

Gaelic Borderlines and Borderlands in the New Cultural Geography of Scotland

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‘Scottish literature is any literature written in Scotland’: it is a simple proposition, and Scotland has recognizable borders, yet ‘national’ borders have a history of shifting in a way that can create cultural and geographical ambiguity. Conflicting accounts of history may also exist, perhaps in different national languages. The essentialist view of Scottish literature as a holistic product of a single literary tradition based largely on borders, once a commonplace of literary studies, has increasingly been called into question by Scottish cultural historians working especially on the twentieth-century Scottish novel. In his study *The Modern Scottish Novel*, for instance, Cairns Craig questions this view of Scottish literature and finds uncertainty in what a work of literature must exhibit to be ‘Scottish’:

...the tradition is a space of debate, a dialogue between the interacting possibilities of a medium shaped by those living in Scotland--its languages and its economic and social circumstances--and within the institutions which give shape to its national imaginings (Craig 33).

Even so, as Gerard Carruthers points out in his review of Cairns Craig book, there is a danger also of ‘reinscribing too unitary a cultural identity upon Scotland’ by placing too much weight on Calvinism as a shared and distinctively Scottish influence on writers in or from Scotland (369). Carruthers finds Craig rather ironically ‘appropriating the modern cultural trauma shared by Scotland with the rest of the west’ and calling it ‘Calvinism’ when that ‘trauma’ applies to Scotland, thus achieving a new essentialism and a faulty holism in his conception of what makes Scottish literature Scottish (371).

History is another dimension to the definition of ‘Scottish literature’, and since ‘history’ is a space of theoretical contention, we can suggest that ‘Scottish literature’, examined historically, is also a space of theoretical contention. Problems of history and geography are also problems of ideology and reception. George Boyce and Alan O’Day in their introduction to *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy* tell us that ‘history above all is the property of those who control the political apparatus’ and ‘is often identified with efforts by some historians to propagate a different political agenda’ (2). Though a truly objective reconstruction of the past is perhaps impossible, too often what passes for history is a backformation written to address present concerns from a particular perspective rather than discuss the past either dispassionately or at least inclusively. Whether it was written 100 years ago or yesterday, the problem with a history has often been the problem of the ‘presentmindedness’ of the ‘historian’:

'Presentmindedness', in some contexts an innocent historical perspective, has nonetheless become a coded phrase for history with a purpose, a political purpose meant to change, not uphold, currently existing ideologies or institutions (2).

In other words, historiography is ideological, and sometimes that ideology runs away with other aspects of the historical text, like its ability to actually reflect certain aspects of the past.

As text, 'Scottish Gaelic literature' is a phrase that is capable of exposing partially hidden historical power struggles, connections and cultural identities long obscured by the essentialist view of Scottish literature and the related holistic conceptualization of a community and nation of 'Scotland'. The juxtaposition of 'Scottish' and 'Gaelic' results in an oxymoron if it is the essentialist view of Scottish literature and culture that is meant, or even the Calvinist one. The phrase has a vestigial quality: it is a reminder that something once existed and was even important, but is probably no longer useful and may not be clearly remembered or even noticed. Scotland was once part of a vibrant Gaelic language zone, then of a receding one with progressively shifting rather than clear-cut linguistic and cultural, and political, boundaries. And just as the border is not clear *between*, it is not clear *within*. If 'Scottish' must be questioned geographically, its internal division of 'Highland' and 'Lowland' must also be questioned, and even within the category of 'Highland' itself there is an unnecessary amalgam of mainland and insular: the Highlands and the Islands. Just as, geographically and historically, the Highlands are separate from the Lowlands, in a similar way the Hebridean islands (once ruled by the Lord of the Isles) are themselves separate from the Highlands in some significant aspects of material culture, history and geography. Also, the Isles, the Hebrides, include several islands now considered to belong to 'Ireland.'ⁱ The Lords of the Isles, with their power base centred locally in the various branches of their clan (the Gaelic family of *Mac Domhnaill*: MacDonalds or MacDonnells) and their allies, give us a history that forces us to problematize the political divisions 'Ireland' and 'Scotland' because the MacDonnells' historically influential sovereignty, at its height in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at times extended from the mainland of Argyll to the Glens of Antrim, and so was known to include not only the hegemony of the Isles, but significant portions of both the Irish and the Scottish mainland.ⁱⁱ Since this was sovereign territory into the early modern period, and culturally and linguistically non-discontinuous, a clear-cut 'border' between Scotland and Ireland across the North Channel of the Irish Sea was an ideological construction, a desired outcome of Scots Royal hegemony and later of British colonialism, rather than something existing in cultural specifics or particulars.

While the Gaelic word long recognized the difference between 'Scotland' as a *geographical* feature (*Albain*) and the island of Ireland itself (*Éire*), perhaps the history of much of the modern period on both sides of this constructed divide reflects an attempt by hegemonic forces in London, those working from an Anglo-centric perspective, to 'make a reality' out of a posited *cultural* division in order to drive a wedge between 'troublesome' regions.ⁱⁱⁱ Though it changed with the times, the influence of the former lordship never really came to an end; the Macdonnells and Macdonalds have remained influential right up to modern times—on both sides of the 'borderline.' So it is clear, historically at least, that the Isles, the islands of the Hebrides, are a zone of continuity as well as of transition, and that they give us a *borderland* rather than a *borderline*.

This historically positioned political 'anti-division', the lordship of the Isles, sits uncomfortably against hard binary conceptualizations of 'Ireland' and 'Scotland' and has many aspects beyond politics to include cultural and literary anti-divisions which in fact

extended well beyond the MacDonalds themselves. The Gaelic cultural continuity which lies in back of Macdonald lordship includes almost too many items to mention and is well represented in recent historical scholarship.^{iv} A list here could include the church, particularly the Columban church, a shared factor across the North Channel, and also the unique Gaelic church offices of *coarb* (*comharba*) and Erenagh (*airchindeach*); also the *kindred* of St. Columba (the O'Donnells), which developed into the kindred of MacDuff in Scotland (including the Robertsons, Mackintoshs, Shaws, Abernethys, and the house of Wemyss); bagpipes; ash-stick sports (Irish Hurling and Scottish Shinty); whisky or whiskey (as a unique product of the Gaelic cultural economy); rough-coated sight hounds (wolfhounds or deerhounds); jigs and reels; step dancing; vernacular architecture (town and countryside); castles, sub-Norman tower houses (not the Scots Baronial style of North-eastern Scotland); sacred wells and healing stones; *síle na gig* figures, and even DNA: a recent study in the *American Journal of Human Genetics* indicates that almost 20 percent of Scottish males in central and western Scotland (and a similar number in the north of Ireland) descend in the male line from a single individual Irish warlord of former times, specifically Niall of the Nine Hostages (c. 450 AD) or one of his line, the ancestor of many Gaelic families on both sides of the channel, including the O'Donnells and MacDuffs, O'Neills and MacNeills, and MacLachlans and MacLaughlins and their relatives.^v This is certainly backed up by the heraldic record: West-Highland heraldry, including that of the Isles, is distinctive, historically, from the heraldic practice in the rest of Scotland, but shares the same style and devices with the Northwest of Ireland, where Niall's kindred originated. This heraldry consists of distinctive charges of political-tribal significance (such as the Salmon, the Red Hand, in various forms, and the Galley) and involves the same family lines, those of O'Neill (*Cineal Eoghain*) and O'Donnell (*Cineal Conaill*) and also the MacDonalds (*Oirghialla* or *Airghialla*), the MacLeods of Skye (*Síol Tormod*) and the O'Flahertys (*Ui Briuin*).^{vi}

We can begin, however, with the Gaelic *language*, the basis of the phrase under consideration, 'Scottish Gaelic literature.' This descriptive phrase may indicate texts written in a special kind of 'Gaelic' used exclusively in 'Scotland', especially in former times. Yet most scholars now see 'Scottish Gaelic literature' as having been essentially Irish in the sense that the same Gaelic dialect was used simultaneously in Scotland and Ireland for literary purposes; even down to the end of the eighteenth century, and certainly well beyond the date of the political conquest of Ireland about 1600.^{vii} Themes and subjects are also often the same. So it can be said that Scottish Gaelic literature is fundamentally 'Irish', from a cultural standpoint, with a slight proviso being dependent on whether you are talking about (a) manuscripts of so-called Scottish Gaelic produced in 'Scotland' but identical to texts also produced in Ireland, or (b) texts produced by Gaelic monks and scholars in Europe, which could be claimed by either Scotland or Ireland. 'Scottish Gaelic literature' seems then to refer to Gaelic texts scribally produced in Scotland or written by Scots who wrote in Gaelic while living abroad, such as clerics working on the Continent during the Middle Ages.^{viii}

What is interesting here is the struggle by scholars to pin a literature or a text to a geographical label: 'Scotland', 'Ireland.' Clearly there is every indication that this does not work well with Gaelic texts, they are often equally valid as Irish or Scottish as long as you say that they can be, in such cases, 'also' Scottish or Irish.^{ix} Were the *Mac Mhuirich* O'Dalys being 'Irish' or 'Scottish' when they left the hereditary position of King's Poet at the court of Cathal O'Connor of Connacht in 1213 and became hereditary bards to the Lord of the Isles, a job held into the eighteenth century, writing *The Red Book of Clanranald* in careful literary Irish?^x A family of the O'Connors had settled in the Isles as hereditary doctors to the Campbells and Macdougalls by 1622, some O'Hanleys, also from Connacht, are found in South and North Uist as early as 1600, and O'Mays from Connacht appear as priests and

ministers, as well as lairds, in Kintyre from 1536 until at least 1638. There were also O'Dochartys and O'Brolachans from Donegal living in Islay during the same period, and O'Shannys and O'Loynachans from the Irish midlands in Kintyre.^{xi} In addition, the *Mac Mhuirich* O'Dalys were not the only bards brought to the Isles from *Éire* for their literary expertise: O'Morrison from Donegal settled in Lewis in the Outer Hebrides as bards to the MacLeods. Black tells us that Toirdelbhach O'Morrison the bard witnessed the contract of fosterage whereby Sir Rory MacLeod of Dunvegan gave his son Norman in fosterage to the chief of the Mackenzies in 1614.^{xii} Sometimes it was a 'borrowing' of services rather than a transplantation, often with a surprisingly international flavour: in 1563 John MacBeath, hereditary physician to the Lord of the Isles, 'chief physician within the bounds of the Isles' (Black *Surnames* 63), gave over some of his Gaelic medical books and notes from personal as well as Continental sources to be copied and consolidated under the scribal hand of Hugh O'Kennavain (*Aodh O CeannDubháin*), one of a family who were hereditary physicians to the O'Flahertys in West Connacht (Woulfe 458), and to Cairbry and David O'Kearney (*Cairbre* and *Daibhí O Cearnaigh*) from Connacht or Donegal (Woulfe 460) and probably scribes to the O'Donnells, the chief power in the area.^{xiii} John O'Kearney (*Seaán O Cearnaigh*), long the treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, also from Connacht, was responsible for the first book ever printed in Gaelic, perhaps as an extension of the scribal activity of his relations.^{xiv} This was *Aibidil Gaoidheilge, agus Caiticiosma*, printed in Dublin in 1571.^{xv} He created the type face, known now as 'Queen Elizabeth' (Elizabeth was financing the project), and provided the stamps, forms and matrices and other requirements of the printer's trade, and wrote the text. His translation of the *New Testament* from the Greek, in collaboration with several other clerics, resulted in another first, the printing of a complete New Testament in Irish in 1602.^{xvi} This was eventually bound up with a later translation of the Old Testament by Bishop William Bedell to make the first Bible in Irish, intended for distribution in the Scottish Highlands.^{xvii}

Just as some families can thus be claimed by both *Éire* and *Albain*, so a new cultural geography of Scotland states that rather than a text being 'claimed' by scholars working *for* Dublin or *for* Edinburgh, it is rather clear that the problem must be conceived differently, that the categories, Scottish and Irish, are the problem, that there is a better way, a 'new' way of classification that does not require such anachronistic labelling: this would be to emphasize instead that there existed a Gaelic area with vastly more held in common than held differently, though this flies somewhat in the face of the Scottish 'tartan and kilt' industry inherited from the Victorian era.^{xviii} Indeed, clothing is itself actually one of the things that ties Scotland to Ireland, historically.^{xix} Dress conventions, high or low, were supported by a Gaelic cottage economy which fed trade across the North Channel. Saffron, for example, was produced in Ireland for use as the traditional dye for linen garments in the Highlands. Highland habits of clothing and equipment were not unknown in Ireland: certainly there were Highland Gallowglasses throughout Ireland, employed by Irish aristocrats in the centuries before the Elizabethan Conquest, such as those represented on the fourteenth-century tomb of Cooey-nagal O'Cahan (*Cú-Maighe-na-Gal O Cathain*) in Dungiven Priory near Derry. Though heavy on armament (long swords and conical 'scull caps') the clothing is basically medieval Irish: linen shirts quilted, padded and kilted to the knee. We know the MacDonnells of Kintyre, Antrim and the Isles brought finished plaid mantels to Ireland as an exchange commodity: they could have been tartan or uni-coloured.^{xx} Martin Martin tells us in his *Description of the Western Isles of Scotland* (written in English though Martin was a Gaelic native speaker from Skye) that, regarding dress in the Isles about 1695, 'Every isle differes from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in the breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those

places are able at first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence' (129), though regarding the older *leni-croich*, or 'saffron shirt', Martin states that 'the islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago' and they 'now generally use coat, waistcoat, and breeches, as elsewhere' (128). However, this original large linen shirt was not forgotten, and can be seen in carvings such as those on the tomb of Coeey-na-gal O'Cahan, or on the grave slabs of the Scottish kings at Iona.^{xxi} And while tartan therefore existed prior to Victoria, specifically 'clan' as opposed to regional or even personal tartans dates from about 1815, encouraged by the new mechanized tartan weaving industry and by Royal activity at Balmoral.^{xxii}

A theoretically informed re-consideration of the term 'Scottish Gaelic literature', then, can centre on a process of demystification, and has the power to produce new perspectives on the category of 'Scottish' itself. Additionally, a review of Scottish Gaelic texts in context might suggest ways that the term 'Scottish', as it is applied to the literature or to the geography of 'North Britain' or alternatively 'East Ireland', itself might be problematized, deconstructed or redefined by asking several questions: 'how "Scottish" are Scottish Gaelic texts?' and 'If mystification has occurred, what has been its effect on the reception of Gaelic literature?'

To some extent, 'Scottish' literature is a creation or construction raised in parallel with the growing eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century idea of a 'Scottish' nation. To what degree has nationalism suppressed culturalism? As nationalism was foisted onto the public, what was obscured? Was a 'Scottish literature' the product of an ancient and unified kingdom with all that that implies, including Gaelic literature, or was it in some significant way a mystification or obfuscation emerging out of the events in Edinburgh in 1822 (the royal visit, Sir Walter Scott's romantic sense of nationhood) and aimed at minimizing any sense of real diversity by de-emphasizing or overturning the earlier sense of 'two nations' in Scotland with its prevailing perception of 'Irishness' in the Highlands and Scots-oriented Lowlands perhaps akin to the North of England? A perception of two nations was at one time clearly indicated by the use of 'Earse' to describe the Gaelic language of the Highlands, 'Earse' being a Scots variant of 'Irish' based on Middle English *Erish*, meaning 'Irish', 'Eire' being the Gaelic name for Ireland. Sir Walter Scott was fascinated with Highland Gaelic culture, with a people and a way of life still to be seen towards the end of the eighteenth century, and at the time called 'Earse' or 'Irish' even in Scotland. In Chapter twenty-two of *Rob Roy* (1817), for instance, Scott's narrator tells us how Rob Roy MacGregor mysteriously talks to one of his clansmen in his native language 'by again addressing him in what I afterwards understood to be the Irish, Earse, or Gaelic, explaining, probably, the services which he required...' (192). Another reference to Gaelic as 'Earse' or 'Irish' occurs in chapter eleven of Scott's *The Legend of Montrose* (1819), when Lorimer in his Highland tower informs his guest: 'only seven of our household out of sixty persons understand the Scottish tongue' (104). He goes on to describe how the good men and women of the castle go about their business 'talking Earse at the top of their throats.'^{xxiii} Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* with Samuel Johnson in 1773 provides us with an earlier view of the Highlands and the position of 'Earse':

Miss M'Lean produced some Erse poems by John M'Lean, who was a famous bard in Mull, and had died only a few years ago. He could neither read nor write. She read and translated two of them; one, a kind of elegy on Sir John M'Lean's being obliged to fly his country in 1715; another, a dialogue between two Roman Catholick young ladies, sisters, whether it was better to be a nun or to marry. I could not perceive much poetical imagery in the translation. Yet all of our company who understood Erse, seemed charmed with the original. There may, perhaps, be some choice of expression, and some excellence of arrangement, that cannot be shewn in translation (352-353).

Continuing our examination of ‘Earse’, or ‘Irish’ as a descriptor for the Highlands, we can cite the famous Highland poet and ‘translator’, James Macpherson, who entitled his first major collection *‘Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language’* (1760). And there is the Byronic ‘Erse’ of *Loch na Garr* in Aberdeenshire.^{xxiv}

Throughout the Middle Ages and even to the beginning of the eighteenth century, then, ‘Scottish literature’ was somewhat Irish. The phrase ‘Scottish Gaelic literature’ can deconstruct a Scottish ‘grand narrative’ by implying and also revealing alternative borderlines and borderlands enabling an alternative mental map of culture and geography. And if (part of) Scotland was part of Ireland, was not (part of) Ireland part of Scotland (in terms of cultural factors such as literature)? ‘Scotland’ is a place where there are zones of contact between Scots and Gaelic, but this happens in Ulster as well, there is a history of that, so we can suggest that while the Highlands and Islands are part of Ireland, in some real sense, Ulster, a part of ‘Ireland’, can also be seen as part of what is ‘Scottish’ or can be seen as contributing to ‘Scottish literature’, depending on how broadly that category is re-defined, though ‘Scottish’ here must describe either something quite a bit less or quite a bit more than the current national borders. The city of Glasgow has always been a regional city for a large swath of area spanning the North Channel, while Ulster is the new ‘borderland’ or border zone between Glasgow and Dublin: that is why it is still being contested. It is liminal territory, neither in, nor out, and the literature of Ulster-connected authors reflects this: Maria Edgeworth’s gothic anxiety as a nineteenth-century protestant; Benedict Keily’s struggle for recognition as a twentieth-century Catholic. The Macdonalds problematize this liminal zone in a number of ways: while Jacobean Ulster was full of Scots-speaking Lowland settlers, in the case of the Macdonells we have aristocrats who were considered ‘Scottish’ (a political decision) but were culturally Irish/Hebridean Gaels, and more interesting still, this placed the Crown authorities into problems of typology as well as conceptual difficulties of political ontology during the turbulent plantation of Ulster. A related issue is the name ‘British Isles’, which some have suggested should be revised to ‘The Irish Isles and Britain’, a change unlikely to take hold, but hard to argue with from a logical point of view. The Hebridean Isles remain New Historicist places of dissent, and given the eventual deconstruction of the Victorian ‘myth’ of the Highlander (and ‘all things Highland’), Martin Martin’s descriptions really point to a shared culture stretching from Ulster to the tip of Lewis.^{xxv} When this shared culture was supposed to have come to an end or been supplanted is not quite clear, though it was eventually made ‘little Irish men dressed in green, big Highlanders dressed in Tartan’ in the nineteenth-century books.^{xxvi} From the peasant, fishing and building houses, to the Island aristocrat sailing from Ulster to Oban, the reality on the ‘ground’ was of course one of continuity between these westerly and easterly boundaries of Gaeldom. A related revisionist political ontology can be seen in Ohlmeyer’s *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660*, which significantly resets the date and nature of Gaelic ‘submergence’ to a more modern date, with clear implications for Scotland, or at least the Isles and the Highlands.

But if the ‘old’ history was ‘written by the victors’, who writes the theoretically informed revision? The new victors. In the new political climate in Scotland more attention is now being paid to Gaelic. But there has always been a ‘Scottish/Irish polity’ on some level, and the literature reflects this. It is difficult to suppress or submerge this, for it ‘keeps coming back up’ upon considered reflection. The former received idea was that a specifically ‘Scottish’ Gaelic literature began ‘when the connection with Ireland was lost in the 16th century’. But the connection is not lost. Gaelic texts written in literary Irish were read in both Ireland and Scotland up to Victorian times, and trying rather too hard to interpret ‘Scottish

Gaelic' as a different language from Irish simply to neatly match a political entity called 'Scotland' obscures the rich cultural and historical complexity of the area. The fallacy of 'separation' has become more clear through the commercial success of Gaelic folk music, where it certainly seems difficult to draw a confident line between the productions of Skye and those of Donegal, whose linguistic vernaculars also remain mutually intelligible. As we have seen, a corpus of texts normally sorted as constituting 'Scottish Gaelic literature' by Scottish universities are also reasonably claimed by Irish universities, while many Gaelic manuscripts extant in Continental libraries are equally claimed by both Scotland and Ireland. Even those texts which are definitely of 'Scottish' origin, such as the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* or the *Book of Deer* are difficult to interpret meaningfully outside of their 'Irish' or 'Pan-Gaelic' context.^{xxvii}

Many things have contributed to the project of mystification by which connections between Ireland and Scotland were 'severed' at the level of the text and on other levels, and these claims, attitudes and assumptions by earlier authors make an interesting subject for new readers informed by relatively new techniques of literary analysis. In a way, the Highlands were easy to mystify, because they were emptied of people and the Highlanders' descendents were to be found in the industrial centres, not on the croft. The Islands, however, are more historically continuous or less disrupted by this process. Victorian Scots living in cities eventually turned to texts for a sense of who they 'were' historically, and this process gave them greater vulnerability to bourgeois propaganda than would have been otherwise. Ulster was subject to a similar process, in time: consolation, appropriation, mystification, hegemony. The power relations of the industrial age demanded new metaphors to replace former ones, it was social engineering, but it effectively obscured the past for a large sector of the Scottish urban population. Victorian mystification and mythmaking was an effective strategy, and a Scottish literature played its part, for it participated in the construction of a received 'grand narrative' of Scottish history. Beyond that however, some Scottish texts are Irish texts (Scottish Gaelic literature) and some Irish texts are Scottish texts (Ulster texts in Scots), and there is a certain complexity to the way the literary borders have been trespassed. By no means are all Scottish texts subject to 'Irish' redefinition, but enough of them are to justify that we modify our mental maps concerning Gaelic borderlines in literature.

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ⁱ See for instance Donald Monro's *A Description of the Occidental i.e. Western Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999), originally published in 1549, which discusses Rathlin as an island 'pertaining to Irland and possest ther many zeiris by Clandonald of Kintyre" (302).

ⁱⁱ Several recent books deal with this problematic of history, including James Michael Hill's *Fire and Sword, Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Rise of Clan Ian Mor, 1538-1590* (London: Athlone Press, 1993), Hector McDonnell's *The Wild Geese of the Antrim MacDonnells*, which describes the contribution of Antrim MacDonnells to Scottish Jacobite cause up to 1746 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996), Jane H. Ohlmeyer's *Civil War and Restoration in Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Political Career of Randal Macdonnell, Marquis of Antrim* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), and Simon Kingston's *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: the Lordship of the Clann Domhnaill of Antrim* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004). The titles alone of the last two suggest the problem of 'borders' in the case of the Macdonalds/Macdonnells and their world. For a brief overview of the various branches of the Clan Donald and their relationships both to each other and to other clans, see my *Clans and Families of Ireland and Scotland* (London: McFarland, 1989), available online at <http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/cairney/91.htm>.

ⁱⁱⁱ In his study *Ireland and Scotland* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), Ray Ryan discusses 'the appropriation of the past for contemporary purposes' and 'the rewriting of history in the face of present-day anxieties' in his critical examination of postcolonial issues supposedly held in common in Ireland and Scotland and employed in Republican discourse and in discourse about devolution in Scotland (2).

^{iv} Many scholars are turning to the evidence of continuity rather than difference where Ireland and Scotland are concerned: see Dauvit Broun's *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999); William Kelly and John R. Young's *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), and Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan's *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005). Jacobitism and nationalism as a pan-Gaelic phenomenon are explored in David Dickson's *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004) and J.G. Simm's *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-1691* (Dublin: Four Court's Press, 2000). Some points in the record are particularly glaring, such as the existence of Kincardine O'Neil, the oldest village in Royal Deeside in Aberdeenshire in North-eastern Scotland. Few remember that this was part of the barony ceded by none other than Robert the Bruce to his valuable Gaelic allies from the *Cineal Eoghain* in Tyrone (the O'Neills), after the victory at Bannockburn in 1314. Not only did Bruce go to Ireland for support and protection prior to Bannockburn, but afterwards he sent his brother, an ally of the *Cineal Eoghain*, to be King of Ireland. See the discussion of the 'Irish connection' in the Scottish War of Independence in Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *A Popular History of Ireland* (New York: Sadlier, 1876; Whitefish Mt.: Kessinger Publishing, 2004).

^v See Daniel G. Bradley et al. 'A Y-Chromosome Signature of Hegemony in Gaelic Ireland.' *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 78.2 (February 2006) pp. 334-338. These data reflect cross-channel movements of the Viking period, perhaps as early as the ninth century. Of course, Pictish *Albain* had already been invaded by the Irish of *Dál Riata* in Antrim, who founded an expanded kingdom, Dalriada, which already, by the end of the fifth century, encompassed both Antrim and Argyll (*Airthir-Ghaidheal*, 'the land of the East Gael'), and the Isles.

^{vi} Such politically significant charges as the Salmon, the Red Hand, and the Galley were important pictographs throughout the Gaelic world, carved on stone as well as displayed in other heraldic ways (shields, flags, etc.). See the text of Alistair Campbell's St. Andrew's Day lecture, given before the Heraldry Society of Scotland in Edinburgh (30 November 1996), available online (1 January 2005) at <http://www.scotsheraldry.com/The%20Rolls/WestHighland/Westhighland.htm> (last visited 30 October 2006). The church at Clonca in Inishowen, on the northern tip of Donegal (and therefore of Ireland), on the other hand, has a grave slab for an Isles man, Magnus MacOrristin, probably a Gallowglass, carved with a claymore and a hurley. See Peter Harbison's *Guide to the National Monuments in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970) p. 65.

^{vii} It has been fashionable in the past to describe a 'Scottish Gaelic' as developing organically and independently because of a split or isolation along 'national' borders caused, supposedly, by the destruction of Gaelic Ireland, which, in this line of thinking, caused Scots Gaels to be 'cut off' and forced to develop a 'new' (and uniquely Scottish) culture. However, it seems it was the conquest of *Scotland*, circa 1750, rather than the conquest of *Ireland*, circa 1600, which caused the real 'split', since there was no end to the common literary language being employed on both sides of the North Channel and among the Islands until about 1800. At that point, it was not a 'survivor' vitality among the Scots which boldly and independently and separately developed into something *more* or *different* than Irish literary Gaelic as a result the 'failure' of Irish Gaeldom against the English, a myth of a 'gain' or a 'plus' for Scotland; rather it was just that writing in the Highlands became sub-literary and de-institutionalized after the 'failure' of *Scottish* Gaeldom against the English, Gaelic literature there being driven underground where it had to develop a much more circumscribed vernacular tradition as a result of prescriptions and clearances towards the end of the eighteenth century, a lack for and cut off of Scotland from Ireland, rather than of Ireland from Scotland. This difference in 'direction' deconstructs the national myth, the more so because its first instance was originally constructed to support that myth. There was no 'organic development' below the level of literary Gaelic until *after* 1750. See for instance the discussion online at Electric Scotland <http://www.electricscotland.com/history/articles/claims.htm> (last visited 30 October 2006).

^{viii} *The Book of Deer* is a case in point. It is cited as significant for the Gaelic notes in the margins of its folios: 'Amid the Latin text and the Celtic illuminations there can be found the oldest pieces of Gaelic writing to have survived from early Medieval Scotland', as discussed online (20 June 2003) at <http://www.bookofdeer.co.uk/homepage.html> (last visited 30 October 2006). Yet the tenth-century book, though eventually, by the beginning of the eleventh century, in the possession of the Monastery of Deer in Northeast Scotland, is nevertheless in a style clearly reminiscent of the earlier *Book of Durrow* and *Book of Dimma*, both produced in the Irish midlands. Deer, of course, is a Columban foundation, another link to Ireland, and the notes, which are the real interest of the book, are written in Old Irish.

^{ix} Monks in Scotland writing in Old Irish might be from Scotland or Ireland. To confuse the issue, Continental writers have long referred to influential Irish clerical writers of the Middle Ages as 'Scots', referring to the ultimately Latin etymology of 'Scottish' as 'from Ireland', or from the Gaelic area at any event. The second edition of *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* lists a number of medieval Irish clerics on the Continent with the name 'Scotus', such as John Scotus Eriugena (5:514), Marianus Scotus of Mainz (9:163), Marianus Scotus of Regensburg, from Donegal (9:164), Sedulius Scotus (7:246) and Jacobus Martinus Scotus (1:676). John Duns Scotus, however, appears to have actually been from Scotland (4: 934) while further confusion is caused by such foundations as the *Schottenkirche* in Vienna, which was an Irish foundation which acquired Scottish patronage in the 17th century.

^x See George F. Black's *Surnames of Scotland* (New York: NYPL, 1946) p. 569. There has been much recent discussion of the *Red Book of Clanranald* as a balance to the emphasis placed upon the *Book of Deer* and *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* in Scottish Gaelic studies. See J. Derrick McClure's 'Scottish Literature in 1400' (1000 Years of Scottish Literature. A conference of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies. University of Glasgow. 18 November, 2000.) available online at <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/ScotLit/ASLS/DMcClure.html> (30 January 2002) (last visited 30 October 2006). See also Ronald I. Black, "In Search of the Red Book of

Clanranald” (*Clan Donald Magazine* 8, 1979) available online (29 December 2005) at <http://www.clandonald.org.uk/cdm08/cdm08a11.htm> (last visited 30 October 2006).

^{xi} O’Duibhnes, O’Suibhnes and O’Beolains had been on the West coast of Scotland since the Viking Age, and show up later as MacTavishes, MacSweeneys (in Donegal) and MacBeolains (under the MacKenzies) respectively. See Black, *Surnames* pp. 634-8. Migration also went the other way, as evidenced by gallowglass families who established permanent residence in *Éire*, such as the MacSweeneys (formerly of Castle Sween in Argyll) and the *Mac Cailín* Campbells in Donegal and the Macdonalds throughout Ireland.

^{xii} See Black’s *Surnames* p. 638. Sir Rory had been given a special drinking cup in 1596 (still on display at Dunvegan castle), a gift from Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, chief of the O’Neills, as a token of thanks for Rory’s material support against the Crown during O’Neill’s rebellion. An inscription in Latin on the silver rim of [the cup](#) reads: ‘Katherine, daughter of King Nial, wife of MacGuire Prince of Fermanagh had me made in the year of God 1493’, ‘Nial’ being a great-great uncle to Hugh O’Neill.

^{xiii} The book so produced is now housed in the British library. It was made up of two parts: the later part being a tract on surgery, the former part being a copy of the mid-fifteenth-century Irish translation by Cormac MacDonleavy (*Cormac Mac Duinnshleibhe*) of *Regimen Sanitatis*, itself a Latin text based in part on the early twelfth-century medical tract *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* attributed to John of Milan and in part on the early fourteenth-century *Rosa Anglica* attributed to John of Gaddesden. The MacDonleavys or MacElevays were famous as physicians to the O’Donnells. See the discussion at University College Cork’s Corpus of Electronic Text’s online (1 January 2006) at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G600010/text001.html> (last visited 30 October 2006).

^{xiv} Liam O Muirthile discusses Seaán O Cearnaigh’s origin in Sligo and his time at Cambridge in ‘Seán O Cearnaigh.’ *The Irish Times*. (11 October 2000), available online in ‘*An Teanga Bheo*’, the Irish language section of *The Irish Times* (11 October 2000), at <http://www.ireland.com/gaeilge/teangabeo/2000/1011/peann.htm> (last visited 30 October 2006). See also the discussion of O’Kearney’s relationship to the newly founded Trinity College and other aspects of his career in Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s *History* (Whitefish Mt.: Kessinger Publishing, 2004) p. 60. Though the Columban O’Kearneys linked to the O’Donnells are of more recent importance, there is also mention of another ecclesiastical O’Cearnaigh from Sligo and Connacht: according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Murtough O’Kearney (Muircheartach O Cearnaigh) of Sligo, Chief Lector of the Irish, died at Clonmacnoise (Clúain mic Nois) in 1106.

^{xv} There is a new edition by the late Brian O Cuív of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies’ School of Celtic Studies (Dublin; DIAS, 1994).

^{xvi} This was Archbishop O’Daniel’s famous *New Testament* in Gaelic (1602), printed in Dublin by John Franke and dedicated to King James. Several noted ecclesiastics worked on the project including Dr. O’Daniel himself (*Uilliam O Domhnaill*), and also Nicholas Walsh, Bishop of Ossory, who began the project with O’Kearney, and Dr. Nehemiah Donnellan, Archbishop of Tuam. See Ward, et al. *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, Vol. 4. (18 Vols., Cambridge: CUP, 1921) p. 83.

^{xvii} Bishop William Bedell’s *Old Testament* in Irish, translated from the Hebrew and completed during his lifetime (1571-1642), did not see print until 1685, being printed in London in that year by Robert Everingham. Everingham also produced this resulting Gaelic Bible, *An Biobla Naomhtha*, the first complete Irish Bible printed in one volume (London: Robert Everingham, 1690). This Bible was printed at the expense of Robert Boyle (1627–91), the eminent philosopher and author of ‘Boyle’s Law’ of chemistry. See the discussion of Everingham’s work in Valerie Hotchkiss and Charles C. Ryrie, eds., *Formatting the Word of God* (Dallas: Bridwell Library, 1998) p. 35, available online (30 September 1998) at http://www.smu.edu/bridwell/publications/ryrie_catalog/6_9.htm (last visited 30 October 2006).

^{xviii} The Victorian construction of ‘all things Highland’ dates particularly from the adoption of Aberdeen as Queen Victoria’s special retreat, as discussed extensively by Hobsbawm, et. al in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992). Queen Victoria’s uncle, George IV, like many of the time an enthusiast of Scott’s romantic evocations of Scotland, got things going by wearing kilt on a visit to Edinburgh in 1822, at Scott’s instigation, and throwing big parties where no one was admitted unless dressed in a military version of the ‘little kilt’ (as opposed to the ‘plaid’, the full traditional Gaelic mantel of tartan wool). The resulting high season of

hunting lodges and ‘ghillies’ in kilts became somewhat *de rigueur* for the British aristocrat, and travelling to Aberdeen on the new rail lines was eventually more and more a goal of middle class aspiration as well. Of course, ‘ghillies’ were also available for hire by English sportsman in Ireland, not surprising since ‘gillie’ comes from Gaelic *giolla*, ‘a servant or attendant.’

^{xix} Portrait galleries show various stages of development for aristocratic Highland dress, and these do correlate with traditional clothing for Irish aristocrats, with the one difference being the absence of tartan plaids. Compare for instance two portraits by John Michael Wright (1617-1694): The first is a portrait done in 1680 of [Sir Niall O’Neill](#), Baron of Killeleah and Lord Lieutenant of Armagh (now in the Tate Gallery in London), while the second portrait is his almost identical rendering of [Sir Mungo Murray](#) done about 1683 (now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh). O’Neill is shown holding a large Gaelic Targe and Gaelic weapons, including a basket-hilted sword, which is regarded as of Highland Scottish origin, but referred to as the ‘Irish hilt’ in early seventeenth-century writing. See Claude Blair’s ‘The Early Basket Hilt in Britain’ in D. H. Caldwell, ed. *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981) p. 188.

^{xx} Sir John *Cathanach* (‘of the O’Cahans’) MacDonnell of Islay, whose lineal great-grandfather had first acquired a foothold in Antrim and whose great-great-grandfather was Lord of the Isles, was fostered with the O’Cahans in the late 15th century, an example of a typical Highland custom therefore also operating in Ulster during the Gaelic period. See Jonathan Bardon *A History of Ulster* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 2001) p. 68.

^{xxi} Its descendent is also seen in late seventeenth-century portraiture. See note 18, above.

^{xxii} For an up-to-date discussion of ‘clan’ and also Irish tartans, see <http://www.tartans.scotland.net> and <http://www.thescottishweaver.com>.

^{xxiii} *Montrose* p. 104. Scott thus underscores the local predominance of the Earse or Irish language of the Highlands as that Celtic tongue is contrasted with the ‘Scottish tongue’: the Scots language of the more populous South: the point seems to be that if the Earse or Irish language of these Highlanders is strange to the visitor, the Scots language seems equally strange to these Highlanders, for the Highlanders speak Irish.

^{xxiv} See Byron’s note to his poem ‘Lachin y Gair’ in his *Poetical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1979) p. 29: ‘*Lachin y Gair*, or, as it is pronounced in the Erse, *Loch na Garr*, towers proudly pre-eminent in the Northern Highlands, near Invercauld.’

^{xxv} See Martin Martin’s *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999) .

^{xxvi} Scott himself led the way for Scotland, while William Carleton led the way for Ireland in this regard.

^{xxvii} Some of this specifically Scottish Gaelic material involves poetry referring to the events of 1715 or 1745, but these events had just as strong a resonance in Ireland among Gaelic poets there. But the ubiquitous poetical fascination with Ossian and the doings of Finn, a feature in *Albain* and *Érin*, is one of the hallmarks of the pan-Gaelic cultural phenomenon, though Finn is often given a local provenance in the local poetry, such as is the case with Ossianic poems in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, a text with pronounced vernacular elements. See W. J. Watson’s ‘Vernacular Gaelic in the Book of the Dean of Lismore’ in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 31 (1924-25) pp.259-288.

Geography. Although Scotland takes up one third of the territory of the British Isles, its population is not very big. It is the most northern part of the island of Great Britain and is not far away from the Arctic Circle. That's why it is not densely populated: its population is a little over 5 million people. Kilts have deep cultural and historical roots in the country of Scotland and are a sacred symbol of patriotism and honor for a true Scotsman. The word "kilt" is a derivation of the ancient Norse word, kjilt, which means pleated, and refers to clothing that is tucked up and around the body. The Gaelic word "clan" means "family" or "descendants" and the great clans of the 16th and 17th centuries were indeed very similar to enormous families, ruled by powerful chiefs. Keywords: borders; American borderlands; cultural diversity; cross-cultural; demography and population studies; regional development. Although the word "border" and, in close association with it, "borderland," conveys a concept as ancient as the sovereignty of a kingdom, nation, or state, it is Anzaldúa's widely acclaimed book *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987) that has made the conditions of living on the border a focus point of studies across social sciences and humanities over recent decades. The multifaceted conditions of the borderland existence, with respect to gender, race, class, belief, and national and cultural identity, Expand. View via Publisher. Scotland forms the northern half of Great Britain. Rugged uplands separate it from England to the south. Within this border territory north of England the Scots fought many battles to keep their independence. In 1707 Scotland joined with England, and the entire island became a single kingdom, Great Britain. The Scots, however, remain a distinct and proud people, and they have a long history different from that of England. Scotland has long been characterised as a land of romance. It contains ruins of many ancient castles and abbeys, and there is a haunting beauty in its windswept mountains, lo... The land may be divided into three regions: the Highlands in the north, the Central Lowlands and the Southern Uplands. The Highlands are wild and picturesque. The Highlanders of Scotland, 1870. Portraits illustrative of the principal clans and followings and the retainers of the royal household at Balmoral, in the reign of her majesty, by Kenneth Macleay, esq., r.s.a. THE following Portraits and Notices are intended as slight of the Highlanders of Scotland, in the reign of HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA. Highlanders of the present day differ in many respects from their ancestors of the last century; but the ties of blood and clanship, the influence of local associations, and the comparative inaccessibility of the districts, have hitherto preserved most of