

The Glengarry Highland Games, 1948-2003: Problematizing the Role of Tourism, Scottish Cultural Institutions, and the Cultivation of Nostalgia in the Construction of Identities

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Article abstract

In the midst of dynamic socio-economic and cultural conditions, the Glengarry Highland Games were revived in a rural community of Eastern Ontario in 1948. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, this festival became the lifeblood of a movement perpetuating Scottish Highland cultural practices and (re)producing "Scottishness" as the dominant cultural currency in an ethnically diverse county. Using primary evidence in the forms of oral histories, newspapers, and archives, this paper examines how the expansion of spaces and opportunities to celebrate Scottish cultural practices has influenced the social construction of regional and cultural identities in Glengarry County from 1948 to the 21st century.

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Abstract

In the midst of dynamic socio-economic and cultural conditions, the Glengarry Highland Games were revived in a rural community of Eastern Ontario in 1948. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, this festival became the lifeblood of a movement perpetuating Scottish Highland cultural practices and (re)producing "Scottishness" as the dominant cultural currency in an ethnically diverse county. Using primary evidence in the forms of oral histories, newspapers, and archives, this paper examines how the expansion of spaces and opportunities to celebrate Scottish cultural practices has influenced the social construction of regional and cultural identities in Glengarry County from 1948 to the 21st century.

Résumé

Dans le cadre de conditions socioculturelles dynamiques, les Highland Games de Glengarry ont été ranimés dans une collectivité rurale de l'Est de l'Ontario en 1948. Au fur et à mesure de la deuxième moitié du XX^e siècle, ce festival est devenu l'élément vital d'un mouvement perpétuant les pratiques culturelles écossaises highland et (re)produisant le fait écossais comme la composante culturelle dominante dans un comté hétérogène sur le plan ethnique. Cet article examine, grâce à des sources originales telles que des entrevues, des articles de journaux et des archives, comment la multiplication des espaces et des occasions de pratiques culturelles écossaises a influencé la construction sociale des identités régionales et culturelles dans le comté de Glengarry, de 1948 au XXI^e siècle.

At the Glengarry Highland Games' fairground in the summer of 2003, Tallusia Tulugak calmly sat with thousands of spectators witnessing hundreds of Scottish bagpipers playing and marching in unison across a

converted soccer pitch. Tulugak, who is from mixed Inuit and Scots-Canadian lineage, was discovering a part of her heritage that for so long had been the source of anguish and resentment. Growing up in Puvirnituq, Quebec, a Northern Inuit community, her Anglo-Caucasian ancestry had often been the basis of serious discrimination throughout most of her life. An interest in her individual Scottish heritage and identity brought her to Glengarry, a small rural Eastern Ontario county situated on the border of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. After only an afternoon of experiencing the pageantry of the Glengarry Highland Games, Tulugak confided to one local resident that she had finally felt as if she was a part of something—an identity that she had misunderstood for so long. As Tulugak departed from Glengarry, she expressed that she had located Scottish culture and concomitantly an aspect of her own cultural identity (PI/6, 2003). Tulugak's experience at the games alludes to the focus of this paper—how has the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices influenced the social construction of identities in Glengarry County.¹

This paper examines the cultural and socio-economic circumstances that led to the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices within Glengarry County from 1948 to the beginning of the 21st century. The Glengarry Games have become the lifeblood of a movement celebrating and perpetuating Scottish cultural practices in an ethnically diverse community. As the genesis of a cultural renaissance within a rural borderland community of central Canada, the festival has also grown to have a significant impact on the regional identities of local residents. In the 21st century, Glengarry's annual games have become one of the world's largest Scottish Highland celebrations, attracting over 30,000 visitors to a town with less than 800 permanent residents. Using primary evidence in the form of oral histories, newspaper accounts, and archives this paper explores the growth of the Glengarry Highland Games, the subsequent development of the tourism industry, the rise of a supportive network of Scottish cultural institutions, and the social-cultural circumstances that underpinned the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices.² Two critical questions will be addressed to understand the impact of this Scottish sporting and cultural festival on the community it contributes to and exists within: (1) What factors led to the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices?; and (2) How do the cultural resources of a minority ethnic community acquire dominant cultural currency in the construction of local identities?

The Revival of the Glengarry Highland Games

In order to contextualize the influence of this festival on the cultural life of Glengarry County throughout the second half of the 20th century, it is necessary to briefly acknowledge the antecedents of this distinctive community and the origins of the games in the county. In the 1780s, two

successive waves of immigration from the Highlands of Scotland created one of the first Scottish settlements in Upper Canada (MacGillivray and Ross 1979).³ For many of the émigrés who had experienced the British government's attempts to marginalize Highland culture with legislation, including the 1747 Disarming Act, the celebration and perpetuation of Highland cultural practices became a priority in most Canadian communities where Highlanders settled (Jarvie 1991; Graham 1969).⁴ Within a few decades following their arrival, Highlanders in Glengarry had established a Scottish Highland Society in 1819 and began to organize Highland games a few years later (Redmond 1982).⁵ Despite the laudable intent, the festivals in Glengarry were only held for less than a decade before the practice was discontinued. It is important to acknowledge that during this period, Scottish residents in Glengarry formed the overwhelming majority with over 75 percent of the population (MacGillivray and Ross 1979).

Beginning at the turn of the 20th century, the rural farming way of life that had been perpetuated in the county since the late 18th century was being drastically altered. The modern influences of industrialization and urbanization that led to rural depopulation and economic recession fuelled cultural resistance to socio-economic change and created an identity crisis in the county (MacGillivray 1990). Moreover, the established power relations of the region were subverted as the Scottish population that dominated economic, political, and cultural life for over a century was challenged by the emerging Franco-Ontarian community (MacGillivray and Ross 1979). By the late 1940s, Franco-Ontarians represented a clear majority in all of the county's seven municipalities, they held significant economic and political power, and were beginning to seek cultural recognition to augment their economic and political achievements. This created a friction between the two ethnic communities that contributed to escalating identity crises that compelled the former majority to (re)imagine their communities in ways that led to the revival of the Glengarry Games (Mason 2005). After over a century of absence, on 1 August 1948 the Highland games were revived in Glengarry County. In order to demonstrate how several factors contributed to the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices and the establishment of "Scottishness" as the dominant cultural currency, it is now pertinent to discuss the growth of the Highland games and the development of the tourism industry.

The Growth of the Glengarry Highland Games and the Tourism Industry

As early as the beginning of the 20th century some local residents recognized the tourism potential of Glengarry County. In 1905, a pamphlet produced by the Glengarry Good Roads Association announced Glengarry's accessibility to the tourism industry by emphasizing the county's improved transportation infrastructure. These improvements included the addition of two new transportation arteries, one located at the southern section of the county along the St. Lawrence River, and the other just outside the county's northern border. Although Glengarry's potential for tourism was recognized much earlier, as late as the 1940s, tourism still did not have a significant impact on the local economy, as a relatively small number of visitors came to the rural county. During this period, most of the tourism that did exist in Glengarry was concentrated along the St. Lawrence River in the southern section of the county and few tourists were attracted north of the river to the rural farmland around towns such as Maxville, the host community of the Glengarry Highland Games (Marin and Marin 1982). In 1947, the games' revivalists presented a persuasive argument to initiate the revival of the Highland festival—the stimulation of the local tourism economy. Anthropologist Edward Bruner (2005) asserts that beginning in the late 19th century and continuing well into the middle of the 20th century, rural communities throughout North America have utilized tourism as an important strategy for economic development. When examining the history of Highland games throughout Canada, it is clear that several Highland festivals arose in rural communities during this period, particularly in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia (Redmond 1982). Economic development through tourism was certainly a significant consideration of the key agents responsible for reviving Glengarry's Highland games. With over 20,000 spectators, the inaugural event accounted for the largest gathering in the county's history and awakened many to the commercial as well as the cultural potential that the games embodied. Throughout the 1950s, the games maintained a significant level of attendance as the number of annual spectators fluctuated between 15,000 and 20,000 (Marin and Marin 1982). During this period, the festival was established as a viable cultural event that annually attracted thousands of tourists to the region.

In 1962, in an effort to capitalize on a recent influx of tourism, which was a consequence of the formation of a new provincial park, the Glengarry Games Committee expanded the cultural festival from a one-day event into a weekend affair (PI/9, 2004).⁶ Although the committee's decision to expand the games was influenced by the establishment of the park, it is important to recognize that this expansion met an increasing demand for the Glengarry Games that was driven by urban tourists who

were responding to a sense of rural nostalgia characteristic of modern society.⁷ Regardless of motivating factors, the committee's expansion of the Glengarry Games was evidently a success as the attendance for the games increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s (MacGillivray and Ross 1979).⁸

As the Glengarry Games were extended so was the impact of the tourism they generated. Many visitors would attend both days of festivities and, as a result, tourists would remain in the area for a longer duration (TI/3, 2004). As a well-informed consultant for Glengarry tourism throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) for the region, Jim Brownell describes the impact of the games on the local economy:

For the last forty years all the tourist operators in Eastern Ontario have had smiles on their faces the weekend of the Glengarry Games because the festival is the largest cultural event in the region and the tourism the games generate for the local economy is significant. (TI/3, 2004)

Attendance at the games continued to increase steadily throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The connection between the Glengarry Games and tourism has become more apparent in recent years. In 2001, tourism was at the forefront during the festival as Jim Watson, the President and C.E.O. of the Canadian Tourism Commission, delivered the opening address. During his remarks, he alluded to the continued structural expansion of the games' facilities in order to attract and accommodate more tourists in forthcoming years.⁹ Just two years later, in 2003, at the 56th annual games, a record-setting crowd of 31,000 flooded the gates.¹⁰

Although it is clear that tourism has influenced the games, the impact of tourism in shaping the Glengarry festival and Scottish culture in the region remains ambiguous. How has tourism influenced the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry County? Tourism can account for the early financial success of the games and the expansion of the cultural event from 1948 to its current form (PI/8, 2003). Soon after the revival it became clear that the festival had the potential to secure significant amounts of tourism capital for the local region and, in an effort to maximize the economic potential of the games, the event was expanded in subsequent decades. This led directly to the growth of the games in attendance and tourism capital generated for the community (PI/8, 2003).

In several important ways, tourism is also indirectly linked to the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices within the region. By driving the expansion of the games, tourism ensured that Scottish cultural practices

were popularized as the event assumed a larger profile. As the tourism potential of the games was established, residents with commercial interests in the success of the event began to support the cultural festival. While the games expanded and the number of residents in support of the event began to increase, a positive image of the games was propagated throughout the community. This image of the festival, reinforced by ideas that the games helped the local economy and brought notoriety to the region, were enough to convince some residents with no cultural or commercial objectives to support the event to willingly participate (PI/9, 2004).

It is clear that the support of residents, those with and without commercial objectives, encouraged the expansion of the games and the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices; however, tourism or the economic benefits thereof played another critical role. Using Marxist notions of political economy and Gramscian models of cultural production and hegemony, historian Ian McKay (1994) reveals how tourism in rural Canadian communities can have major implications for the (re)production of local culture. McKay demystifies Nova Scotian history by examining how the tourism objectives of key cultural producers selected elements of the past to reshape a provincial identity that endorsed Scottish cultural practices and capitalism while silencing local resistance. Drawing parallels with McKay's study of the relationship between the revival of folk culture in Nova Scotia and the tourism economy, the Glengarry Games' ability to generate tourism capital during the depressive economic period of the 1950s likely silenced any resistance to the revival of the cultural event that may have existed. As sociologist John Urry argues (1990), modern cultural festivals that embody potential financial benefits to hosting communities can often suppress alternative views or resistance, as economic objectives can greatly influence the celebration of these events. While it is important to acknowledge broader power structures that influence how culture is socially constructed to reproduce dominant social forms, it is critical to also recognize that this is never absolute and marginalized groups find alternative spaces to reproduce cultural forms that often challenge hegemonic discourses.

As research in tourism studies has repeatedly shown, it is imperative to consider economic factors when examining cultural festivals that are partly celebrated for tourists or the generation of the tourism economy (Greenwood 2004; Mason 2004; Grunewald 2002; Hughes 1995). In the 21st century, tourism continues to shape the games and the Scottish cultural practices that they so manifestly perpetuate. While tourism is the most significant factor that helped preserve and extend the influence of the Highland games and Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry, it is important not to discount the powerful role of agency in this process of cultural (re)production.

The Rise of Scottish Highland Cultural Institutions

The origins of the Highland games and other Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry lie in the roots of an 18th century Highland settlement in Upper Canada. Beginning in the middle of the 20th century, Scottish Highland cultural practices entered a golden age in the ethnically diverse rural county where residents of Scottish lineage had become a minority (MacGillivray and Ross 1979). In 1948, under the direction of a few key cultural agents, the Glengarry Games were revived and began to form an important part of the county's cultural heritage. Although Scottish Highland cultural practices were present in Glengarry prior to the revival of the games—during the early 19th century, Scottish residents formed a majority population and celebrated their cultural practices within their cultural community, following the revival of the festival in 1948, Scottish culture became actively and overtly celebrated as a component of mainstream cultural life (MacGillivray and Ross 1979). With the success of the inaugural Glengarry Games, the revivalists had not only formed a significant group of individuals dedicated to the organization and celebration of this cultural festival but, perhaps more importantly, they also generated an interest in and awareness of Scottish Highland cultural practices.

The forthcoming decades would proclaim the significance of the revival, as a buttressing network of Scottish Highland cultural institutions would develop in close affiliation with the Glengarry Games. This network of key agents and cultural institutions would augment the influence of Scottish culture within the county. As the scholarship of social anthropologist Sharon Macdonald (1997) demonstrates in her analysis of the transmission of cultural practices in a rural community on the Scottish Hebridean Isle of Skye, key agents can influence the (re)production of cultural practices in especially rural communities experiencing socio-economic and cultural changes. She asserts that communities undergoing a cultural renaissance depend on a few key cultural agents that initiate the (re)imagining of both regional and cultural identities. With the Highland games as the keystone of Scottish culture in Glengarry, the contributory network of cultural institutions, formed and maintained by devoted agents, helped proliferate Scottish Highland cultural practices.¹¹ The following pages will examine the emergence of Scottish cultural institutions, including their caretakers, in the spheres of traditional dress, Celtic music, athletics, and history.

The cultural symbols of Scotland are internationally recognized. Very few symbols are as identifiable with Scottish identity as the traditional dress that is associated with the Highlands—the kilt or philibeg (Jarvie 1991). Although in Glengarry only members of the county's Highland regiments would have worn kilts on a regular basis, the kilt and tartan

have become emblems of Scottish Highland culture in the county (McKinnan 2000). The wearing of kilts as a cultural practice has become a powerful symbol of heritage in Glengarry. After the revival of the games, the heads of the dominant clans in the area organized a number of celebrations that have helped popularize Scottish traditional dress within the county. Beginning in the 1950s, The Kirking of the Tartan, a Highland Scottish ritual held in Glengarry, commemorates the tartans banned in Scotland prior to any Highlander arriving in the region. Many of these distinctive ceremonies are held in conjunction with the Glengarry Games. The festival offers an ideal opportunity for clans to reunite and it serves as the annual gathering for numerous clan members both nationally and internationally (PI/4, 2002). Initiated by several clans, the Tartan Ball is one example of a successful event held in close affiliation with the Highland games. The ball is usually celebrated the evening prior to the opening of the games and is often attended by the games' many patrons.¹² Once the games begin, they become a high-profile opportunity to showcase traditional Scottish dress. At the 54th anniversary of the Glengarry Highland Games in the summer of 2001, one of the many visitors from Scotland was quoted in the *Glengarry News* as stating, "I have seen more kilts and tartans in Glengarry this weekend than I've seen in fifty years in Scotland."¹³

Although the majority of celebrations involving clans and tartans are held concurrently with the Highland games, traditional Scottish Highland dress is also part of social life and local culture. Carolyn Smith, a local resident of Scottish descent, refers to her husband Larry Harrison as an example of the cultural currency associated with wearing kilts; "Larry is not from Glengarry, but he wears a kilt... he is not Scottish, but living here has changed him" (PI/2, 2001). Harrison, who was born into an Irish family in the neighbouring county of Stormont, moved to Glengarry in his 20s and has since become deeply involved with the Highland games and consequently Scottish Highland culture (PI/3, 2001). The younger residents of Glengarry are no exception to the generation before them. Since the revival of the games, the wearing of kilts has become very common for youth at formal celebrations. Kilts have become so popular in Glengarry that many high school students of non-Scottish lineage have appropriated the cultural practice. Kilts have become fashionable for young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds (PI/3, 2001).

Organizations celebrating and proliferating Scottish traditional dress within the county have developed and remain in close affiliation with the games. The Highland games provide a unique opportunity for Glengarry residents to celebrate Scottish heritage, of which the kilt-philibeg forms an integral component. The exposure that kilts and tartans receive at the games may partly offer an explanation for the cultural capital associated

with this symbol of Highland Scottish identity. While the presence of kilts and tartans within Glengarry is explicitly linked to the influential cultural festival that renews interest in the traditional dress associated with the Highlands of Scotland, the key cultural producers that initiated events popularizing kilts and tartans, expanded opportunities in the county to celebrate Highland traditional dress. Kilts and tartans, however, are not the only vestige of Scottish cultural practices that have been proliferated in Glengarry from 1948–2003.

Perhaps the finest example of the growth of Scottish cultural practices following the revival of the Highland games is the prevalence of Scottish Celtic music. Although Celtic music may be more noticeable during the games, in Glengarry it is very much alive all year round. Prior to 1948, Celtic music was mostly preserved through social gatherings or Ceilidhs within Glengarry's Scottish community (PI/1, 2001).¹⁴ Following the revival, a number of institutions specifically designed for the celebration and perpetuation of Celtic music emerged in Glengarry in close affiliation with the games. This facilitated the expansion of spaces and opportunities to celebrate and perpetuate Celtic music practices. The ensuing paragraphs will document the growth of these music institutions and assess their impact on the cultural life of Glengarry County.

Since the revival of the games in 1948, the bagpipe band competitions held at the festival have been continually improved by the ongoing increase in the quality and quantity of competitors. In 1948, eight bands participated in the festival. During the 1960s, when Canada's Highland Scottish Games Council positioned the Glengarry festival as the host of the annual North American Pipe Band Championships, the number of bands competing at Glengarry began to increase. In 1973, there were 40 bands and in 2001, 68 bands made the trip to Glengarry to compete (PI/1, 2001). While the designation of Glengarry as the host of the North American Pipe Band Championships was certainly an important factor in increasing attendance at the games, it took many years for this festival to become more prestigious, attract top competing bands, and also become a significant tourist draw (PI/1, 2001).¹⁵ Along with spectators, the pipe bands also travel from all over the world to be part of the Glengarry competition. Bands arrive from Australia, New Zealand, the British Isles, and all parts of North America to participate. Even though in the 21st century the Glengarry Highland Games are considered one of the premier international events for high quality piping, prior to 1948, piping did not exist in Glengarry in any institutional form (PI/1, 2001).

In 1961, to ensure high quality local participation in the annual Scottish festival, the county's first piping and drumming band was created. Although the original objective of the Glengarry Highlanders

Pipe Band was to practice and perform annually at the Highland games, the group eventually formed competitive bands at various levels and has competed internationally for decades. However, very few of its original members were from younger generations. Consequently, the leaders of Glengarry's Celtic music organizations expressed concern regarding their ability to replace musicians in the forthcoming decades (Marin and Marin 1982).

In 1967, in an effort to educate local youth, the Glengarry School of Piping and Drumming was established and Celtic music was further institutionalized. Only three years later, the Glengarry Board of Education began to sponsor bagpipe music courses in county high schools. Although there was some local opposition to the courses, apparently based on arguments over the expense of offering the classes (PI/7, 2003), piping and drumming were institutionalized into the very fabric of society as the education system joined the group of influential institutions (re)producing these musical practices. As sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and later Stuart Hall (1996) demonstrate, education and cultural institutions provide an effective means for empowering and sustaining cultural practices. The notion that Scottish cultural producers had accessed one of the most influential institutions in society (public youth education) is evidence of the extent of influence of these cultural producers in the region during this period. The early 1990s saw the formation of a second piping and drumming organization in Glengarry. By the turn of the 21st century, key cultural agents had established two local pipe bands, a private piping school, and had accessed the public education system to help preserve and proliferate Scottish Celtic music.

In 2001, the presence of more than one Gaelic choir in Glengarry signifies the interest in preserving the identities associated with the language. Created by Ken and Anne McKenna in 1990, the Glengarry Gaelic Choir has performed throughout the county and released a recording of selected Gaelic traditional songs in 1996. Na Nigheanan (The Daughters of Glengarry), a subsidiary of the Glengarry Gaelic Choir, was also formed in 1990. In 1994, with the establishment of the annual Feis-Glengarry, a festival celebrating Gaelic music and culture, the survival of at least some forms of the Gaelic language through Celtic music has been assured (PI/7, 2003). Similar to piping and drumming, the Gaelic choirs are prevalent at social events throughout the county and also perform annually at the Glengarry Games. The recent formation of the Celtic Music Hall of Fame in 2002, suggests that many local residents remain interested in preserving the Celtic music heritage of the county.

Although the popularity of Gaelic choirs and piping and drumming in Glengarry are certainly linked to the rise of supportive institutions, it is

important to acknowledge broader international trends such as the popularization of Celtic music throughout many Western nations internationally. Ethnomusicologists Martin Stokes and Philip Bohlman (2003) refer to the popularization of Celtic music as a transnational phenomenon that originated in the folk revival of the 1960s, was supported by many international Celtic music groups in the 1970s, and reached its pinnacle through global capitalism which commodified Celtic music and integrated it with other Celtic cultural global popular forms throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The popularization of Celtic music during this period can be viewed as a joint process of globalization and the increase in mass communication technology that has rapidly changed music recording and distribution processes. These global factors have certainly influenced the proliferation of Celtic musical practices in Glengarry and other Canadian communities.

Contrary to what one might think, all of the county's Celtic music institutions were represented by a diverse group during this period. Men and women from various cultural backgrounds and a variety of ages participated (PI/1, 2001). Prior to the revival of the games, Scottish Celtic music was privately celebrated and perpetuated within the Scottish community through social gatherings or Ceilidhs. Following the inaugural games, Celtic music was incorporated as a component of mainstream culture as it was proliferated throughout the county. A network of key agents, many of whom were also affiliated with the games, institutionalized Celtic music by facilitating the active and overt celebration of Scottish music practices.

While analyzing the history of Scottish athletics in Glengarry, a similar paradigm of distinctive institutional growth can be identified directly following the revival of the games. The spirited and graceful athletic endeavour of Scottish Highland dancing became very popular in Glengarry beginning in the 1950s. The institutionalization of Scottish Highland dancing in the county began with the MacCulloch Dancers. Motivated by the resurgence of Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry generated by the games, the MacCulloch School of Highland Dance was formed with seven enthusiastic pupils in 1955. The school first operated in one-room schoolhouses and local kitchens until it expanded into various towns throughout Glengarry (PI/5, 2002). Despite the school's simple antecedents, it continued to expand in the ensuing decades and by 1990 the school had acquired an international reputation. From 1990 to 2000 the MacCulloch Dancers performed in China, Mexico, Belgium, and Scotland, as well as numerous locations throughout North America. Along with competing abroad, the MacCulloch Dancers have annually performed for the large crowds at the games since the school's establishment (PI/5, 2002). The Glengarry festival represents one of the world's most prestigious Highland dancing events and in 2003 over 250 dancers

from the school competed at the games.¹⁶

From 1955 to 2003, over three thousand students have attended the MacCulloch School of Highland Dance. Contrary to what someone could presume after observing a performance, the MacCulloch Dancers represent a very culturally diverse group. Rae MacCulloch, the school's founder, estimates that less than half of her students are of Scottish descent (PI/5, 2002). For many of them, the only link they have to Scottish culture is Glengarry and Highland dancing. As a result of the diversity seen within the school, MacCulloch has expanded her classes to include the traditional dance of Franco-Ontarians. This inclusion is another example of how Scottish culture in Glengarry is produced differently with each successive generation.

MacCulloch acknowledges that the success of her school is closely related to the revival and growth of the Glengarry Games, as she recognizes the significant link between her school and the festival that puts Highland dancing at the forefront of the county's sport and recreation (PI/5, 2002). Following the revival of the Glengarry Games and the creation of MacCulloch's school, Highland dancing was proliferated throughout Glengarry as thousands of residents participated. In 2004, the school enjoys an exceptional reputation within the county that is surpassed by few other cultural institutions. After 1948, the growth of Highland dancing is explicitly linked to one group of key agents that popularized this unique Highland practice.

The proliferation of Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry can also be partially attributed to the impact of the resurgence of interest in the county's Scottish cultural history. In the decades following the successful revival of the games, organizations designed for the purpose of documenting the Scottish cultural history of the county were established. As indicated by a Glengarry resident, "following the revival of the Highland games, a movement celebrating the county's Scottish cultural heritage seemed to become the current trend" (PI/6, 2003). In 1959, a small group of individuals founded the Glengarry Historical Society. In the forthcoming decades, many projects would be assumed by the society and annual articles would be published in an effort to preserve the county's cultural history. A local historian has indicated that the society's main area of research and publication has always been focused on Glengarry's Scottish residents (Rayside 1991). Although few members were active in both the county's historical society and the Highland Games Committee, one member of the Glengarry Historical Society asserted that "there was definitely a spiritual connection between the founders of both organizations" (TI/1, 2004). Following the foundation of the county's historical society, another organization soon developed for the celebration of Glengarry's

Scottish cultural history. In 1974, the Glengarry Scottish Genealogical Society was formed. The society published a periodical aptly entitled *Highland Heritage* and a series of books (Marin and Marin 1982). Both the historical and genealogical societies capitalized on the resurgence of interest in Scottish cultural history generated by the revival of the games and in turn contributed to the growing network of institutions proliferating Scottish culture.

While it is important to recognize that the presence of these Scottish historical institutions does not in any way prevent the establishment of a parallel Franco-Ontarian organization, the point here is to draw a correlation between the revival of the games and the formation of these historical institutions and their apparent cultural agendas. Although the development of the organizations and the initiation of many of their events can be attributed to a core group of key agents mostly from the Scottish community, the interest in and support of these cultural events by residents throughout the county is an indication of the currency of Scottish culture in the region. In Glengarry County since 1948, historical organizations have assumed an eminent role in the construction of local cultural and especially regional identities.

Hybridity and the Construction of Cultural Identities

Through their examination of the early history of the county, historians Royce MacGillivray and Ewan Ross (1979) contend that francophone and anglophone residents in Glengarry resisted intermarrying much later in the century in comparison to most other mixed Canadian communities. They indicate a number of important factors that contributed to the lack of interaction between francophones and anglophones in Glengarry prior to the 1950s. Most notably the power struggles related to changing population distributions, competition over economic resources, and shifting political representation, created a friction between Glengarry residents of Franco-Ontarian and Scottish descent in this border region during the first four decades of the 20th century (Mason 2005). However, it is clear that in the post-WW II era intermarriage within these communities became a common practice. As a result, as in other Canadian communities, many Glengarry residents can claim Franco-Ontarian and Scottish descent, as well as other mixed cultural backgrounds.

As sport sociologist Christine Dallaire (2003) discovered, Canadian youth in general, and particularly those of francophone descent, often identify with more than one ethnic label, creating a hybrid identity. Hybridity is a concept that appropriately describes the contemporary ethnic identities of many Glengarry residents, including those who participate in Scottish cultural practices. Drawing from cultural studies theory

in general and Jan Nederveen Pieterse's (1994) work on hybridity specifically, Dallaire examines how and why francophones throughout Canada (re)produce and manifest various forms of hybrid linguistic and cultural identities. According to Dallaire, the concept of hybridity underlines the blending of cultures and their divisions while designating the mixing of distinct cultural and linguistic identities into a new hybrid form.¹⁷ As postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha (1994) contends, hybridity does not imply the merging of two stable cultures or identities, but rather refers to the intersection of unstable and fluid forms of identity, as hybrid identities remain heterogeneous and discontinuous. The construction of identities is a complex process whereby many affiliations are simultaneously navigated, produced, contested, and restrained. Each individual negotiates liminal spaces where the hybrid becomes a reflection of their plural engagements with class, gender, sexual orientation, culture, and other social categories. That being stated, this paper is limited to hybrid identities associated with language and ethnicity.

The theoretical concept of hybridity can be aptly applied to the rural communities of Glengarry County. I argue that, particularly since the 1950s, hybrid forms of cultural and linguistic identities have become predominant in Glengarry. While it is possible to establish which residents identify with which cultural groups, if hybrid forms of identities have been constructed in Glengarry for several decades, it is untenable and problematic to categorize residents under one homogenous ethnic label. It is clear that many Glengarry residents share both Franco-Ontarian and Scottish cultural backgrounds (TI/2, 2004).¹⁸ This has major implications for understanding who may participate in and support various forms of cultural practices within the county. In this paper, I am less concerned with examining the diversity and complexity of the individual identities of some Glengarry residents, but more interested in why residents of Franco-Ontarian, Scottish, and mixed cultural backgrounds sometimes emphasize their "Scottishness" in the construction of their own individual cultural and collective regional identities. As these cultural and regional identities are constructed, it is important to question why new hybrid forms tend to privilege "Scottishness" in a multicultural community. Scottish cultural practices evidently influence the construction of hybrid identities in Glengarry as complex processes ensure that they are integrated and assimilated, but why does "Scottishness" have more cultural currency than other ethnicities in the formation of cultural and regional identities?

Scottish Cultural Practices and the Construction of Regional Identities

Beginning in the 1920s, Franco-Ontarian residents began to represent a majority population in Glengarry, but evidence of active organizations designed for celebrating and perpetuating Franco-Ontarian cultural heritage is scarce during the second half of the 20th century (TI/2, 2004).¹⁹ One Franco-Ontarian resident who remains active in the preservation of the county's Franco-Ontarian cultural history admits that in Glengarry from the 1950s onwards "events celebrating Franco-Ontarian culture have in many cases dwindled away" (TI/2, 2004). While the apparent absence of Franco-Ontarian and other non-Scottish cultural organizations may partly explain why many Glengarry residents of diverse ethnic backgrounds chose to participate in Scottish cultural institutions and practices, their involvement in these Scottish cultural institutions did not preclude Franco-Ontarians from celebrating their cultural practices in private forums within Glengarry or traveling to Prescott-Russell County (adjacent to Glengarry and with a significant majority francophone population), Ottawa, or Western Quebec to participate in francophone cultural institutions during this period. The participation of diverse residents in Scottish cultural institutions does not suggest that non-Scottish residents were not simultaneously pursuing other active and passive forms of cultural expression, but their participation did endorse Scottish cultural institutions and help initiate the formation of a unique regional identity that encompasses selected aspects of these practices.

By documenting the growth of Scottish cultural institutions after the revival of the Glengarry Games, evidence of the symbiotic relationship between the Glengarry Games and the Scottish cultural institutions is apparent. The Glengarry Highland Games Committee and the festival itself endorse the Scottish cultural institutions within the county and the institutions at the same time support the growth of Scottish cultural practices, including the games. In several important ways, the establishment of Scottish cultural institutions, including the caretakers of these institutions, was imperative to the inherent proliferation of Scottish cultural practices. Firstly, Scottish cultural organizations extended the influence of the games by institutionalizing Scottish cultural practices. This provided the opportunity for Scottish culture to be celebrated and perpetuated within the county throughout the quotidian lives of residents, rather than on an annual basis. Secondly, the creation of these institutions also extended the impact of the games by magnifying the popularity of Scottish cultural practices. As residents of diverse ethnic backgrounds became involved in these institutions, they began to celebrate Scottish cultural practices as a regular aspect of their lives. Even though it is important to indicate that not all residents have the same cultural experience while involved in these

institutions—for example some residents may choose to either ethnicize or de-ethnicize their experiences—many residents became active proponents of Scottish cultural practices as they formed a component of their lived experiences.

Borrowing from Foucault, post-structural feminist Judith Butler (1991, 1993) argues that identities are performative—they are constructed through continual practices regulated by spaces, opportunities, and experiences. Cultural and linguistic identities are constituted by the repeated performance of those very identities. In other words, an individual acquires cultural identifications by performing those specific cultural practices. Extending from Butler's conception of the performative, as more Glengarry residents assumed the identity opportunities offered by Scottish cultural institutions, these practices were popularized to the extent that they inevitably helped shape a regional identity. Although the Glengarry Games celebrated Scottish culture from 1948 to the 21st century, the impact of these games on cultural life would have been marginal without the subsequent creation of a buttressing network of institutions. Key agents institutionalized Scottish cultural practices and provided a conduit for active and recurrent celebration, extending the influence of these practices as they were selectively weaved into the daily lives of residents of diverse ethnic backgrounds—helping shape both cultural and regional identities.²⁰

It is apparent that the development of the tourism industry and the rise of Scottish cultural institutions were the most influential factors in proliferating the Highland games and other Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry County. What remains less definitive is whether the broader cultural circumstances that underpinned these significant developments also supported these processes as well as the formation of a regional identity that privileged "Scottishness" as the dominant cultural currency. The next section will attempt to address this decisive question.

Antimodernism: Cultural Resistance and the Cultivation of Nostalgia

Throughout the 20th century, severe socio-economic changes occurred in Glengarry County and residents tried to find responses to the transformation of the rural farming way of life that had persevered within the county since the arrival of the first wave of Scottish Highland settlers (MacGillivray 1990). In Glengarry County, as in many other areas of the Western World, modernity and the socio-economic changes related to this period were met by cultural resistance. As cultural critic Raymond Williams suggests (1985, 1961), significant socio-economic changes almost always elicit direct cultural responses that often materialize as

various forms of resistance. Historians Ian McKay (1994) and T.J. Jackson Lears (1981) have used the term antimodernism to describe resistance to a changing way of life expressed by individuals within rural communities throughout North America during the 20th century.²¹ In Glengarry, rural depopulation and the ideological challenges associated with it, created the largest cultural crisis in the second half of the 20th century (Rayside 1991). Prior to understanding how the unique cultural conditions, and the responses to these conditions, underpinned the expansion of the Highland games, it is imperative to demonstrate the link between the expression of antimodernist sentiment and the deterioration of rural way of life in Glengarry.

As outlined by McKay (1994), across the Western World beginning in the middle of the 19th century, skepticism about progress and fear of unprecedented social and economic change shaped social thought and cultural expression across a wide ideological spectrum. Changes in Glengarry, from the turn of the 20th century until the 1940s, provided the impetus from which antimodernism emerged. Although closely linked to the industrialization and urbanization of the 1930s that altered rural life in the county, by the 1950s, rural depopulation quickly transformed residents' lives and became the most influential factor to increase antimodernist thought (Mason 2005). A rapid wave of innovation revolutionized agricultural techniques and equipment and forced agriculturists in Glengarry to upgrade or abandon the land that for generations their family had tenured. In 1891, 61 percent of the population of Ontario was classified as rural. In 1921, that number had drastically declined to 42 percent. In 1966, only 7 percent of Ontario's population were farmers and that total was rapidly decreasing (MacGillivray 1990). The following statement refers to rural depopulation in Glengarry from 1950 to 1965:

People were leaving the countryside in large numbers... the result in this county was that farm homes were being closed, land was being mismanaged or underutilized, and the life of the rural communities was deteriorating. (MacGillivray 1990, 128)

In the following statement a local resident remembers how technology and ideological changes influenced rural life:

Then came the impact of modernism... as specialization farming became the norm, the decline of the agricultural system resulted. An anti-agrarian attitude developed and the youth of many families headed for the urban centres. (PI/9, 2004)

By the 1960s, changes in the agrarian lifestyle and culture led to the demise of the mixed farming of previous generations. During this period the residents of Glengarry were uncertain of what the forthcoming decades would bring (PI/9, 2004).

In the United States, a folklore revival was in full swing as early as the 1940s and by 1950 Canadian counterparts began to pursue their cultural history through folklore (McKay 1994). As a response to rural depopulation and the ideological changes that accompanied such a serious demographic shift, the Glengarry County Folk School was founded in 1952. The Folk School Council attempted to help the community understand the rapid changes from a rural to an urban society, regain a sense of communal effort among residents, and explore various employment alternatives to farming. Improvement of agricultural techniques and solidifying the position of the remaining farmers were also objectives advocated by the school (MacMillan 1998). The presence of the Glengarry Folk School, which was well supported and remained in operation from 1952 to 1966, not only helped residents manage these dynamic circumstances, but also encouraged them to channel their cultural resistance into positive forms. In this manner, the school facilitated the expansion of cultural opportunities through the establishment of institutions during this period (MacMillan 1998).

Some residents within the county began to cultivate nostalgia and form cultural institutions as a means of conceptualizing their own collective and individual identities (PI/6, 2003). Similar to other regions of North America and Europe, the cultivation of nostalgia had to be created through the framing and distilling procedures carried out in thought and then set into practice through the processes of selection and invention (Trevor-Roper 1997). McKay (1994) reveals how antimodernism and other forms of cultural resistance both contributed to and helped resolve an identity crisis in Nova Scotia. As in Canada's Maritime Province, between 1940 and 1960, where cultural producers such as writers, artists, and promoters began to propagate the province as a folk paradise and renew their folk heritage through music and crafts, a similar process was occurring in Glengarry with key cultural producers that established Scottish cultural institutions. Within the county, the notion that leaving the farm was aberrant appealed to residents' nostalgia. The longing for roots, which at the time formed a prominent theme within the county, encouraged respect for rural way of life and reinforced the disillusionment with urban living (PI/9, 2004). Cultural producers in Glengarry began to appeal to a local audience in search of their history, their identity, and a response to the socio-economic and cultural changes that were shaping their community.

Documented throughout this paper is the rise of Scottish cultural institutions following the revival of the games. The success of these organizations can be partly attributed to the prevalence of antimodernism, which encouraged considerable support for the institutions from Glengarry residents of diverse ethnic backgrounds. As residents faced socio-economic and cultural changes, they looked to the past for answers to questions of uncertainty and identity. The late 18th century agricultural settlement, where Scottish residents represented an overwhelming majority, became an important reference point for the (re)imagining of Glengarry and the celebration of a simpler era (Mason 2005).

Following the revival of the games, antimodernist attitudes have influenced the growth and proliferation of Scottish cultural practices in one important way. The presence of antimodernism as a response to a changing way of life encouraged many Glengarry residents to support Scottish cultural institutions as a means of managing their own identity and the social-economic and cultural changes impacting their community. Moreover, stemming from the influence, confidence, and currency of key cultural producers, the presence and organization of Scottish cultural events and institutions in Glengarry from 1950–1970 only supported the broader cultural conditions in encouraging residents to celebrate and perpetuate these cultural practices.

Tourism in Glengarry is also explicitly linked to antimodernism. Glengarry residents were not the only Canadians who struggled with socio-economic change and rural depopulation. In the third quarter of the 20th century, middle-class urban Canadians began to voyage into rural regions in pursuit of cultural treasure. Reverence for the “authentic,” skepticism about progress, and nostalgia for the past, are related to the growth of tourism in Glengarry. According to MacGillivray (1990), as urbanization began to dominate Eastern Ontario, it gave way to small town individualism and urban centre anonymity. This became one of the attractions of rural life to urbanites. In Eastern Ontario, the move to the urban centre had its time of offering fulfillment. Beginning in the late 1960s, it was the return to the rural, or at least the thought thereof, that afforded contentment. McKay (1994) refers to this phenomena as urban tourists “playing folk” on the weekends. As urban tourists travel the countryside in search of rural treasure, their fascination with rural way of life supported local tourism in Glengarry and many other rural communities throughout Canada. The presence of festivals like the Glengarry Games and the supportive network of Scottish cultural institutions are to some extent the attraction and charm of the rural county and its appeal for tourism. Tourism has created a vocabulary in which the Highland games are a sign of the past and life in a bygone era—it has brought and continues to bring visitors to the rural county. Consequently, since 1948, anti-

modernism has in some capacities influenced the expansion of the Glengarry Games, the growth of the tourism industry, and Scottish cultural institutions. Although certainly not in the same fundamental manner as tourism and the rise of Scottish cultural institutions, broader cultural circumstances did contribute to the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices in Glengarry and the formation of cultural and regional identities that privileged "Scottishness" as the dominant cultural currency.

Conclusion

In this paper I examine the influences of tourism, Scottish institutions, and broader cultural and socio-economic circumstances on the proliferation of Scottish cultural practices and the construction of identities in Glengarry County from 1948 to the beginning of the 21st century. This analysis of the Glengarry Highland Games illuminates how many residents are offered identity opportunities that provide cultural resources. While these resources are certainly utilized by residents to derive meaning in diverse ways, they often serve to construct ethnic and regional identities that attach a significant currency to Scottish cultural practices.

For over half a century the rural communities of Glengarry County have hosted the Highland games—proliferating Scottish cultural practices and influencing the construction of cultural and regional identities. Along with examining a community at a particular juncture of cultural revitalization, this research demonstrates some of the ways that sporting and cultural practices can be used as a vehicle to maintain, shape, and perpetuate distinct identities within a broader Canadian context. This case study is significant because it reveals how the always complex and sometimes problematic relationships between cultural festivals, tourism, and the construction of identities, are often interdependent. It is perhaps this nexus between these elements that make the growth of the Glengarry Highland Games and the development of this unique region of Eastern Ontario important to the sporting, cultural, as well as the socio-economic history of Canada.

Endnotes

1. I presented an earlier version of this paper at the 26th Annual Conference of the North American Society of Sport Sociology (NASSS), Winston-Salem, North Carolina, October 26–29, 2005.
2. Many of the cultural practices discussed in this paper are referred to by utilizing the generic term "Scottish." It is critical to recognize that many of these cultural practices are most often associated with the Highland districts of Scotland. Kilts, Highland dance, and the Highland games themselves are examples of this. In Glengarry, as in many other communities where Scottish émigrés have settled,

Lowland and Highland cultural forms have fused over several generations (MacGillivray 1979). When referring to ethnicity, individuals in Glengarry very rarely differentiate between the distinct regions of Scotland that their ancestors may have emigrated from. While Grant Jarvie's (1998) work demonstrates that the Scottish cultural practices that are reproduced in Canada are quite distinct from those in Scotland, he has also shown that many of the Scottish cultural forms that have been popularized internationally have their origins in the Highlands of Scotland. As these Highland Scottish forms (the kilt for example) were proliferated internationally, many of them were appropriated by Lowland Scots (Jarvie 1991). This further complicates any process of distinguishing between Lowland and Highland Scottish cultural forms or practices both from Scotland or internationally in places such as Glengarry, Canada. I have made an effort to be sensitive to this issue throughout this paper by referring to specific cultural forms or practices when possible.

3. In 1784, after a prolonged struggle to settle in North America, almost fifty families established one of Upper Canada's first Scottish settlements. The 425 Scottish Highland residents were joined by two successive waves of Scottish Highland immigration at the beginning of the 19th century establishing a distinctive community in what is currently Glengarry County, Eastern Ontario.
4. The Disarming Act of 1747 became the first of several legislations designed to dissolve the Highland Clan formation, integrate Highlanders into mainstream British Lowland culture, and marginalize Highland cultural practices. Although the Act was successfully repealed in 1782, many Highland communities did not resume their customs. Highland settlers who immigrated to Canada during this period are responsible for organizing the strong system of Scottish societies and eventually Highland games that materialized throughout the late 18th century and early 19th century.
5. The first Scottish Highland Society in North America was established in Glengarry County in 1819 under the direction of Reverend Alexander Macdonell and William MacGillivray. An extensive network of Scottish societies developed through several Canadian provinces during the 19th century and many of these societies organized formal Highland gatherings and festivals.
6. The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, which forever changed the character of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry, had a major impact on tourism in the local area. At the heart of the Seaway and Power Project were the creation of more efficient water transportation routes and the development of hydroelectric power. The project began on 10 August 1954. The five-year \$1.2 billion project included the flooding of 20,000 acres of land, resulting in 6,500 individuals losing their homes. As geographic remnants of the towns and hinterland that was flooded, eleven offshore islands were created between the towns of Long Sault and Ingleside. The islands were strung together to form a parkway and as provincial parkland they were quickly developed for the purposes of recreation. In 1962, the first full summer of operation, over 1.2 million visitors utilized this newly formed recreation haven.
7. As Ian McKay suggests, urban tourists attend festivals like the Glengarry Games

for a taste of the pre-modern; urban tourists paradoxically celebrate the pre-modern while concomitantly living urban lifestyles. Dean MacCannell contends that the entire concept of tourism, in particular rural tourism, is a modern creation. It was a condition of modernity that drove tourists' pervasive nostalgia for "authenticity" or the "traditional." For more see McKay (1994) pp. 31–35 and MacCannell (1999) pp. 17–34.

8. It is difficult to determine who the early patrons of the festival were, as very few records were kept and marketing did not play a major role in attracting visitors. While friends and family of Glengarry residents and past residents certainly accounted for a significant portion of the attendance, tourists from the nearby urban centres of Ottawa and Montréal represented most of the visitors.
9. Kathleen Hay, Cornwall, Ontario. *The Standard Freeholder*, 4 August 2003.
10. Terri Saunders, Cornwall, Ontario. *The Standard Freeholder*, 6 August 2003.
11. An agent within this context is defined as one who exerts power or produces an effect. See Giddens (1984) p. 9.
12. Kathleen Hay, Cornwall, Ontario. *The Standard Freeholder*, 2 August 2002.
13. Alexandria, Ontario. *Glengarry News*, 15 August, 2001.
14. Originally facilitating courting and prospects of marriage for young adults, Ceilidhs are informal social gatherings originating in the Highlands of Scotland. Traditional dance accompanied by Celtic music characterize these social gatherings of family, friends, and neighbours.
15. This statement is supported by an analysis of the number of pipe bands participating at the Glengarry Games from the mid-1960s onwards. The number of competing bands slowly increased throughout the 1970s and 1980s.
16. Laurel McCosham, Cornwall, Ontario. *The Standard Freeholder*, 27 July 2003.
17. For more information on hybridity see Dallaire (2003), Dallaire and Claude (2005), Anthias (2001), and Nederveen Pieterse (1994).
18. Understanding the construction of cultural identities in Glengarry is further complicated by the reality that many of the francophones who migrated to Glengarry from the townships of Western Quebec prior to the late 19th century were often assimilated into Anglo-Scottish communities. This was particularly prevalent in the small rural communities of southwestern Glengarry where very few francophones lived prior to the early 20th century. The emergence of francophone education in 1916 was the most important development lowering assimilation rates in these communities.
19. It is important to recognize that while francophones do represent a majority in Glengarry (53%) they are also a small minority group (4.3%) within the province of Ontario (2001 Statistics Canada Census). Even though Franco-Ontarians in Glengarry held a significant amount of economic, political, and cultural power by 1940, very few francophone cultural institutions prospered in the second half of the 20th century. In 1916, after a difficult battle with much opposition, the first French elementary school emerged in Glengarry. The struggles over French education would persist after 1916, as the issue would consume local politics over the next 54 years. French secondary education was not established in Glengarry until 1970. The 1960s represented a tumultuous period for francophone/anglo-

phone relationships in Canada. The Quiet Revolution in Quebec encouraged many francophone communities throughout the nation to assert their cultural and linguistic identities. The battle over French secondary education, which occurred in Glengarry at this time, certainly stemmed from this broader national movement. This struggle created a great deal of friction and polarized linguistic and cultural groups in Glengarry. After 1970, both government and community organizations made efforts to bridge the two groups. Perhaps encouraging local participation and involvement in the region's largest cultural event was viewed as part of a unifying process.

20. Along with acknowledging the influence of key agents and the institutions they formed, as Foucault suggests, it is also critical to recognize how broader power relations and struggles helped create the spaces and opportunities for the performance of these practices. An historical analysis of regional, provincial, and national power relations can offer an understanding of the construction of cultural identities in Glengarry. During the second half of the 20th century, the formation of a distinct identity for Franco-Ontarians was merely in its infancy as francophones in Quebec formed a unique brand of nationalism that most often excluded other Canadian francophones who lived outside of the province. This left Franco-Ontarians isolated from the francophone power centre emerging in Quebec. Meanwhile, individuals of Scottish lineage have arguably played the most influential role in the development of Canada. Beginning with confederation, from a political and economic viewpoint, Scots have represented a hegemonic group that carried a significant amount of cultural currency in national, provincial, and regional spheres of influence. As a result, there are certainly tangible and intangible consequences of this that are linked to why powerful spaces were created during this period for the performance of Scottish cultural practices and the construction of Scottish cultural identities. For more on how broader power relations can create spaces for cultural (re)production see Foucault (1980; 1983, 208–226).
21. In Glengarry, as supported by oral histories and historical accounts by MacGillivray and Rayside, this cultural resistance can be characterized by particular responses. Although consumerism and the pursuit of an urban lifestyle began in Glengarry during this period, a sense of alienation, a weakening of family ties, a loss of identity, rural depopulation, and a rejection of what was perceived to be “modern” and the changes associated with it were concomitantly articulated by Glengarry residents. Antimodernism is a complex phenomenon and I do not explore its various currents within this essay. For a more detailed view of antimodernism see McKay (1994) and Lears (1981).

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Interviews

Personal Interviews (PI)

1. Connie Blaney (23 August 2001): Connie Blaney is a resident of Glengarry, a member of the Glengarry Highlanders Pipe Band, and a member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee. Her vast knowledge and experience as an educator of Scottish music practices has helped shaped this essay.

2. Carolyn Smith (26 August, 2001): Carolyn Smith is a resident of Glengarry, an elementary school teacher, and a member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee.
3. Larry Harrison (26 August, 2001): Larry Harrison is a resident of Glengarry, an elementary school principal, and a member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee.
4. Myles MacMillan (3 January 2002): Myles MacMillan is a resident of Glengarry and a member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee. He aided this essay by sharing his knowledge of the county's celebrations of Scottish Highland traditional dress.
5. Rae MacCulloch (6 January 2002): Rae MacCulloch is a resident of Glengarry and the founder of the MacCulloch School of Highland Dance. Her knowledge of the reproduction of Scottish sporting and cultural practices has significantly informed this essay.
6. David Anderson (22 December 2003): David Anderson is a resident of Glengarry, a current member and past president of the Glengarry Historical Society, and the current curator of the Glengarry Archives. His vast knowledge of the cultural history of the county has significantly aided this paper.
7. Clive and Frances Marin (28 December 2003): Clive and Frances Marin are retired teachers that have authored several books on the history and culture of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry.
8. Jim Brownell (30 December 2003): Jim Brownell is a retired elementary school principal, a past member of the Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry Historical Society, a past member of the St. Lawrence Parks Commission, and the current Member of Provincial Parliament for the region. His knowledge of local history, and specifically tourism within the region, has improved this essay.
9. Edward St. John (2 January 2004): Edward St. John is a past resident of Glengarry, a past member of the Glengarry Historical Society, and a past member of the Glengarry Highland Games Committee. His knowledge of Glengarry's cultural, economic, and political life greatly informed many aspects of this essay.

Telephone Interviews (TI)

1. David Anderson (15 March 2004).
2. Maurice Gauthier (23 March 2004): Maurice Gauthier is a resident of Glengarry, a retired high school teacher, and a member of the Glengarry Historical Society. His knowledge of the history of francophone cultural practices in Glengarry made an important contribution to this paper.
3. Jim Brownell (31 March 2004).

Newspapers

Glengarry News, Alexandria, Ontario.

Standard Freeholder, Cornwall, Ontario.