber
had this to say: "(This scheme) ----- has turned out to be
an endeavour in applied anthropology of a long range variety.
It leans ----- a great deal on History. Only it asks that
History be viewed now and then with a maximum of elbow room
and freedom of perspective, with emphasis for the time
being not on the mere events of History, which are as unending
as the waves on the sea, but on the qualities of its secular
trends; and that these trends be constructed as far as
possible in terms of the style-like patterns which so largely
characterize civilization, and in terms of the developmental
flow, interaction and integration of these patterns"
(Kroeber 1951 ii p. 408).

It is within this historical framework of Kroeber's that I wish initially to place and locate the history of Scotland.

For Scotland, the Dark Ages lasted rather longer than elsewhere in Europe. During the Dark Ages, Scotland consisted of five separate ethnic groups. Each of the five peoples spoke a different language, each was warlike, and each was centred in a distinct geographical area. From what we can gather by use of the flimsy records and circumstantial evidence, Scotland was only unified by 1035 AD, when the Picts, Scots, Angles, Britons and Norwegians owed a common, if flimsy, allegiance to an Alban king.

Historians place the change from the Dark Ages to medieval civilization at 1100 AD, when Malcolm's English queen Margaret came to the throne to spread the ideas introduced in England by William the Conqueror, in the years following 1066 AD. Margaret was responsible for breaking down the cultural isolation of the Scots. She introduced more universally acceptable Christian ideas (spelling the death knell of the Celtic church). Kroeber's second characteristic, the establishment of the border, occurred during the 13th Century. "There can be no doubt that the establishment of the Border was a principle factor in defining and consolidating the medieval Scottish kingdom" (Barrow p.161). The third characteristic, the establishment of the Feudal system, is more complex as we shall see later, although Feudalization of Scotland was commenced seriously by Malcolm and Margaret's son David 1 in 1124. Scotland in medieval times also sees the spread of Gothic art and architecture, although usually only in religious settings.

Although late in joining the European community by its tardy withdrawal from the dark ages, Scotland, as a vital part of medieval Europe, with many extended culturual ties, was in the forfront of the change from the medieval to the modern period. In fact, the Reformation, commencing for Scotland in 1558, was less a revolution than an evolution,

Scotsmen being ideologically ready for the great change.

Thus we see that Scotland fits well into Kroeber's scheme. In the subsequent analysis, all historical discussion is couched in terms of this framework. Scotland is very firmly part of Western Civilization. We can now, with this perspective firmly established, examine the facts to decipher the difference between Scotland and its neighbours.

I propose to do this by taking the characteristic of Glasgow Social Structure, i.e. Dualism, and searching the historical record to ascertain whether or not, at any time or place, a similar dualism appeared in Scotland. In other words, was it the Irish influx which created the dualistic tendency, or did this invasion merely trigger off a characteristic response pattern dormant in the native population ? The answer, as I will endeavour to show, is the latter. If we look briefly at Scottish history we find many examples of "Dualism". Some of these I enumerate briefly below. It should be noted, however, that there is no apparent continuity between the dualistic occurrences, the strength, manifestation, length and character of each example being contingent. The reason for this will be dealt with later.

1. The Celtic Period and The Beginnings of Feudalism 700 - 1100 AD

This is of course a most important period to examine in that it saw the creation of the framework that became modern Scotland. A dualistic principle can be seen in operation when we examine the field of religion. Christianity came to Scotland nearly sixteen centuries ago, during the last years of the Roman occupation of Britain. Although the first contact with Christianity was with the Roman variety, the subsequent fall of the Roman Empire created a religious isolation for Scotland and Ireland. The "Scots" from Ulster in the century following the Roman withdrawal occupied Western Scotland, opening it up for the following missionaries. The key figure at this time is Columba, an Irish prince, turned priest, who settled at Iona in 563 AD, founded a monastery, and started a vigorous campaign to christianize all the

peoples of Scotland.

Now the Church Order which had evolved in Ireland
and within which Columba and his successors worked in Scotland
was peculiar, partly because it had developed in conformity
with the tribal society which it served, and partly because
the Celtic church was for a time isolated from the other
churches of Western Europe during which time it remained
Christian, unlike the nearly Kingdoms of England. The system
was based, not on territory, but on monasteries which alone
provided priests to minister to the people. There were
therefore no clergy other than monks, and no room for need
for a system of Bishops and Dioceses.

In the year of Columba's death, the Christianisation
of England had commenced under Augustine - a proponent of
Roman style Christianity. Inevitably, a clash occurred when
the ecclesiastical frontiersmen of each side met in theological
battle in Northumbria; the issue of who was right to claim
ultimate authority being decided in favour of the "Romans",
at the Synod of Whitby. After this the Celtic Religion
retreated North and West, ending up behind the Highland line
(see map). During this time, the Religious Centre of gravity
crossed the highland line, under the influence of Margaret,
moving from Iona to Dunblane in the centre and finally to
St. Andrews in the East of the country. This change correlated
with the change in Political organisation from tribal to
Feudal, the cooling of Political and cultural relations with
Ireland and the opening up of trade relations with North Sea
neighbours. That these two religious traditions remained in
opposition is in little doubt. I have found it of interest
in my own fieldwork that part of the present day Scottish
Presbyterian's mythology, interpreting the _fact_ of the
difference, claims Columba as the first Presbyterian. But if
it is quite wrong to regard the Celtic church as Presbyterian,
it is less inaccurate to describe it as independent, or
autonomous, for it acknowledged no external authority in
matters of discipline or rites, although there is no reason

to believe, as Donaldson points out, that it was at variance
doctrinally with the rest of Western Christianity (Donaldson
1960 Chap. 1). As we will see, this obsession with autonomy,
disgust with external authority, becomes one of the distinquishing
characteristics of the Scot. As Donaldson notes, "In the
contrast between Columba the local Saint, and Andrew the
apostle of the universal church, there is again to be seen the
tension between native and external influences, and the fact
that it was Andrew and not Columba who became Patron Saint of
Alba, and later of Scotland, indicates that the country had
for the time being turned its back on isolation" (Donaldson, p.14).
Or as Barrow eloquently puts it, "One of the recurrent rhythms
in Scottish History has been the alternate reception of
influences, ideas and cultures, now from the West, now from
the East. The Scottish kingdom of the high middle ages had
turned its back, as it were, on its immediate Western Celtic
past; it was emphatically an eastward looking North Sea
country" (Barrow, p.210).

Thus in this period the following oppositions can
be observed. We have firstly the opposition of East and West
(an opposition to be repeated as North versus South in later
centuries). (N.B. if the map is examined it will show the
Highland Line divides Scotland by North and South, and by
East and West). Other oppositions include Roman v Celtic,
Andrew v Columba, isolation v contact, and inside:outside.

2. The Emergence of the Highlander Circa 1400 AD
The physical division of the Highland Line lay
dormant for a century or two, then reappeared strongly as a
categorical division in the 14th Century. This was, as Smout
emphasises, a development of incalculable importance. For
the first time the Highlanders emerged as a people with their
own conscious identity. John of Fordun, the chronicler from
Aberdeen, writing in 1380 AD was the first to describe the
division of Scotland into two cultures.

"The manners and customs of the Scots vary with
the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken

amongst them, the Scottish and the Teutonic: the latter of
which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and
the plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the
Highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast
are of domestic and civilized habits, trusty, patient and
urbane, decent in their attire, affable and peaceful, devout
in divine worship yet always prone to resist a wrong at the
hands of their enemies. The Highlanders and the people of
the Islands, on the other hand are a savage and untamed
nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, easyliving,
of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person, but
unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and
language" (quoted in Smout , p.39). Smout continues
"This passage with its hostility expressed in mingled fear
and contempt is already a mature example of the attitude
towards Highland Gaelic society, that was to persist in
the Lowlands for nearly six centuries. Every medieval
writer after Fordun makes this division. To John Major it
was "the wild Scots" and "householding Scots", for many of
his successors simply the Irish and the Scots" (Smout, p.40
my emphasis).

What was the nature of the division in terms of
social organisation, and how did it come about. To answer
the latter question first, the answer is partly geographical
and partly political. During the Norman era, the Highlanders
retreated behind the Highland Line before the onslaught of
Normans from the south, and Norsemen from Scandinavia. By
1263 Norse power collapsed freeing the islands and opening
up the way for trade and general contact with Ireland - a
renewal of ancient historical links. In the meantime, they
fought back against the Normanized Lowlanders, taking all the
mountainous areas down to the buffer zone around St. Andrews
where the conflict was most evident. During this time as
English became the lingua Franca of the Lowlands, the Highlanders,
reinforced by contact with their Celtic cousins from Ireland,
remained Gaelic speakers. This helps us to answer partly the
first question i.e. what was the nature of the division, the

answer being linguistic and cultural. But what of differences
in the field of Social Relations ?

It is often argued by Scottish historians that
there was a basic social difference between the Highlands
and the Lowlands in social organisation in that the Highlanders
were organised in clans and the Lowlanders feudally. However,
as Smout remarks "----- it is more difficult to define the
practical differences between their society (the Highlanders)
and that of the late medieval Lowlanders" (ibid p.41). "It
was very striking that when contemporaries wrote about the
Highlands, the one thing they did not stress as being different
from the lowlands was the Clan System. Fordun called the
Highlanders unsightly in dress, gaelic speaking, lawless and
uncivilized. He said nothing of class. Major made similar
points, adding that the "wild Scots" were mainly a pastoral
people. He did also mention that one part of the Highlands
was ruled by "worthless and savage chiefs ----- full of
mutual dissentian, and war rather than peace is their normal
condition", but this was not much different from his
condemnation of the lowland nobles among whom, "if 'of equal
rank (and) happen to be very near neighbours, quarrels and
shedding of blood are a common thing ----- their very retainers
cannot meet without strife'. Bishop Leslie, writing in 1578
also described Highlanders as Gaelic speaking, pastoral,
different in dress and culture, and given to fighting if
their master command them'. But again it is Lowland nobles
whom he describes as 'maintaining great families, partly to
defend themselves from their neighbours, with whom they have
deadly feud, partly to defend the realm' " (Smout p.43, my
emphasis).

Thus the differences in social organisation between
agrarian society in the Highlands and Lowlands were mainly
ones of emphasis. Highland society was based on kinship
modified by feudalism, Lowland society on feudalism tempered
by kinship. Both systems were aristocratic, unconscious of
class, designed for war. Other distinctions making a rift
between them were deeper "because they were racial and

cultural based on the survival of the gaelic language"
(ibid p.43). While possibly disputing Smout's language,
his conclusion is correct. The categorical dualistic
division is not one of social organisation, but one of
Language and Culture.

Thus by the end of the 14th Century we now have
the Lowland Scot's perception of himself and his neighbours
as follows :

Highland	v	Lowland
Irish	v	Scottish
Immoral	v	Moral
Evil	v	Good
Outside	v	Inside

3. The Reformation Period 1560 - 1700

The Reformation of course was a Europe-wide movement -
a reorientation of Western civilization's basis and direction
(see Kroeber earlier). Scotland also had its Reformation, a
protest movement of articulate men of every class, dissatisfied
with the political and religious climate in which they lived.
However, there are quite significant differences between the
Scottish Reformation and the Reformation elsewhere in Europe.
For a start it was a peaceful changeover. From its start in
1558 up to 1638 very little blood was spilt in Christ's name.
The Reformation appeared as a vigorous debate between two
sides, with the Protestant case easily winning the popular
support. The general assembly of the Church of Scotland came
into being simply because, unlike other European countries,
there was no Protestant monarch: Mary Queen of Scots being
a determined Catholic.

It was not until 1638 that Scotland exploded into
religious violence. The trigger was the attempt by Charles I
(an outsider) to impose Episcopacy on the Scots. This set
off the old antagonism of inside v outside - the fear and
hatred of externally applied power. In 1638 the Scottish
representatives signed a protest - "the National Covenant".

From 1638 - 1690 the Lowland Scots, as a result of

their persecution __by__ Catholic "outsiders", and of their own persecution __of__ local Catholics, were slowly welded into a single group. Religious and cultural categories were merged. The Government put down the Lowland Protestant coventicles with Catholic Highland troops. Thus the old divisions of North and South, Highlander v Lowlander, Irish v Scottish, had one more vital opposition grafted on, forming an all inclusive palimpsest of hate: Catholic v Protestant.

The Covenanters behaved with a fury unsurpassed in Scottish History. "The mercilessness of their warfare, perhaps contributed to their fall. Their's was the Religion of the Old Testament run amok" (Smout 1969 p.63). They reacted in what had become the typical Scottish Lowland reaction to trouble, but with a previously hidden factor becoming more evident. Evil had been, as we have seen, attributed to outsiders, i.e. Catholics, but during the so-called 2nd Reformation period, we see a more comprehensive definition of evil emerging. Evil could strike from without, as always, but also from within. Thus the inside/outside symbolic boundaries were not enough. Internal pollution, had to be dealt with by cauterization of the infested spots - a purge of anomalous people within the Protestant group - i.e. witches (I deal with this in much greater detail in a later chapter).

The effect of this categorical "layering" demonstrated above, was for the Reformer's category "good persons" to become more and more restricted. It narrows progressively from "those who live in the Lowlands" to "the English speaking Lowlanders", to "the English speaking Protestant Lowlanders".

4. __The Irish "Invasions" 1845 - 1926__

Throughout History, Scotland had always had close links with Ireland. The two countries are a merefourteen miles apart at the closest point. However, in the fifty years or so before 1845, a particular pattern of immigration of

Irish indigent labour was built up, with workers coming over to Scotland for short stays during the harvesting season. During this period, the Irish incomer was not perceived as a threat (Handley 1948 Chap. I). However, by 1845 the indigent labourer had become the "Starving" peasant. Between the years 1845 - 1865, a large number of Irishmen and their families left Ireland due to the catestrophic famine. It is ironic that the famine was not solely due to lack of food, but also to the evolution of a particular form of landholding and class structure, a form of landholding which progressively changed the emphasis of agriculture from tillage to pasture, thus forcing the peasants off their rented strips of land. The potato blight merely exacerbated the problem. In 1801 the population of Ireland was 5.3 million. By 1841 it stood at 8.2 million. The projected increase on these figures would lead us to expect a 1851 figure of approximately 9.0 million. The actual figure was 6.3 million. In other words, in ten years two million of the population disappeared, approximately one million by migration and one million by starvation (Handley 1948).

For those who migrated there had been three choices. Firstly, those who had managed to save some money, or who actually had relatives there who could stake them, emigrated to America, Australia, New Zealand. Secondly, there were those who lacked the stake money for immediate escape overseas, but who managed to get a passage to Britain where they could earn enough to be transported to America etc. Finally, there were the poorest of the migrants, who managed passage to Glasgow and Liverpool, the two "Irish ports", but got no further. "The famine immigrants who made their permanent home in Scotland were therefore the poorest of all, who had neither relatives in the United States nor other inducements to go thither" (Handley 1948 p.24).

The potato harvest in Ireland failed in 1845. By 1846 public opinion in Scotland was incensed. There was a

cry for repressive measures and repatriation of beggars.
During the late 40's many thousands of Irishmen poured into
Scotland through Glasgow. Housing conditions in Glasgow
were appalling even by 19th Century standards, and with the
abysmally low standard of public health precautions, the
city was ripe, by 1849, for an epidemic. Many thousands of
citizens, both Irish and Scottish, died in that year, from
a diasterous outbreak of cholera. Since the immigrants
didn't all make Glasgow their home, many of them travelling
on to settle in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire,
Dunbartonshire, Stirlingshire, and even further afield, the
cholera spread with them, eventually reaching Edinburgh in
1850. The Irish were blamed by the populace although the
medical authorities clearly did not hold the same view. A
medical observer, commenting on the natives "proof" that the
Irish were to blame - proof consisting of the fact that a
higher proportion of Irishmen got smitten - pointed out that
it was the general weakness of the Irishman's health that
allowed him to be stricken more easily, a weakness of health
compounded by atrocious living conditions. In actual fact
the cholera had come from the Continent, brought in by sailors.

However, the ordinary Scottish Lowlanders turned
against the Irish with fury. Relying on their victim's
ignorance of civil rights, the Inspectors of the Poor carried
out illegalities with impunity - they were able to falsely
deport many Irish. "Paupers removed from Edinburgh, Paisley
and Dundee were given sufficient bread and cheese for the
voyage and their support on the day of landing, but paupers
from Glasgow invariably declared that they were deported
without food or money"(ibid p.40).

Of the 358,915 population of Glasgow in 1851
64,185 or 18% are listed as Irish. However, the figure was
higher due to the neglect of the children of Irish parents,
who for census purposes counted as "Scots".

The effect of this invasion, was again a dualistic

division of the world, a division of fear and hate, based
on culture and religion.

CHAPTER VI

SCOTTISH STYLE

Thus throughout her history Scotland has exhibited
a particular "style" which appears time and time again.
(We can now conclude our use of the term dualism in the
analysis, it being too clumsy for accuracy). As a first
approximation it can be characterized as an obsession with
defense, a fear of pollution both internal and external, a
striving to separate the pure inside from the impure outside.

Kroeber has much to say about the concept of style
(Kroeber 1952 (ii), 1963 (i)). For him a style is a self
consistent way of behaving or doing things. It is selected
out from among alternative possible ways of doing, and is,
he claims, selective with respect to values. The things the
style does, and the way it does them are felt to be the best,
to be intrinsically valuable. However, systems of value are
elusive to fix, difficult to describe. They only find
objective expression in their histories. The histories are
the documented records leading to culminations in the arts,
sciences and philosophies. When we compare one culture with
the next we find that much of the culture content is shared.
However, there will be a certain proportion unique to the
particular society. Kroeber argues that each society has a
"master-plan" or ideology - what Spengler called the "soul"
of the culture, or Toynbee isolated as "Religion", in a very
broad sense. But what does this "master-plan" consist of.
Kroeber argues that a cultural pattern can consist of a style
of art; a way of thinking; a philosophical point of view;
an attitude of faith; a set of manual habits and technological
skills; rules for social interaction. These various themes,
taken together tend towards a consonance of expression.

For recognising and characterising a "master-plan",
one area of human endeavour promises to be more fruitful than
any other i.e. Aesthetics. Kroeber argues that one can
characterize a society by its visual arts, theory of beauty,

style of dress, etc. "Histories of Art accordingly promise
to be of increasing importance in the comparative history
of civilizations. Art expresses values. It deals with
them perhaps more directly than any other cultural activity.
And in every civilization there resides, as one of its
fundamentals, a value system. This value system is ramified,
only partly explicit, sometimes inconsistent, subject to
development - but in one sense it is what holds the
civilization together, and comes nearest to summating it.
That the Arts should be one of the main expressions of this
value system, and perhaps its most sensitive index is no
wonder. Only the arts must be construed in the widest sense,
from the arts of conduct and manners, even of cooking, to
those of intellect in science, philosophy and religious
speculation" (Kroeber 1963 p. 16).

Let us at this point look at one field of Scottish
Art i.e. Architecture, where long historical continuity can
be physically traced. Art in general in Scotland is a field
which cries out for structural analysis of the depth to which
I analysed the Glasgow Jokes. Most authorities, all non-
anthropological, seem to agree that there is a Scottish
style in art, but without the rigour of Structural analysis,
the descriptions, although evocative can only be at best
"Language Shadows" (sic).

Ian Findlay, in his work "Art in Scotland" declares
categorically that there is a "Scottish Artistic Essense"
(Findlay p. 2). He notes that Scotland derived from a
mixture of people with different styles, which gradually
merged to form the vernacular style . "This style delimits
Scotland as a national entity in a quite remarkable way, in
both space, from Wigtonshire to Buchan, and in time, from
the medieval keep to Charles Rennie Mackintosh. It exhibits
an instinct for functional form" (ibid p. 4).

The earliest artistic style recognisable in
Scotland was Celtic. In the arts of manuscript illumination

and metalwork it is impossible to draw a hard distinction
between Scotland and Ireland (see for example the Scottish
"Book of Deer", and the Irish "Book of Kells").

With the Wars of Independence, the essential
Scottish style begins to emerge, and differences between the
Norman buildings of England and Scotland begin to be marked.
Firstly, a difference in scale can be noted, the Scottish
structures being much more puny than their English counterparts
(but whether because of the native mentality, or lack of cash
we cannot say). More distinctive is the Scottish adaptation
of Gothic. Not for the Scots the soaring ethereal architecture
of England and France etc. Rather Scottish Gothic is
"Earthbound" (ibid p. 28). This is a new element in Scottish
Art, and Findlay argues that it owes nothing to the Celt.
"The sobriety and austerity reflect the emerging qualities
of the Lowland people, qualities to be hardened and tempered
by 300 years of war and privation" (ibid p. 28). And then,
"----- the culture is spare and forbidding". Why should this
be ? He argues that "The Lowlands, a kind of no-man's-land
between Celt and Saxon, could turn to no natural tradition
of its own. Its people, by blood still closely tied to the
Celtic North-West still speaking gaelic, were yet politically
and economically linked with the South" (ibid p. 31).

The dour defiance of the flattened Gothic Arch of
the 13th and 14th Centuries was paralleled by the distinctive,
square, squat defensive churches of the 15th Century.
Scottish "earthbound" architecture had "none of the Frenchman's
passion for dispensing with masonry for window space -----
none of the English delight for airy vistas of stone falling
in complicated curtain folds" (ibid p. 35). "There is no
doubt that Scot's churches, from the 15th Century have a kind
of dour, embattled look which seems to prophesy the events
of the next 200 years. They are militantly non-conformist
already. Here Art supplies a significant commentary on the
inevitability of the Reformation in Scotland" (ibid p. 35).

The various traits in Scottish architecture came to

fruition in the so called "vernacular" era whose commencement
can be arbitrarily placed after the Battle of Flodden 1513.
The vernacular can be isolated throughout the next few hundred
years in three distinct types of housing (a) The Peasant's
home, (b) the Laird's home, (c) the urban dwelling.

(a) The Peasant's home:

      The first dwelling that we look at was the characteristic
home of "the Gudeman" - the "But and Ben" (a Gudeman was a
substantial tenant holding about 100 acres of land. He was
the most prosperous of the class of peasants). His house,
the "But and Ben" was rectangular with a single door and very
small windows. It consisted of two rooms - the "but" and the
"ben" which had quite different social functions. The "but"
was the social focus of the farm. It was used as a kitchen,
and as a servants' quarters, as the dining room for the whole
house, and as sleeping quarters for the maid servants and the
daughters of the gudeman (male servants and Gudemen's sons
slept in huts outside). Only one window graced the room and
the walls and ceiling were unplastered. The main feature of
the room was the enormous "Lum" or chimney, built over the
cradle grate, and projecting five or six feet into the room.
Benches were arranged comfortably around it in a semi-circle
"yont the ingle", where the boys and men servants would sit
in the evenings, together with the hangers-on the family
might acquire. Apart from the benches there would be box beds
in the room a great table bearing earthenware plates and
crockery etc. - all the necessary household equipment. The
but was a crowded warm smokey busy place, where everyone
connected with the farm was equally welcomed and where
discipline and order were kept by the "gudewife".

      "The Ben" was the private apartment of the gudeman,
floored in deal and plastered on the walls, with a recessed
fire, and frequently a polished wooden ceiling, but otherwise
of similar appearance to the But. This was where the gudeman
and his wife, with their younger children had their sleeping
quarters, and where certain visitors were entertained - social

equals or superiors. The Bible - a vital symbol to Presbyterians -
was kept and read aloud in the Ben. The Ben's furniture was
of a much better quality than that of the But.

This description is deeply evocative to Structuralist
Anthropologists. From it we may derive a hypothesis about the
spatial symbolism of the Scottish Gudeman. See Fig. IV.

FIG. IV SPACIAL ORGANISATION OF THE BUT AND BEN

```
        Danger              Safety
     <----------------------------------->
        Inferiority      Superiority
     <----------------------------------------->
        Outsiders           Insiders
     <------------------------------------------->

              -------------------------------------
one door     |     But          |      Ben         |
             |------------------|------------------|
```
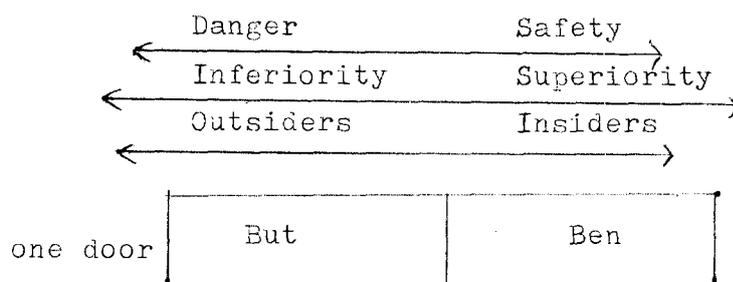
Possible oppositions in the But and Ben are - But : Ben::
female : male:: inferior : superior:: profane : sacred.
Possible oppositions between the But and the outside are -
But : outside:: daughters : sons:: female servants : male
servants:: Outsiders : Farm community (insiders). Thus in
Fig. IV when we move from the ben outwards we have a spatial
representation of increasing danger and uncertainty from the
gudeman's point of view. It would obviously be rewarding to
get hold of detailed ground plans and attempt a full structural
analysis (cf Needham 1958) a task that remains beyond the
scope of this present work.

It is interesting to note that the same separation
of inside and outside was repeated in the Labourer's or Cottar's
huts. These tended to be one room shacks. However, the main
piece of furniture was the fully enclosed box bed - serving
as a miniature "Ben".

(b) The Laird's home:
In the major style of upper class architecture,
"Scottish Baronial", this defensiveness is again evident.

A characteristic example is the house "Claypotts", built at Dundee in 1569. It was very much a defensible fortress. The plan consists of a square keep with two circular towers placed diagonally opposite each other. The walls are thick and grim and rise for three stories without ornament. All this is very medieval, but just where a 15th Century Castle would have been crowned with battlements, Claypotts is crowned with a suite of elegant square rooms, corbelled off into round towers. "It is in fact a castle with a country house built on top of it, the perfect symbol of the ambitious lairds who wished to enjoy their comforts, and the difficulty of doing so in a land given over to periodic strife" (Smout p. 181).

This vertical style of tower house has dominated Scottish Baronial architecture.

(c) The Urban dwelling:

Urban architecture throughout Scottish History tends to utilize the above mentioned styles and ideas, but elaborates and improvises in a fashion suitable for town dwelling. The best example to use is Edinburgh, the Scottish Capital.

By 1830 Edinburgh was two towns: the old town, haphazard, dirty and disorderly sprawled along the spine of volcanic rock between Holyrood House and the Castle - and the new town, symmetrical, clean and classical, laid out on the lower ridge to the North. The middle classes did not move into the new town until 1800. It was, therefore, the old town that served as the cradle for the blossoming of Edinburgh's middle class prosperity. The old town contained more people at the time of the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 (about 30,000 - see Chalmers p. 881) than any other city in Britain except London. Yet it gave no impression of size, refusing to sprawl outwards with growth. Instead, like modern New York, it grew upwards. Edinburghers showed an amazing reluctance to move beyond the "safety" of the city walls. When the other major towns of Britain had long since given up concepts of physical defence in their town planning, the

defensive mentality of the people of Edinburgh lingered on.
Inside the walls, the towering tenements, showed all the
characteristics of vernacular architecture - tall grim
buildings, overhanging corbelled towers, small windows, a
solitary small door. This is a cogent feature when it is
realized that many of the buildings were built to a height
of 10 - 14 storeys. Given the reluctance to move out
horizontally, the class structure of the city did not reveal
itself on the horizontal plane, by "good" streets and "bad"
streets, but in the vertical plane. Upper class people lived
on the 1st or 2nd floors of the buildings, middle class people
above that, and the poorest on either the attics, ground or
basement floors. Even with the effect of the Union, when the
actual styles of architecture changed, the character of the
new buildings remained consonant with what had gone before.
The new town of Edinburgh is renouned for the clean, non-
embellished lines of its classical architecture.

Thus Kroeber's assertion, that the cultural "master
plan" is shown most clearly in art is borne out. However, to
talk of a "master plan" does not take us far enough. Kroeber's
work merely allows us to apprehend a culture descriptively.
We must get underneath the plethora of extant visible styles
and dig out the "deep structure" that generates the various
levels (see page 9). The direction we must take consists of
an attempt to find a combination of Structuralist methodology,
developed specifically for synchronic analysis, with the
historical dimension. We can start as follows :-

If we look at Scottish history, we can observe a
series of revolutions when vast political, economic and social
changes occurred. (To return to our earlier analogy of the
tables and the chairs the programme demands a change in the
form of the dining room. The furniture is re-arranged for
the Rotary Club luncheon). In Old Anthropological, syntagmatical
terms, it would have to be argued that the societies died, a
new society arising phoenix like, out of the ashes of the

old, because the Structural - Functional "real" social
structures disappear each time. E.g. for Scotland several
changes can be plotted.

Date (approx.)

1000 - 1100 A.D.	1300 - 1400 A.D.	1600 A.D.	1850 A.D.
Change from tribal to Feudal Society.	Black death decimals population political chaos.	Reformation famine plague.	Irish invasion, cholera epidemic, economic chaos.

It should be noted that these periods of societal change
occurred at exactly the same times that what I have termed as
Scottish "defensiveness" was most evident.

As can be seen from our previous examples the society
did not "die". "Scottishness" is stylistically recognisable
throughout history. Then wherein lies the continuity ? What
is it that carried on through these times of crisis, and if
there is something, where is it located, what is its nature ?
The seeds of the answer are contained, I believe, in the work
of Edwin Ardener. The work of Edwin Ardener is of course
related to that of Kroeber in the nature of the "parent -
daughter" relationship in Nuclear Physics. Levi Strauss, in
developing his concept of Structuralism combined the work of
Kroeber with modern developments in Linguistics. Ardener's
work purports to take "Structuralism" one stage further on,
using Structuralism as a stepping stone.

Ardener, facing this particular problem introduces
the concept of "Template" (1970). In discussing the Bakweri
Nyongo phenomenon he states "Certain kinds of Zombie
manifestations were correlated with low economic performance.
Yet that which correlated on each occasion was not the symbolic
content of the behaviour. This was separately "assembled"
at the different periods of manifestation ----- through new
symbols or newly arranged old symbols. The context was not
continuous overtime but something else was: A repetitive

distinctive structuring tendency ----- the 'template'"
(Ardener 1973 p. 3). "A new rite of exorcism and appeasement
was devised by the elders ----- (to deal with a modern
technological problem). The content of the new rite was
congruent (we see by hindsight) with other rites, but the new
one did not derive from any other. It could not simply be
generated from all previous extant rites. Merely to verbalize
the distinction requires us to propose at least two structuring
processes: one that shapes and a second that builds -----
the building process may be likened to the bricolage of
Levi-Strauss" (ibid p. 3). The former is what Ardener calls
the template, and is obviously paradigmatic. The template is
the means by which continuity is ensured. It is especially
visible at times of societal change. There is no doubt that
it is useful and necessary to postulate the template. Societies
do carry on through catastrophies in which the extant
syntagmatic chains are destroyed. They are recognisably the
same before and after. Obviously if there was no continuity
they would have ceased to exist. But after this has been said,
we are faced with the more complex problem of recognising and
isolating templates.

Ardener argues that templates cannot appear to the
analyst by the methods that will generate the syntagmatic "Old
Anthropological" social structures. But he goes further and
argues that it is wrong to ask to be shown a template.
Templates "----- are unknowns almost by definition. On the
other hand it has been stated that such structures, if they
have any existance, must be revealed in the stream of events.
If so linguistic problems loom large in their consideration"
(ibid) p. 5). He resorts to the concept of "Language Shadow"
and gives an example from the Bakweri "For example one
template which we require for the specification of a witchcraft
system has in it some component for relating persons to
misfortune through other persons. In the Bakweri Zombie-
witchcraft case, we can begin to shade in the elements of the
template with preliminary hints like this :

Individual self betterment ←———→ Public misfortune

You will recall that when boom agricultural conditions
occurred the "threshold of activation" of the template rose:
no zombie manifestations. In slumps the threshold fell:
zombie manifestations appear. Bakweri talked of _inona_
(envy) as being generated by _nyonga_ (pride, ambitious
achievement). Self betterment resulted from the killing of
fellow Bakweri, particularly one's own children, and using
the dead bodies to work as zombies. All the elements present
a complicated problem for description by the anthropologist
since what is describable is realized in syntagmatic structures.
String these emotive words together -
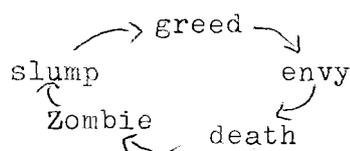
we have an impression of the template when activated: the
hollow shape of its shadow in language" (ibid p. 5).

The method of language shadows is particularly
difficult to apply for a given synchronic instant, due to the
impossibilities of separating out the paradigmatic and
syntagmatic elements. He gives another Bakweri example: "A
crowd howl at an old man hiding under a bed. Dismantled
sheets of rusty corrugated iron lie in the vicinity" (ibid).
He points out that the participants "know" the significance
of the scene at a glance, the outside observer being perplexed.
The index (in the Peircian sense) used by the participants is
the corrugated iron. Iron implies wealth which implies
zombies etc.

Thus the index keys the observer in metonymically
to the full significance of the scene. The analysts job as
an outsider is to build up a picture of the Language Shadow,
i.e. the various metonymically linked elements in the template
which produce, upon "excitation", the reaction of the crowd to
the old man - high powered analysis indeed requiring exceedingly
accurate and sympathetic fieldwork. This is exactly what
we do not have when dealing with the "dead stretches" of

of history that it is necessary to examine. How then do
we recognise the template across the stretch of history ?
It is to this question that I turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII
THE MANUFACTURE & MAINTENANCE OF BOUNDARIES

Thus we have posited a template, a programmatic structuring tendency inherent in a culture. It is the template which assures continuity through societal change. It is the template which allows us to employ Structuralist methodology to historical data. In the case of the template for Scotland, I have so far suggested that it has appeared several times in Scottish history. No matter how Scotland appears at other times, during times of crisis it reacts consistently. At this point in the thesis we are unable to say what the template is. But we can indicate how it manifests itself. We have noted that it appears as a defensive style, a particular kind of defensive position, a position in which very clear boundaries are drawn between our people and strangers, insiders and outsiders, a boundary inherently weakened, since danger also lurks within the "inside" due to inherent internal sources of evil.

Douglas, in her paper "Self Evidence", has developed a useful approach to the techniques used by various societies to secure boundaries between themselves and others. She discusses recognition of synonymy, and its obverse - chaos: "Avoiding bewilderment and experiencing bewilderment are two extremes at which it is easy to see how logic bites into the emotional life. In between the extremes, the emotions are channelled down familiar grooves cut by social relations, and their requirements of consistency, clarity, and reliability of expectations. I feel we should try to insert between the psychology of the individual, and the public use of language, a dimension of social behaviour. In this dimension logical relations also apply. This is the hub of my contribution to how intuitions of self-evidence are formed. Persons are included or excluded from a given class, classes are ranked, parts are related to wholes. It is argued here that the intuition of the logic of these social experiences is the

basis for finding the apriori in nature. The pattern of social relations is fraught with emotional power; great stakes are invested in their permanence by some, in their overthrow by others. This is the level of experience at which the guts reaction of bewilderment at anomaly is strengthened by fury, shock, loathing. Apprehending a general pattern of what is right and necessary in social relations is the basis of society" (Douglas 1973).

"Each universe is therefore to be seen as a whole, generated with a particular kind of social experience ----- The idea is that a continuum of social systems could be constructed in which, at one end, outsiders would be excluded completely and irrevocably, and working through various modifications, at the other extreme outsiders would be admitted to full membership of the community. Each point of the continuum would have its corresponding world of nature with a characteristic way of dealing with hybrids and anomalous beings" (ibid). Douglas' general argument supposes that in each constructed world of nature, the contrast between man and not-man provides an analogy for the contrast between the member of the human community and the outsider. If the boundaries defining membership of the social group have regulated crossing points where useful exchanges take place, then the contrast of man and not-man takes on the imprint of this exchange. The number of different exchanges envisaged, their possible good and bad outcomes, and the rules which govern them are all projected onto the natural world. If the institutions allow for some much more generous and rewarding exchange with more than normally distant partners, then we have the conditions for a positive mediator. If all exchanges are suspect and every outsider is a threat, then some parts of nature are due to be singled out to represent the abominable intruder who breaks boundaries that must be kept intact. In sum, Douglas' argument states that "when boundary crossing is forbidden, a theology of mediation is not acceptable, and that every theology of mediation finds

its adherents in a society which expects to do well out of
regulated exchange" (ibid).

To prove her hypothesis, Douglas looks at three
points on the spectrum i.e.

FIG. V THE SPECTRUM OF POSSIBLE EXCHANGES

Maximum exchange   Exchange forbidden
with outside   with outside.

←——→

Welcomed.   anomalies
anomalies   abhorred
venerated

LELE   KARAM   ISRAELITES

"Thus the three social types the Israelites, the
Karam and the Lele provide us with three types of classification
system. In the first exchange is not desired; all anomalies
are bad and classed in a special sub-set expected to unleash
disastrous chains of cause and effect. In the next some
exchange is reckoned clearly good, some is bad, anomalies
likewise; the rules for approaching and avoiding them are
means of triggering off good effects. In this way the
sociological specification for accepting a mediator is made
clear. A people who have nothing to lose by exchange, and
everything to gain will be predisposed towards the hybrid
being, wearing the conflicting signs man/god or man/beast.
A people whose experience of foreigners is disastrous will
cherish perfect categories, reject exchange, and refuse
doctrines of mediation" (ibid) my emphasis.

THE JEWISH CASE

Let us look more closely at the case of the ancient
Israelites since it is evident that the Scots compare most
closely with them. The Jews have also manifested a "jewishness"
a particular style throughout their history - down to the
present day. In general terms, why are the Jews so defensively
minded ? There are a variety of reasons. Jewish communities,
where they have sprung up, have often tended to by physically
separated from the outside world and relationships with it

- 71 -

have often been proscribed by the outsiders. Access to
prestigious and remunerative occupations and professions has
often been impossible. Hence many Jewish communities have
been reduced to general poverty, and a subsistence living
based on small scale trading. Anti semitism, has periodically
generated pogroms in which property and life have been destroyed,
and from which recourse to protection from attack could only
be made to state officials, some of whom sanctioned the
pogroms and used anti semitism to their own political advantage.
Hence the Jews have turned inwards in a kindof passive self-
protectiveness, impotent in the face of attacks from the
outside, and developing a distrust of non-Jews, and learning
to live with the constant fear of imminent catastrophe. But
the world view of the Jews is not simply a product of Ghetto
life. The scriptural injunction of the Old Testament to be
holy, was also an injunction to be separate. The daily ritual
prescriptions and prohibitions enjoined on the so called
"chosen people" have served to demarcate them from all other
communities in terms of monotheism initially, and later,
endogamy, commensality and dietary laws. Of itself the
constellation of beliefs and practices would make relations
with the outside world difficult, particularly during times
of colonial occupation and dispersal. The Ghetto experience
has reinforced the religious basis of community life which
has ritualized its relationships with the outside. Segal
highlights this ritualization of relationships by pointing to
the dichotomy propounded by the Jews themselves which describes
Jews as morally superior, yet powerless, and the Gentiles as
morally inferior but omnipotent (Segal 1971). He sums up
the relationships of Jews and non-Jews as follows. See Fig. V1.

FIG. V1.   THE JEWISH PERCEPTION OF REALITY

Goyim		Jews
Qualities	Relations	Qualities
Power	← Fear	Moral superiority
Filth	← Appeasement	Dietary laws
Disorder	Pollation →	Health
Pleasure	Danger →	Safety
Unpredictability	etc.	Order

This is a brief picture of Jewish defensiveness and fear of
exchange. Let us now look in more detail at the mechanism by
which the symbolic boundaries are built. To do this we must
look back in their history to Biblical times.

The Israelites rule of marriage allowed them to
marry their first cousins. Therefore, the distinction between
cross and parallel kinsmen, so important to the Levi-Straussian
conception of kinship, has no meaning in their case. There
are thus no marriage exchanges - only in-marriages - a
categorical denial of the value of exchange. Corresponding
to this, the Pentateuch shows us the Israelite view of nature
was similarly defensive. Every living being that appears
inconsistently across, instead of within, the lines of
classification, is firmly marked anomalous, and placed in a
separate category. (See Douglas' arguments about the pig
1966, 1971, 1973). Douglas has analysed the Israelite rules
for altar and table as a classification system. This
classification system is extremely rigid. It assigns living
creatures to one of three spheres on a behavioural basis, and
selects certain morphological criteria that are found most
commonly in the animals inhabiting each sphere. It rejects
anomalous creatures. Any living being which falls outside
this classification is not to be touched or eaten. To touch
it is to be defiled, and defilement forbids entry into the
temple. Thus we can sum up by saying that anomalous creatures
are unfit for altar or table. As Douglas points out, this is
the peculiarity of the mosaic code (Douglas 1972 i, p. 74).

Thus, using the animal kingdom the Israelites build
a series of boundaries to protect their vulnerable centre.
This is done by a series of analogues e.g.

Under the covenant

Human	Israelites	Others
Non-human	Their livestock	Others

After Douglas
(1972 i, p. 75)

The rule that the first born is consecrated to

to divine service applies also to the first born of the
flocks and herds (Exodus 27:29 - 30) (Deuteronomy 24:23)
and the rule of sabbath observance is extended to work
animals (Exodus 20:10). The analogy by which the Israelites
are to other humans as their livestock are to other animals
develops the analogy between altar and table. Let us
compare this case to the Scottish case.

CHAPTER VIII

SCOTTISH BOUNDARIES

In looking closely at the Scottish case, we will ascertain firstly why they are so defensive in mentality, and secondly the means by which they defend themselves - their creation and maintenance of symbolic boundaries.

Like the Jews the Scots have been harried throughout their history. It was not until the 18th Century that the Castle, the major style of stately home, was replaced. A major reason for this is geographical. The Lowland belt, with which we are primarily concerned has been completely indefensible. The Lowlands were continuously easy prey for the Highlanders. Similarly the flat eastern plains with the conveniently placed river Forth provided a beckoning vista for English and continental ambitions of expansion. This geographical factor has been a constant factor in the formation of the Scottish character making physical defence a first consideration at all stages in history. This is shown by the political organisation exhibited by Lowland Scots throughout the ages, i.e. a system based on kinship and geared specifically for war. We noted earlier that the usual historial analytical division of Highland and Lowland on the basis of social organisation i.e. the ideal Clan System versus Feudal, is far too simplistic. Feudalism requires strong central government, a unified field of Law and Order. This was something Lowland Scotland did not achieve until the 18th Century. Thus the Scottish case of the Feudalism being modified by kinship. As Smout points out "Scottish Lowland society was so largely organised to face war and feud, and was so closely bound in blood and duty to its Lords, that it had no conception of itself as divided along other lines by economic interest . ----- Such a society was largely a product of Political instability. Land tenure itself had to be organised to maximize fighting power rather than productivity; the best warriors rather than the best farmers got the best holdings" (Smout p. 39). One consequence of this particular social organisation was that Scottish society

escaped the class warfare of the English peasants' rebellion
of 1381.

Thus uncentralized, feuding life in Scotland
continued long after its decline in other parts of Britain.
As suggested earlier, a clear indicator of this is Architecture.
The second half of the 16th Century was a great age for
building among the European Nobility. In England, the
Elizabethan manorhouse was essentially an undefended home
with thin walls, plenty of glass and pleasant gardens. In
Scotland, the equivalent buildings were still castles, not so
grim now as they had been in the middle ages, but nevertheless
defensible, with armories, magazines, grills over the windows,
gunports and other military features. It was not until the
1680's that Bruce designed the first series of classical
mansions with long frontages and regular fenestration in the
manner of the European Renaissance.

The aim of Kingship in Scotland in the centuries
from the 11th to the 17th can be characterized as the hopeless,
ever present task of trying to unify the country, and impose
a centralized authority on the feuding sections. It is an
interesting reflection that the Reformation itself was forced
on an unwilling monarch by rebellious lords and people.

"The Feud" is usually laid down as the characteristic
of Highland society, but this is an over-simplification.
Certainly the Highlanders are justly famous for the liberality
with which they slaughtered each other (and the lowlanders)
over the centuries. Feud however was no monopoly of the North.
A similar situation obtained in the Borders, where the Borderers -
the major English and Scottish families of the region who had
more in common with each other than with their respective
monarchs, plundered with impunity the Scottish lowlands and
the English north country, as well as feuding constantly
among themselves.

The Lowland plains of Central Scotland were naturally
more governable, but that fact had little effect on the locals.

Feuding in the central belt could be just as longwinded and
bloody as in other parts of the country. The most famous
Lowland feud between three families - the Montgomeries, the
Cunninghams, and several different branches of the Kennedys,
lasted for more than a century. Faction influenced in many
ways the nature of social and economic national life. It
determined, for example, the complicated webs of kinship and
alliance, that bound together the Lowland and Highland families
in elaborate offensive and defensive alliances.

A lasting peace depended ultimately on royal power
becoming so overwhelming that the nobles could not hope to
prevail over their enemies with a private army. Lowland
Scotland was finally centralized by the long expected success
of the monarchy, (James VI) and by the influence of the
Reformed Church, whose growing success was creating another
set of allegiances, altogether irrelevant to earthly kinship
and to temporal monarchy. On the one hand it was explicitly
opposed to lawlessness and oppression, and promiscuous feuding.
But on the other hand it was always liable to add to the danger
of civil strife by throwing its weight heavily behind factions
that seemed to be Protestant and Godly.

In the lowlands, therefore, the benefits of the
"King's Peace" were potentially present from the first decade
of the 17th Century, although as we will see, the characteristic
factionalism would have been the least of the problems in a
century noted as the blackest in Scottish History.

Not all the attacks on Scottish integrity have been
by personal human agency, ie feud, invasion etc. expedited by
a defenceless geographical situation. Scotland has had her
fair share of natural disasters. If we examine the points
where the template is clear, there is shown to be a significant
correlation. The most deadly and stealthy attack has been
the agency of Epidemic.

The 14th Century was marked by the unprecedented
outbreak of bubonic plague known as the "Black Death", which

ravaged the whole country in 1349 and subsequent years.
Between then and 1401 there were three subsequent outbreaks
of the same disease, scarcely less general and destructive
than the first. These may have driven the population down to
levels of 30% or more below that of the early 14th Century.
A generation of respite followed and there were several further
outbreaks in the 1430s. In 1450 there was again "A great
pestilential mortality of men throughout the whole kingdom"
(Creighton p. 235). A plague of 1499 - 1500 seems to have
been widespread but not comparable to the worst of the earlier
ones. The outbreaks of 1514, 1530 and 1539 were also probably
also quite limited in comparison to those of a hundred years
before. More complex is the general situation in the second
half of the 16th Century. There were certainly some outbreaks,
such as those of 1545, and 1546, that of 1568 (which was very
severe in Edinburgh) that of 1574 (chiefly along the shore
of the Firth of Forth) and especially that of 1584 - 1588
which, contemporaries claimed, killed 1400 in Edinburgh, 1400
in Perth, 400 in St. Andrews and 300 in Kircaldy. In each of
these towns this must have amounted to a considerable proportion
of the total inhabitants. Nevertheless, the area affected
seems to have been restricted to the south-east quarter of
the country, and probably to the towns alone. Smout reckons
that it is likely that for the majority of Scots, the 16th
Century was relatively free of plague.

     It is between the years of 1600 and 1700 that
Scotland was to suffer most from the ravages of natural
disasters. A pestilence appeared in Dumfries in 1598, spread
to Dundee and to the countryside of Morayshire. Soon it
appeared in Edinburgh, in Fife, and near Glasgow, and by
1606 "had spread through manie parts of the countrie, and
raged in some parts, speciallie in the town of Air, Stirling,
Dundee and St. Johnstoun" (sic) (D. Calderwood in "History
of the Kirk in Scotland", quoted in Smout p. 152). In 1608
it returned to Dundee and to Perth dying out the following
year. For a pestilence to rage for a decade, to infect the

countryside, and to return several times to the same town, suggests that it may have been a different kind to the short sharp epidemics of earlier years, and though less dramatic in any one place or time, it may even have killed more people. It was also accompanied in many places by deaths from famine.

From 1609 to 1644, apart from a limited outbreak in 1624, Scotland appears to have been free from great waves of infectious disease. In 1644, however, a pestilence began that lasted for four years, and was carried to all parts of the country by the marching and counter-marching armies of the Covenant and Montrose, and by refugees fleeing from them. What the disease was is not known. The exact mortality rate is also unknown although Aberdeen lost one fifth of its population while Leith lost one half. A feature of the plague was the dreadful devastation it caused in the countryside, burning itself into the folk memory, to be recalled with horror centuries later. The immensity of the death rate can be realized by examination of parish records for the period. This particular epidemic, alongside the famine of the 1690's (which was also accompanied by an epidemic) constitute the two great "Killing times" of the 17th Century. After this holocaust there seem to have been few further outbreaks or serious epidemics in the 17th Century. Bubonic plague, which struck London in 1665 was kept out of Scotland by quarantine. "Though the middens and the polluted water supplies continued to take their toll in human health and life, it showed not in great sweeping intermittent waves of mortality but in high urban death rates, year in year out, particularly among children. But people were used to this and accepted it as one of the hazards of town life, and did not attempt to change it until after the towns became much larger, more dangerous, and more crowded in the late 18th and the 19th Centuries" (Smout p. 153). As a final point, we may recall, as noted earlier, that in 1849 cholera swept through the Scottish cities, its incidence being blamed on the Irish.

Famine was also a frequent visitor to the Scottish

people. Dependent as they were for much of their history on
one crop - oats - a crop failure could have disastrous effects.
The most terrible famine occurred in the 1690's. In some
country areas one third to one half of the population either
died or emigrated.

Thus natural disasters have played a constant part
in the formation of the Scottish Character. As Smout remarks:
"It was the cyclical recurrence of almost inevitable catastrophe
which determined so much of the fatalism of peasant existence"
(Smout p. 145) and when these natural disasters have been at
their worst, the template has been activated most easily.

Let us now examine the means by which the Scots
defend themselves symbolically. I argue that the Scots fear
exchanges. This is despite the fact that Scots have travelled
widely and successfully outside Scotland. It is their
experience of foreigners at home that has been disastrous.
According to Douglas' theory they will therefore reject exchange
and refuse doctrines of mediation. Further, some part of nature
will be singled out to represent the abominable intruder which
breaks boundaries that must be kept intact. For the Scots,
that part of nature singled out is the imperfect human body.
In other words the Scots use the human body, very explicitly,
as an image of society. They cherish the category of the
perfect body. Society must be perfect; the body must be
perfect. Society under threat is isomorphic with lack of
bodily control, and with an unclean, imperfect, unwhole body.

This "vertical dimension" of Structural analysis, as
Douglas calls it has been mainly neglected by anthropologists.
However, under the direction of Douglas, much work has been
done on the body as a symbol, by many of the "boundarists",
and not least by Douglas herself. I turn now to Douglas'
discussions of body symbolism in "Natural Symbols".

Douglas' approach rests on two fundamental ideas.
Firstly, Society endeavours to achieve consonance of experience.
Society tends to draw the various levels of experience into a
unity. The drive to achieve this unity produces concordance

among the means of expression, so that the use of the body is
co-ordinated with other media. This is a familiar point in
aesthetics. For example "The verbal form, syntactically and
lexically, will correspond to the kind of situation to be
expressed; tautness, slackness, slowness, speed, will give
further information of a non verbal kind" (Douglas 1973 p. 95).
"Here I seek to identify a natural tendency to express
situations of a certain kind in an appropriate bodily style.
In so far as it is unconscious, in so far as it is obeyed
universally in all cultures, the tendency is natural. It is
generated in response to a perceived social situation, but
the latter must always come clothed in its local history and
culture. Therefore, the natural expression is culturally
determined" (ibid p. 97).

The second idea on which her case is based is as
follows. The scope of the body as a medium of expression is
limited by controls exerted from the social system. Fundamentally
Douglas is claiming to be following Mauss' idea that the human
body is always treated as an image of society, and that there
can be no natural way of considering the body that does not
involve at the same time a social dimension. She further
argues that an interest in body appertures depends on the
preoccupation with social exits and entrances, escape routes
and invasions. "If there is no concern to preserve social
boundaries, I would not expect to find concern with bodily
boundaries. The relation of head to feet, of brain and
sexual organs, of mouth and anus are commonly treated so that
they express the relevant patterns of hierarchy. Consequently
I now advance the hypothesis that <u>bodily control is an expression
of social control</u> - abandonment of bodily control in ritual
corresponds to the requirements of a social experience that is
being expressed. Furthermore there is little prospect of
successfully imposing bodily control without the corresponding
social forms, and lastly the same drive that seeks harmoniously
to relate the experience of physical and social must affect
<u>ideology. Consequently when once correspondence between bodily</u>

and social control is traced, the basis will be laid for considering co-varying attitudes in political thought and theology" (ibid, p.99, my emphasis).

Douglas then introduces another precept of importance - what she calls the purity rule. "Along the dimension from weak to strong pressure the social system seeks progressively to etherealize the forms of expression" (ibid p. 100). This works together with a consequence of the first two i.e. Strong social control demands strong bodily control. "Social intercourse requires that unintended or irrelevant organic processes should be screened out. It equips itself therefore with criteria of relevance and these constitute the universal purity rule. The more complex the system of classification and the stronger the pressure to maintain it, the more social intercourse pretends to take place between disembodied spirits. Socialization teaches the child to bring organic processes under control. Of these, the most irrelevant and unwanted are the casting off of waste products. Therefore, all such physical events, defecation, urination, vomiting and their products uniformly carry a perjorative sign for formal discourse. The sign is therefore available universally to interrupt such discourse if deemed necessary. If not controlled, formal framing off procedures enable them to be shorn of their natural meaning and allow the discourse to go on uninterrupted ----- By these rules an ordered pattern is found in the apparently chaotic variation between diverse cultures. The physical body is a microcosm of society facing the centre of power, contracting and expanding its claims in direct accordance with the increase and relaxation of social pressures. Its members, now riveted into attention, now abandoned to their private devices, represent the members of society and their obligations to the whole. At the same time the physical body, by the purity rule, is polarized conceptually against the social body. Its requirements are not only subordinated, they are contrasted with the social requirements" (Douglas p. 101).

This set of rules can be seen in operation in styles

of dress. For example, the contrast smooth with shaggy is
a member of the "set of symbolic contrasts expressing formal/
informal -----. Artists and academics, for example, are
potentially professions of comment on, and criticism of
society: they display a carefully modulated shagginess
according to the responsibilities they carry. But how shaggy
can one get ? What are the limits of shagginess and bodily
abandon ?" (ibid). Certain kinds of behaviour are designed
to break limits - to make a symbolic attack - e.g. streaking.
Streaking in Western society produces an apopleptic response
in direct proportion to the "smoothness" of the dress style
of the responder. It seems that the freedom to be completely
relaxed must be culturally controlled.

Thus under societal stress the Scottish Template is
revealed. The Scots react to the stress by building symbolic
boundaries between themselves and others. In this respect
they are similar to the Jews. However, unlike the Jews who
utilize animal categories "out there" to stand for the
abominable intruder, the Scots concentrate on maintaining,
at all costs, a particular vision of the human body. To
exemplify how this is done I would like to look closely at
two consecutive periods when the template has been activated,
and also examine most closely the interval between the
manifestations.

The instances I choose are the "Witchcraft" period
and the period of the Irish "Invasion". These are crucial
in that each typifies a different period in Scottish history
i.e. before and after the economic "take-off". Both periods
are characterized by different syntagmatic chains, but we
can see underlying both the same structuring process, the
same style. Secondly, the choice has another interesting
possibility. The period between the two occurrences, is
known by historians as "The Golden Age" of Scottish culture.
As we shall see, almost every aspect of Scottish life in
this period was "un-Scottish" - a decline in "defensiveness",
a flourishing in the Arts, a revolution in manners, modes of

dress etc. Through my examination of this situation I would like to draw together the themes upon which I have touched.

CHAPTER IX

THE MANIFESTATION OF THE TEMPLATE

I   THE WITCHCRAFT ERA 1570 - 1700

As noted earlier, the Reformation in Scotland did not correspond closely to the Reformation in other parts of Europe. The years 1540 - 1600 A.D. - characterized elsewhere by bloodshed and turmoil - passed without social upset in Scotland, the Reformation being a smooth transition, an almost casual evolution rather than the violent revolution of elsewhere. However, by the 17th Century this situation was to change radically. Scottish society entered into the most catastrophic century of its history. As noted earlier, plague and famine swept the land. Political insecurity and feud still dominated the body politic. The so-called 2nd Reformation polarized the people and heralded the commencement of the "Killing Times". The spark which caused the fire was the 5th of the Five Articles of Perth, an attempt by the Monarch to update the liturgy. This fifth article stated that communicants should <u>kneel</u> to receive the Sacrament. This was anathema to the Scot's mind. Kneeling meant acceptance of "<u>the Real Presence</u>" which was equated with idolatry and as we will realize later kneeling is an attack on "the perfect body". King James VI managed to keep the lid on the pot until his death. However, his headstrong son, Charles I, insisted on going ahead with the new liturgy. The reaction from the Scots was to produce the National Covenant - a refutal of the monarch's right to impose modes of worship. It was not only in this matter of church order that the Covenanters went further than the Covenant. Although pledged in the Covenant to the defence of the King, they intervened in England, after the civil war started, making common cause with the English parliamentarians, and entering into an alliance with them in the "Solemn League and Covenant" (1643), which envisaged the creation of a British church on the Presbyterian - Puritan model. No-one on the Episcopalian side in Scotland had as yet gone so far as to advocate complete Anglo-Scottish uniformity on an English model, but now the

standards of worship for the whole of Britain were to be those
of the English Puritans. The concept of "unity without
uniformity", dear to some modern Presbyterians, had no appeal
in the 17th Century. The Covenanters, not content with
rejecting the recent innovations (as the covenant pledged them
to do) rejected all prescribed prayers and all "set forms".
The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, though
they had been retained by John Knox, came to be characterized
as "Old rotten wheelbarrows to carry souls to hell". It was
at this time, and not at the Reformation, that the characteristics
of Scottish Presbyterian worship became clear. This rejection
of prescribed forms was not a rejection of forms as such,
rather a rejection of the prescription - outside prescription.
The purging of outsiders had started. This fanaticism at
the ideological level was paralleled at the level of action.
Scotland went to war with itself. The divisions were between
shades of Presbyterians - between those who opposed, and those
who favoured intervention in the English civil war; between
those for the King, and those who wished him dead; between
those who put country first (as did some when Scotland was
threatened by Oliver Cromwell) and those who would let no-one
fight for his country unless his ecclesiastical politics were
sound.

When the most extreme and unyielding faction prevailed,
the church dominated national policy and possessed a veto on
all public appointments, whether in Central Government, Local
Government, or the Armed Forces. There was not only the
purge from office of those who would not toe the "Party line",
but there was also much "Liquidation". With the cry of "Jesus,
and no quarter!" the Covenanters massacred not only prisoners
who had surrendered, but even the women and children who were
following the camp of the enemy. The covenanting movement
which had started as a nationwide protest against the arbitrary
rule of a king, degenerated into an attempt to impose a new
tyranny, and to impose it on England and Ireland as well.
The Covenanters were not interested in "freedom" or "liberty".
One who had written in 1637 (when he was in opposition) "who

can blame us for standing to the defence of our Christian
Liberty?", wrote eight years later, (when his party was in
power) "Liberty of conscience ought not to be granted" (From
the writings of George Gillespie - "English Popish Ceremonies"
(1637) and "Sermons preached before the House of Lords" (1645),
quoted in Donaldson). Still less were the Covenanters
interested in toleration which was denounced as "wicked", and
as contrary to the Covenants.

There was no solution to the problems. Many
Presbyterians took the view that it was best to bend to
monarchical will on the question of Bishops and thus retain
some measure of autonomy. The Covenanters, on the other hand,
rejected this, and rejected the whole fabric of the imposed
foreign church. They took to meeting in Coventicles, rejecting
the parish churches as foreign, alien and evil - places which
laid aside the Covenant. The Coventicles were concerned with
the Knoxian idea of ecclesiastical independence; or the
liberation of the Church by control from the king, council
and parliament; but uninterested in freedom in the sense of
toleration. It is thus important to note that the whole
country did not support the coventicles. Many areas accepted
episcopal rule.

The government was as hamfisted in its methods of
dealing with this "uprising" as the Covenanters themselves,
and used the same techniques - torture, terror and murder.
The martyrology of the "Killing Times", suitably publicised
generation by generation and kept alive by commemoration
coventicles, still does much to shape Scottish opinion on
the subject of bishops.

But partly by concession, partly by repression,
the coventicle movement was gradually worn down and opposition
was divided within itself. It would seem, therefore, that
at this time the Church was heading for a more moderate
regime. However, disaster struck during the late 17th Century -
the worst famine in Scottish History (see earlier). This

social deprivation, coupled with the alien religious policy
of James VII who succeeded Charles II in 1685 triggered off
the template yet again. It is a striking commentary on the
attachment to religious liberty that present day Scots
attribute to their ancestors, that when toleration was
proposed by James VII, it was the most unpopular measure of
the 17th Century. Upon James VII's deposition by William of
Orange in 1689, a Convention of Estates, representing the
nobles, lairds and burgesses met in Edinburgh. At this
convention a resolution was drawn up accepting William and
Mary as monarchs. In this resolution, the Presbyterians
managed to insert the declaration that "Prelacy, and the
superiority of any office in the church above presbyter is
and hath been a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble
to this nation ever since the Reformation, and ought therefore
to be abolished" (quoted in Donaldson p. 90).

Thus by 1700 a puritanical Presbyterianism had been
secured in large parts of Scotland. We have seen that this
was a reaction to Political, economic and environmental
uncertainties. It has been observed that the whole episode
can be summed up with the word "purge". The continuous
thrust in the face of the external pressure was to attain a
perfectly protected society. Foreign anomalous influences
were assiduously and vigorously expelled, rejected or
destroyed. Let us now examine the evidence and find out
whether there is as Douglas predicts, a corresponding
obsession with the human body.

The key phrase recurring again and again in
exhortations by the Presbyterians is "Sin" - and reflects a
deep and abiding obsession with morality. Both concepts are
intimately tied up with ideas of body use. According to
Douglas' thesis, strong social control requires strong bodily
control. In effect this is what we find. The success of the
church was greatly assisted by the strength of its discipline
over the morals of its congregation - its success could not

have come to fruition without the aid of the civil authorities. Even before the covenanting period, it was vital to the early kirk sessions, that the burgh magistrates were ready to use their secular power against Catholics, absentees from church, and disrespectful persons: they carried this support further and punished in a variety of ways any whom the church found guilty of moral outrages. Furthermore, the state itself, though never prepared to knuckle under completely to the judgment of the ministers, made a whole variety of moral misdemeanours statutory offences against the crown. All of them were concerned with attacks on the image of the perfect whole, many of them specifically with the perfect body. For example adultery was made a civil crime in 1563, fornication in 1567, sabbath breaking in 1579, drunkeness in 1617 etc. Crucial to the system was recognition that a person excommunicated from the spiritual society of the church for persistent immorality was also an outlaw from the civil society of the state. In 1572 excommunicated persons were held incapable of bearing political office, or giving witness at Law. In 1609 they were declared unable to enjoy land rents or revenues.

It is fascinating to examine which offences the church courts held to be particularly heinous. Right from the start it was sexual offences that monopolized most of the sessions attention. Let us look in detail at some of the "ground rules". Sex had to be carried out according to the 10 commandments i.e. within the confines of marriage, endogomously, non-anomalously - anomaly including marriage with Catholics, non presbyterians, adultery fornication - anything that offended the ideal. The Rev. William Law was deposed from his church by the presbytery at Aberdeen for daring to assert in a sermon that "virtue was more natural to the human mind than vice" (Sharpe p. 10). In Galloway the presbytery refused to allow Papists to marry among themselves; refused to allow marriages between papists and Presbyterians; refused to baptize the children of popish

parents. Catholic widows had their children taken from them
by the state. In business matters and in court cases, the
oath of a Catholic was outside the law, and had no weight.
"Although Catholic marriages were forbidden, if two Catholics
decided to live together, they were liable to excommunication -
a fearful sentence involving complete social ostracism, no-one
being allowed to sell the excommunicated persons food, or to
let them a house; and although Parliament in 1690 had abolished
the civil penalties of excommunication, the Presbyterians
clamoured for their re-imposition" (Johnston p. 96).

The instrument of discipline was the Kirk Session
which styled themselves as "watchers ower Christ's Flok".
"They specialized in sexual inquisitions, ferreting out with
great ingenuity, and punishing with savage ferocity, every
little lapse and side slip from the narrow way ----- marriage
feasts being the happy blinks (sic) in the grey lives of the
people it behoved the Sessions to decree that none but four
persons beyond the blood relations of the Bride and Bridegroom
should be present. At Ashkirk in 1638 Adam Moffat, piper,
for his offence, clearly proved, of piping at bridals, was
ordered to stand at the kirk door every Sunday ----- bare foot
and bare legged" (ibid). Dancing was banned; ante nuptual
intercourse was punished with shaven heads. Single women
were regarded as potential criminals, and had to undergo
regular examinations and cross questioning about their
behaviour. The penalty for giving a roof, or any aid to a
fornicating woman was forty shillings. Corporal punishment
was solely at the discretion of the civil magistracy; but
since the magistrate bench and the kirk session were frequently
composed of the same individuals, the recommendations of the
ecclesiastical court to the civil court rarely went unheeded.

The kirk sessions were also obsessed with __women__.
Women were perceived as the channel through which sin had
entered the world, and were therefore subject to especially
close observation (see later my discussion of witchcraft).
The kirk sessions at Perth would not allow an unmarried woman

to live alone, or two sisters to keep house together, for fear of scandal. As Johnston polemically remarks, but not altogether unjustly "Under the Zealots there was a great expansion of the Decalogue, and the callendar of 'sins' and 'scandals' for which poor offenders must 'stand the session', and make public humiliation and repentence, grew to such a length that it covered almost every human activity except praying, fasting, and toiling for the lairds and merchants" (Johnstone p. 103) among the long list of "sins" we may note: absence from kirk, Sabbath breaking, running, drinking, wrestling, kissing, swearing, dancing and, incredibly, teaching children to say mama and papa instead of father and mother. Sabbath breaking came under the heading "Vice and Enormities".

Most of the sexual offences were described as adultery or fornication. The first was very much the more serious, and offenders were heavily punished, generally by being forced to stand dressed in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, first at the kirk door, and then on the public stool of repentence, in front of the congregation on every Sunday for six months; and occasionally by whipping and fining as well. Fornication was a less serious matter, although the term covered offences of different character. "Harlotrie" was common in the cities, casual fornication in the rural areas, with suspicion appearing at the visible onset of pregnancy.

As Smout points out, it is not easy to measure the effect of the campaign against sexual irregularities. It certainly did not worry the vagrant poor; nor did it much affect the Highlanders. But to ask this question, in a sense misses the point. From the figures he gives it is obvious that immorality did not decrease in Scotland - only the consciousness of it, a harder, clearer categorical definition of immorality became universal below the Highland Line. This campaign, lasting for a century, transformed the outward attitude of society from one of relative permissiveness before 1560 to one of rigorous and inquisitorial disapproval in the

17th Century. All who offended must now have done so more furtively and guiltily. There may also have been some other practical results. Several commentators have suggested that infanticide increased as a result of the discipline. Then there is some indication that homosexuality also increased at the time of the most intense and hysterical Puritan inquisitions in the middle of the century, though whether more was practised or more was found out is an open question. It was horribly punished. "The culprits of all ages, from boys to old men, are heard of every few months as burned on Castle Hill of Edinburgh, sometimes two together" wrote Robert Chalmers under the entry of his Domestic Annals for 1657. It is clear, therefore, why the reformers concentrated on the prosecution of sexual offenders. Societal uncertainty required strong social control, a shoring up and maintenance of boundaries, and strong social control requires a corresponding strong bodily control.

Now as Douglas points out "When once correspondence between social and bodily controls is traced, the basis will be laid for co-varying attitudes in Political thought and theology" (Douglas 1973). This co-variance has been shown most clearly in the Scottish case. The uncertainties of a century of Political chaos is reflected in the harsh puritanism of the Presbyterian church.

To summarize, puritanism really began to take root not in Knox's day, but towards the end of the 16th Century. It was characterized as we have seen by a strict code of sexual morality, and consonant with this, attacks on all forms of "pleasure". Dress was sucked into the conceptual field and utilized on the shaggy/smooth continum (referred to earlier). The ministers were commanded by the general assembly to keep their hair short, and to dress in sober colours as an example to the flock, while parliament passed an unsuccessful sumptuary law in 1581 to restrict the dress of Laymen. The general assembly tended to discuss body sins

such as drinking, gluttony, etc. in the same breach as
adultery and incest, showing quite explicitly the analogy
at work.

Finally I would like to examine the phenomenon
which gives this chapter its heading, Witchcraft. As I will
endeavour to show the witchcraft history in Scotland correlates
with the incidence of puritanism, both structurally and
chronologically. It is an extraordinary fact that in the
centuries before the Reformation, and again in those since
the union of the Parliaments, the number of recorded executions
for witchcraft in Scotland was very small: but in the years
between 1570 and 1707 approximately 4,500 people were
slaughtered because their contemporaries thought that they
were witches. When comparing this with England 1,000 witch
executions for a population five times as large, it is obvious
that we are dealing with an important phenomenon.

The Scots always had a belief in witches. What
characterized this particular period was society's decision
that witches could no longer be lived with. They had to be
rooted out and exterminated. The Scots did this with a
ferocity unequalled elsewhere in Europe. As Smout remarks
"It is not too much to say that in the later 16th Century
the need to extirpate witchcraft was becoming as clear to
thinking Scots of all shades of religious and political
opinion as the need to extirpate tuberculosis or polio is
clear to thinking men today. It was looked upon as a disease
of the body politic" (Smout p. 187, my emphasis). Under the
Reformation the old neutrality with which Scotsmen had
contemplated witchcraft was no longer possible. At first
sight it is strange that the kirk never set about a systematic
search for Catholics in the same way that it dealt with
witches. In Europe the association between a witchcraft hunt
and a heresy hunt was normal. It may be connected with another
peculiarity of Scottish witch hunting: the landed classes
and the wealthiest burgesses were seldom accused of witchcraft,

whereas in Europe no class was exempt. Scottish victims were mainly women, the wives of farmers, country and town craftsmen, cotlars, and poor old widows. The minority of men warlocks were drawn from the lowest classes, together with a certain number of pipers and tinkers who were almost vagabonds.

In Scotland, as in Europe, the persecution of witches was a social disease that ebbed and flowed, rather than one that claimed a constant number of victims annually. There were three or four terrible epidemics in which the majority of the 4,000 odd victims were killed: In 1590 - 97, in the late 1620's and in the 1640's and in 1660 - 63. The correlation between these outbursts, epidemics of plague, political insecurity and intense puritanical behaviour is clear. In 1598 when the first peak began to die down, the Church threatened to "proceed ----- with the highest censures against the magistrates who set witches free after they had been convicted" (Black p. 30).

Then there was a sudden stop, with relatively few cases for fifteen years, and then a slow gathering of momentum again, with far more cases in the 1620's than in the 1610's, and another wave approaching an epidemic from 1628 to 1630. As Stephens observes "Whenever Presbytery was dominant witches became prominent" (Stephens p. 282).

The next waves correlated with the Covenanting chaos, when the General Assembly was calling for a general new Reformation for the whole country and a crusade against immorality. The General Assembly passed acts in 1640, 1644, 1645 and 1649 calling on presbyteries and kirk sessions to take the lead in searching out witches and destroying them. Persecution was epidemic in area as well as time, and some places were immune. In general it was a lowland phenomenon. Over the Hebrides and most of mainland Highlands except Perthshire, witchcraft trials were unheard of, even in the worst years of the 17th Century.

The witch hunts themselves were of spasmodic character.

The normal pattern was for a woman suspected of being a witch to be denounced in her local community and then brought to trial. Confession followed automatically either voluntarily or by torture. Proof of her witch-hood would be obtained by witch-pricking, a process of pricking the woman's body with a pin until a spot is found where she feels no pain - usually a mole or a birth mark - the anomalous spot being the place where the devil touched his disciple. Belief had it that witches worked in covens of thirteen. Therefore, the torturer would also be concerned to ascertain the names of her twelve devilish sisters - usually other poor wives of the neighbourhood, who would in turn be dragged off and tortured. In this way a chain reaction of horror was activated, often sucking in a whole community as the remorseless process uncovered more and more witches. The slackening of the witch craze did not occur until the general enlightening attitudes of the period after the union of 1707.

The defensive characteristics of the era may be summed up as follows. Society goes through a period of uncertainty and chaos. Therefore, defensive boundaries are necessary to try and hold together the body social. The image of the perfect body - both the physical body and the social body in Douglas' terms - is the key. A breach in one implies a breach in the other. Therefore, any breach of either body has to be vigorously defended. In this respect the Scots differ from the Jewish case discussed earlier. Scots go out and meet danger aggressively, even hysterically, a case of the best form of "defence" being attack, their reaction being one of desire for complete purge. The Jews on the other hand, bend and retreat, given their continuous politically inferior status as an outside group wherever they go. (Just recently, however, with the formation of the State of Israel, the Jews living in this, their own state, have begun to behave in a manner much more closely akin to the Scots - as witnessed by their treatment of the Palestinians and their general attack minded "defensiveness" manifested

towards their Arab neighbours). It is interesting that in
all instances the division of the sexes is utilized as a
metaphor for the dangers of the universe. Thus woman is the
major channel by which sin escapes into the world. A single
woman is in danger of sinning. Woman is the witch, the
defiler of the social and organic body. The individual witch
is an anomalous being, e.g. widows, madwomen, hags, etc.
She is recognised by a physical anomaly: the devil's mark.

After the union of the Parliaments in 1707, and
the economic take-off of Great Britain as a whole, leading
to the industrial Revolution, the political, social and
economic circumstances changed, and so the threshold of
activation of the template rose again masking the characteristics
"defensiveness" of the Scots. Puritanism died down for a
period, and witchcraft disappeared altogether from the
Scottish Scene.

CHAPTER X

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN MANIFESTATIONS : THE GOLDEN AGE

This period can be most easily characterized as
the period in which Puritanism declined. Politically and
economically Lowland Scotland did extremely well. The effect
of the union of the Parliaments in 1707 was to effectively
centralize authority in London, and to damp down the
factionalism that had dogged Scottish Society. Economically,
Britain had reached "take-off" point and Scotland shared in
the wave of prosperity. The so-called Agrarian Revolution
took place on the land, with a change in the mode of production,
the peasant system giving way to a capitalist system; and
the urban areas changed irreversibly with the onset of the
industrial revolution, with great wealth being generated for
the ruling classes.

As one might expect, a more stable society diminished
the need for strong social controls, and thus for the
obsessive maintenance of symbolic boundaries; and thus the
need to treat the human body in the particular puritanical
fashion described in the last chapter abated. The novel
factor in the cosmos for the middle classes was the dizzy
sense of opportunity which pervaded the towns from 1760 onwards.
Merchants grew wealthy with the opening up of the new world.
Businessmen multiplied in old occupations and appeared in
many new ones that had not existed a century before - as
bankers, owners of iron works, cotton factories, refineries,
distillers etc. Younger sons found openings in the colonies,
and great commercial fortunes were made.

Despite the opportunity in Scotland, there occurred
a regular export of middle class Scots taking their professional
and commercial talents to England and further afield. Many of
the emigrants ultimately returned to Scotland, so that bourgeous
society was leavened with men of wide experience of other
societies and cultures. Its atmosphere may have been provincial
in the total British context, but it was never parochial.

In this climate of increasing ideological flexibility, economic expansion and political stability, the so-called "Golden Age" of Scottish culture dawned. This was the age of David Hume, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, James Black, James Watt, Thomas Telford, Robert and Sir James Hutton - to mention only the "geniuses" - who were ably attended by "ordinary" brilliant minds like Ferguson, Millar, Reid, Robertson, Raeburn, Rennie, Boswell, Hogg. The list of accomplished Scots from this era is tremendous. Hume revolutionized Philosophy, Smith founded Economics, Ferguson Social Studies etc. Burns appeared as the epitome of Scottish poets; Scott as the founder of the Romantic tradition in Literature.

We also have the unforseeable spectacle of the Scottish and English Protestant churches growing closer in ideology. Although ossified poles apart in matters of theology, organisation etc. the closeness is recognised in social outlook and the position taken in their respective societies. By 1790, neither Presbyterian nor Anglican leaders had any time for Puritanism, both believing that the social order was already organised in a way highly satisfactory to God, and both assumed the lord to be as moderate in his religious views as they were themselves. Historians have tended to give pat, syntagmatic explanations for the change of heart of the Presbyterian church. For example they point to the loss of excommunication as a weapon of terror, the change in the character of the ministers - ministers being more intellectual and educated. However, from the Structuralist viewpoint these are not causes - merely symptoms of the operating social structure.

The actual erosion of Puritanism can be clearly traced (again we see the isomorphism of the body and society). By the second quarter of the 18th Century, it was becoming unusual for the General Assembly to call for a "fast": such exercises in national repentence were henceforth reserved for harvest festivals and military defeats. The concentration

on home visits to spy on the behaviour of parishioners was
dropped by ministers. The use of the Kirk stool as an
instrument of public humiliation was gradually dropped.
Even fines, by the end of the 18th Century, were getting rare
and were exacted almost entirely for sexual offences,
drunkeness or breaches of Sabbath observances. Many moderate
clergy forbore even to exact these.

Puritanism did not die without a fight. One of
the most celebrated contests, which may help to establish
something of the chronology of the decline of Puritanism was
over the question of Theatre. Scots Presbyterians had,
since 1574, always set their face strongly against the
temptations and worldly horrors of the playhouse, which,
according to some, was "the actual temple of the Devil, where
he frequently appeared clothed in a corporeal substance, and
possessed the spectators whom he held as his worshippers"
(Hugo Arnot "The History of Edinburgh" 1779 pps. 366 - 7;
quoted in Smout p. 220).

Between 1715 and 1730 a band of English players
visited Edinburgh several times, even though hounded on all
occasions by religious and secular authorities. But in the
1740's the theatre gained a permanent position, and by 1760
theatre was an accepted part of the way of life of middle
class Presbyterians in Edinburgh.

Another aspect of the retreat of Puritanism was
the so-called, "Revolution in Manners". This saw the end
of the grim austerity of Puritan style with regard to clothing,
eating habits, furnishings etc. In parallel to the widening
of the Scottish mind and material culture, there was a
relaxation in the internal formality of the family, and in
the strictures with which an upper class child was treated
by his parents: "Mama" and "papa" reappeared as allowable
terms of address.

The Golden Age started to falter in the 1830's,
and by the time the Irish started to arrive, it was in full
retreat.

THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE TEMPLATE
II THE IRISH INVASIONS 1845 - 1926

The basic historical facts of this invasion I dealt with earlier. Again the template is triggered. Again boundaries are drawn and the need to protect the vulnerable centre from the polluting outsider becomes apparent, with body imagery being used to hold and secure the boundaries. Of course the syntagmatic structures are now different. The "defensiveness" is not, in this post - industrial context, expressed as witchcraft fears, as civil and religious proscriptions on Sin and Morality. Instead, as we shall see, the syntagmatic structure of this period are based on "economic" situations. Scotsmen use economical arguments as the framework for the attacks on the outsider. Again the reaction to the threat is the rather hysterical overkill, so characteristic of the witchcraft period - an extremely aggressive "attack-orientated" defence ! The main medium of "attack" was the printed word. The press was used as a focus and channeler of Protestant hopes and fears.

In 1850, the "Scottish Reformation Society" was inaugurated - a violently anti catholic organisation. The ostensible reason for its formation was to protest against the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England. However, it is no coincidence that immigrations from Ireland had reached a peak, and that cholera was sweeping the land. The enemy was defined by this organisation as "Popery", insisting on the equation of Catholic and Irish. 1852 was the most "successful" year for this organisation - a year characterised by continuous anti-Catholic rioting. This swell of anti-Catholic feeling gave birth to two ultra Protestant newspapers - "The Bulwark" - a Free Presbyterian Church publication which lasted for many years, and the short lived "Scottish Protestant".

The regular press was also violently anti-Catholic.
From the "Scottish Guardian" for example, I quote the following
example. In its report of a court case in which an immigrant
woman appeared, it noted "----- Immediately after, a Connacht
woman, with the unmistakeable width of mouth, immense expanse
of chin, and forehead villainous low, so characteristic of
the lowest Irish", and referred to "The proverbially
belligerent disposition of the half civilized, and wholly
Romanized savages"21/8/1852).

"The Witness" was the most anti-Catholic, although
it was an Edinburgh paper. The famine in Ireland gave it the
opportunity to blame Popery for all the country's troubles.
Its position could be summarized as follows :- Irish : Scottish::
Visigoth:Roman Empire. This theme has been expressed in many
ways in the 19th and 20th Century. It becomes the verbal
cliche for erecting the symbolic barriers - for expressing
the attack on the unprotected centre and as we observed in
the Guardian example above the threat is explicitly characterized
by a description of an imperfect body. A typical quote from
"The Witness" is as follows. "Whenever Popery flourishes,
nothing else can; for it is a moral vampire which sucks
the blood of nations -----" (15/1/1848) (note the explicit
tie up of the two bodies); or in discussing a court case
involving brawling in the streets "----- A large number of
meanly clad men bearing the unmistakeable mark of Popish
degradation on their countenances" (1/4/1848). (This paper
ceased publication in 1882). A final gem from the Witness -
a headline on the conversion to the Roman faith of four of
the Scottish aristocracy - "FOUR DUCAL PERVERTS".

By the beginning of the Edwardian era, the two
sides had settled down to an uneasy status quo, to enjoy the
economic benefits of full employment; Scotland, along with
Britain boomed economically; and the threshold of activation
of the template accordingly rose for a short time. During
the 1880's the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy was re-established,
without a murmur from a protestant population, that had

reacted so violently, to the same occurrence <u>in England</u>, thirty years previously.

The template was in evidence again in the Industrial depression after the Great War. Old sores were re-opened. The prosperity enjoyed for the previous few years had been based exclusively on heavy industry, and the country, and especially Glasgow found itself marketless in a world that placed no orders for Scottish ships, steel and coal. Unemployment proliferated. Once again the Irish were used as scapegoats and the threat it was claimed the Irish posed, was in terms of vast immigrations. It is important to look first at the real immigration situation obtaining in the 20th Century.

Table III
   <u>Emigration Statistics - Ireland to Scotland - For</u>
   <u>the years 1906 - 1920</u>   (after Handley p. 246).

<u>Province of origin</u>

	Ulster	Leinster	Munster	Connacht	Total
1906	1565	139	43	71	1818
1907	1429	122	31	36	1618
1908	885	94	19	34	1032
1909	449	79	2	27	607
1910	315	61	30	34	440
1911	298	43	11	59	441
1912	335	26	22	43	446
1913	130	29	15	64	238
1914	46	36	7	44	133
1915	767	56	19	102	944
1916	539	79	7	97	722
1917	701	151	16	44	912
1918	93	169	8	4	274
1919	21	153	34	22	230
1920	14	90	5	4	113

The important points to note from the figures is as follows. Firstly by the 20th Century the flood of Irish immigration <u>had been reduced to a trickle</u>. Secondly, of those who came, <u>the vast majority came from Ulster</u>, and not from Southern Ireland. Thirdly, the trickle itself was constantly being reduced between 1906 and 1920 (apart from a slight upward flurry during the war). As we examine the Scottish treatment of this problem it is important to keep this factual basis in mind.

A specific focus of complaint for the Protestants was the 1918 Education Act (see earlier). Protestant feeling at the time is best summed up by the engaging polemics of George Malcolm Thomson in his fiery essay "Caledonia, or the Future of the Scots". Thomson argues that "The first fact about the Scot is that he is a man eclipsed. The Scots are a dying people. They are being replaced in their own country by a people alien in race, temperament and religion, at a speed that is without parallel in History, outside the era of the barbarian invasions (again the Visi Goths!) Today every fifth baby born in Scotland is a little Irish Catholic. It is as well to make it plain at once that Catholic and Irish are for all practical purposes interchangeable terms in Scotland" (Thomson 1927). Later, in a second essay, "Rediscovery of Scotland", Thomson's theme is the need for vigilance by Scotsmen to prevent the subtle infiltration of Irish into Scottish industry - an infiltration masterminded by the priests.

Thus by the mid-twenties the Scots are explicitly using the equation Irish = Catholic, and its corollary Protestant = Scottish. However, the equation has one more subtle shift to make before we reach the present day. In 1926 the "Scots Observer" began as a Protestant paper. It expressed the stress under which the Protestants felt themselves to be at that moment in time, and it concentrated on the mythical waves of Irish immigrants pouring into the country. It discussed this migration in terms of <u>tens of thousands per year</u> as the official figures show, the actual number of immigrants between 1900 - 1920 was a mere 3625. More significant than the feeling of the Scots that they are being deluged by immigrants is the location of the immigrants origins -- Southern Ireland. This correlates with the political climate, in which Southern Ireland is being irrevocably characterised as Catholic and Northern Ireland as Protestant. Thus the equation shifts to become Catholic = Southern Irish. As we can see from the above table, this has absolutely nothing to do with the facts. This is the modern Scottish

perception of the situation. For example, G.A.Oakley in his book "The Second City" (1946) states "Today with roughly one third of the children of Glasgow attending Roman Catholic Schools - in other words roughly one third of the younger generation has its roots in the South of Ireland - the tragedy of the divisions which still unquestioningly exist become clearer" (Oakley 1946 p. 72, my emphasis). "Celtic are sometimes criticised as having been responsible for attracting Southern Irish - Catholic football enthusiasts to themselves" (ibid p. 165).

Perhaps the best and most characteristic source of information on the Protestant position has been the yearly statements of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. "Annually in the reports submitted to the General Assembly, the subject of Irish immigration appeared. Under the heading of "Church Life and Social Problems" or "Romanism and Ritualism", a considerable amount of disinformation was disseminated" (Handley p. 308). For example, the General Assembly in 1923, focusing on the right of Catholics to have their own state schools as outlined in the 1918 Education Act, strongly disagreed with this right. The report of 1927 talked of an increase of 82,335 Southern Irish People between 1911 and 1921 (for actual figures see above). Finally, the report of 1928 - "----- as fast as Scotsmen can be induced to emigrate, Irishmen and others come over and fill their places".

A crisis for the church was reached in 1928. As a result of the General Assembly, the Home Secretary was petitioned on the following issues. Firstly, since Scots are unemployed, Irish immigration should be stopped. Secondly, Irish who make a nuisance of themselves should be sent home. Thirdly, a minimum period of residence should be fixed before anyone can vote.

The patently fallacious framework on which these demands were based was finally exposed by the Glasgow Herald in a series of articles in March, 1929. On the question of the erosion of the Scottish nationality it quoted from the

approach of the General Assembly to the Secretary of State
i.e. "The process of unregulated migration out of and into
Scotland in the past had brought about a situation where
there was danger of the control of the affairs of their own
country, passing out of the hands of the Scottish people,
and even to the endangering of the continued existance of
Scottish Nationality and Civilization. ----- we are convinced
---- that a law abiding thrifty and industrious race is being
supplanted by immigrants whose presence tends to lower the
social conditions, and to undermine the spirit of independence
which has for so long been a characteristic of the Scottish
people. Scotland is being divided into two great racial
camps different in ideals with different traditions, and
with widely diverging characteristics. The two races do not
fuse to any appreciable extent. The tendency is the reverse.
The Irish race in Scotland keep largely to themselves, and
their habits are such that our Scottish people do not readily
mingle with them". The Herald tended to agree that it was
the Catholics who did not want to mix, pointing to the Catholic
attitude to mixed marriages. But generally it did a fine job
in laying the facts about the immigration before the Scottish
people.

However, the Presbyterians remained unrepentant and
unhearing. Books still appeared which ignored the Herald's
work e.g. "Scotland in Eclipse" by Andrew Dewar Gibb;
"Scottish Dilemma" by John Torrance, etc. Undeterred by
adverse reaction, the General Assembly continued to warn the
Government about immigration from Eire.

This fear of the Catholics/Irish has never left the
Presbyterian Lowland Scots, and up until recently they have
continued to make injudicious claims. For example in the
1939 - 45 war the blame for the fall of Hong Kong was placed
at the feet of the British Government, by the Glasgow Presbytery
of the Free Church of Scotland, because this government had
allowed Christmas High Mass to be broadcast for the first time
ever, and from a Benedictine monastery, twelve hours before

the actual battle!

Thus the same structuring process that was
observed in previous occurrences has re-appeared in
the 19th and 20th Centuries.

CHAPTER XII
CONCLUSIONS

From this brief survey of what is an immense field of study, no firm conclusions can be drawn. However, a few tentative conclusions are evident, which if nothing else indicate the useful directions further research can take, and suggest several areas likely to yield a rich harvest of insights.

It is clear that we can characterize a Scottish "style", a certain mode of expression which manifests itself throughout Scottish history. The "bare bones" of this Scottishness" are most evident at times of societal change. This Template, or paradigmatic structuring device, has been shown to be in operation in at least four periods of history, two of which we examined in some detail. Now as Ardener has pointed out, we cannot ask to be shown a template. The problem of its location is illusory. What we can do is express it as a "language shadow" - without over-concretizing the concept. From the foregoing work I would suggest that the template for Scottish culture can be characterized as follows :

Fig. VII THE SCOTTISH TEMPLATE

NATURE

CULTURE

B

Society Destroyed
Interior ↑ Overun

Vulnerable, the brink of the Abyss

IMPERFECT — Physical imperfections / Voraciousness / Economic ruin / Vast migratory waves

IMPERFECT — Swearing / Long unkept hair / Colourful dress / Wrestling / Dancing / Kissing / Kneeling / Drunkeness etc.

IMPERFECT — Spinster / Harlot / Catholic / Married to Catholic etc.

IMPERFECT — Adultery / Fornication / Mixed marriage / Homosexuality etc.

A

Sex → Sin → Women → Body → Catholics → (Irish, Highlanders)

Outside ↔ Inside

Well defended ideal boundary   Perfect categories   impossible to attain

C

PERFECT — Within marriage only / According to commandments / Between Protestants only

PERFECT — Correctly Married or excluded altogether

PERFECT

PERFECT — No Irish / No Catholics / No Outsiders

Because of Geographical, Historical and social
situations in which the Scots find themselves, there is no
clear cut boundary between Scots and non-Scots; just as
there is no clear cut boundary between "Nature" (non-Scottish)
and "Culture" (Scottish). Therefore, with reference to the
above figure, I would suggest that Lowland Scottish
consciousness is focused on A, the boundary between Nature
and Culture. The template is located at A - shown as a
language shadow, a series of metaphorically and metonymically
linked ideas, each of which constitutes a channel of danger.
The presence of these elements on the boundary make it
indefensible. It can be visualized as existing in a tension
of opposing forces. There is the force of Nature - the outside,
threatening the vulnerable cultural centre, constant and
implacable. This can be of natural, (plague, famine, etc.)
or human agency. The Lowland Scot perceives "Nature" as a
force constantly threatening to disrupt and destroy the
society, pulling it to B - the edge of the abyss, the point
at which society is destroyed.

This immanent destruction is only held at bay by
the constant vigilance of those on the inside. They are
unable to remove the anomalous intruders on the boundary, so
they cut their losses and strive to withdraw to C - where
perfect categories might be cherished, where all anomalies
are totally excluded. This "safe" boundary can never be
achieved: Society cannot exist without the anomalous categories
of A. It has to brave the dangers of Sex, Marriage, Outsider
neighbours within the social whole. It has to live at, and
with, A.

Thus Lowland Scots fear imperfect insiders as well
as outsiders, (all outsiders being imperfect by definition)
the imperfect insider being just as much a source of danger
as any outsider. Thus a collectivist, unified view of society
is denied them. Danger is internal and external. One is not
part of a whole, one must be an integrated unit, ready to do
battle with all others. Hence the individualistic cosmology,

the classical Protestant Ethic. It follows from the above
discussion, that since the template has been manifest in
Scottish history since the 11th Century, that the Scots have
had something like this cosmology throughout their history.
Thus we have an explanation for the unusual ease with which
the Reformation occurred in Scotland: Scotland was "Presbyterian"
long before the Reformers appeared; they simply made the
ideology explicit - the ideology of Scottishness.

This then is the template, which operates most
clearly when Scottish society is under stress. It can be seen
most clearly in the two periods of manifestation that 1 have
alluded to in previous chapters, and is clearly not activated
in the intermediate period. It is the generator of Scottish
style. For example if we return to the consideration of the
But and Ben, it can be argued that the ground plan of the
house is a spatial representation of the above conceptualization.

If we turn again to the situation in Glasgow, we can
see that the Glasgow Protestants have acted as Scotsmen first
and Glaswegians second. They acted in accordance with the
template. How then does Glasgow social life take on so many
of the characteristics of a Dual Organisation viewed synchronically ?
The answer lies not only with Scottish behaviour but also
with the Irish.

The Glasgow Protestants, being first of all Scots,
and defining reality via the template, build their boundaries
with the characteristic individualistic orientation. Boundaries
must be drawn to protect the inside from danger. But boundary
breaking can be perpetrated by insiders as well - your
neighbour (a Catholic?), your wife (Sinful?) etc. The reaction
the Glasgow Protestants have made to the constant pressure
due to the large number of Catholics with whom they have to
live - far greater than that "suffered" by their fellow
Lowland Scots - is to deny the impossibility of attaining
the safe secure boundary at C, by creating a pseudo society
that is located conceptually at C - a society with no anomalies

i.e. no Catholics, no women, etc; in other words by
utilization of the Secret Societies - the Orange Order, and
the Freemasons. This accounts for the extremely important
place that these societies occupy in the life of Glasgow
Protestants.

The Glasgow Catholic cosmology is different. As
we noted earlier, the Glasgow Irish have shown a solidarity
unheard of in the Protestant Scots. We can characterize
this cosmology as "sociocentric". The Glasgow Catholics
have a perception of society closer to the Maussian
"Sociological apperception". Society for them is a unity
and each individual is deemed part of a larger whole. This
can be seen for example, in their attitude, discussed earlier,
to education. The over-arching social "glue" permeating the
structure is Catholicism. This group centredness has the
form of separating the inside from the outside, (and hence
when lined up with the Protestant cosmology gives the shape
of a Dual organisation - see Table II - but without the
specific individual fears of the Protestants. There are no
anomalous insiders for the Catholics. Their boundary between
the inside and the outside is rigid, stable and clearly
defined, not shifting and nebulous like the Protestants'.
The Symbolic boundary is Catholicism: Irish = Catholic,
and Catholic = Irish. To be Catholic is to be part of the
group; to be non-Catholic is to be excluded. This is a
secure ideological base from which to expand. Enemies are
outside and therefore can be dealt with. The interior is
secure. Women are not dangerous, but a complimentary part
of the whole. Since there are no dangers within, the
ultimate social retreat into Secret Societies is not necessary
for the Catholics. Hence Catholics are able to forcefully
expand, to take chances; they are the minority which acts
as a majority. On the other hand the Protestants cannot
take chances: they are the majority who behave as a minority.

Thus we have a comparison of the Boundary formation

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of the two groups, clarifying the different ways in which
they defend themselves against the dangers of the universe.
I have argued that the Scots build boundaries in their
peculiar fashion due to the template operating in Scottish
culture, a template forged and developed throughout Scottish
history, a product of Geographical, Historical, Natural,
and Social forces, all of which I have examined. I have not
enough material to suggest why the Irish form boundaries in
the way they do. I suggest that in the final analysis they
are also reacting to some structuring process but that a deep
historical study must be undertaken to determine what this
is.

        The division in cosmology is perfectly illustrated
by examining the way in which both sides perceive Mary Queen
of Scots, as I noted earlier.

        In the light of the template, the reason for the
division in cosmology becomes clear. For the Catholics,
Mary _is_ Catholicism, a symbol of the social whole - a Saint,
being more than just an individual, an embodiment of the
Blessed Virgin, the sacred wife and mother figure. She
stands above, and for Catholic society - the essence of
Catholicism - eventually martyred for the faith.

        For the Protestants, on the other hand, she is an
individual, a revolting anomalous person who breaches _all_
their cherished categories. Firstly, she is a woman (the
major channel through which sin comes into the world; woman
is the witch, the defiler of the social and organic body
only rendered safe by being "well married"). Secondly, she
is the adulteress - endangering society by anomalous sex
and therefore by implication, a harlot. Thirdly, she is a
Catholic - the epitome of the hated outsider. Finally, she
is a _female monarch_ - a traditionally male role, despised
by the Scots in any case. Thus for Lowland Scots, Mary Queen
of Scots is analogous to the Jewish Pig. She alone is the
epitome of all enemies internal and external, the single

multivalent symbol that can trigger off the defensive fears
of the Protestants. She is capable of activating the template.

These conclusions have implications for the situation
in Ulster. It has been suggested by several scholars, that
although Ireland has been invaded many times in its history,
only one group has failed to assimilate with the local
population - the "Plantation Scots" (Heslinga 1962, Moore 1974).
It could be suggested, that given the template under which
they laboured, that the Scots had no option; that the root
of the present Ulster troubles lies, not in Ireland as is
usually assumed, but in Scotland; that the Ulster situation
is a creation of the Scottish mind; and finally that the
"Irish Problem" is a misnomer, and should perhaps be
reformulated, the "Scottish Problem".

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