



Scots in the American West

Co-Sponsored by the Smithsonian Consortium for Understanding the American Experience and the Buffalo Bill Center of the West

Thursday, August 8, 2013

**Warner Bros. Theater
National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution
14th Street and Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C.**

In the late 1600s, Glasgow was the European center for the Virginia tobacco trade, and Scots Presbyterian dissenters in search of religious freedom established their own colonies in South Carolina and New Jersey. In the 1700s, population growth, agricultural modernization, and political upheaval in Scotland were the driving forces behind more than 50,000 Scots crossing the Atlantic. As the new American Republic looked westward, many of the earliest pioneers settling the Ohio and Tennessee valleys were of Scots or Scots-Irish descent. It is little wonder then that in the 1800s as the United States expanded into the Trans-Mississippi American West, Scottish immigrants and their descendants contributed and greatly shaped all phases of this movement.

This symposium will examine the Scottish immigrant experience in the Trans-Mississippi West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the substantial contributions made by Scots and Scots-Americans. What compelled Scots to leave their homeland and settle in America? How did their Scottish culture and past shape their experiences in the American West? Finally, what was the particular lure of the American West for Scots of that period? Not only will this symposium offer insight into the immigrant experience, it will also examine the multifaceted forces shaping western expansion and how it shaped American culture and society today.

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National Museum of American History
14th Street and Constitution Avenue, NW
Thursday, August 8, 2013
9:00 a.m. – 4:30 p.m.

- 9:00 a.m. **Introduction**
Michelle Delaney, Smithsonian Consortium for Understanding the American Experience
- 9:10 a.m. **Welcome**
John Gray, National Museum of American History
- 9:30 a.m. **Morning Session Presentations: *Scottish Diaspora***
Angela McCarthy, University of Otago, New Zealand
Revisiting the Conundrum of Scottish Emigration
- Marjory Harper, University of Aberdeen
Romance, Rhetoric and Reality: Scottish Settlers and Sojourners in the American West
- John Young, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow
Scots on the Move: The Historical Context of Scottish Migration in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods
- Moderator: Jeremy Johnston, *The Papers of William F. Cody*, Buffalo Bill Center of the West
- 11:30 a.m. **Lunch Break**
- 1:00 p.m. **Musical Performance and Clinic by *Atlantic Seaway***
Introduced by James Hare and Featuring Artist-in-Residence Maureen McMullan
National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA
- 2:15 p.m. **Afternoon Session Presentations: *Scots and the American West***
Colin Calloway, Dartmouth College
Scots and Indians on American Frontiers
- Margaret Connell-Szasz, University of New Mexico
Scots and Indians: Shaping Nationalism within the Nation State
- Phil Roberts, University of Wyoming
Boom, Blizzard and Bust: Small Scottish Investors, Insider Information and the Collapse of Western U. S. Cattle Companies, 1886-87
- Moderator: Michelle Delaney, Consortium for Understanding the American Experience
- 4:00 p.m. **Reflections and Closing Remarks**
Bruce Eldredge, Executive Director, Buffalo Bill Center of the West

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Smithsonian Consortium for Understanding the American Experience and the Buffalo Bill Center for the West would like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their support of this symposium.

Helen and DuWayne Sayles

Ms. Naoma Tate



The National Trust
for Scotland Foundation USA

ALLIANCE
FOR SCOTTISH ROOTS MUSIC

Atlantic Seaway



Atlantic Seaway is a captivating educational music ensemble that seeks to demonstrate (musically) the migration and influence of traditional Scottish Roots Music on the music of other countries, most notably, North America, Canada (Nova Scotia), France (Brittany,) and Spain (Asturias). This dynamic collective of exceptionally talented young musicians - with expertise in their respective genres - present repertoire that explores and authenticates the common threads of these centuries-old connections, as well as the evolution of newer Celtic-inspired genres. From Puir-à-beul (Gaelic mouth music), Sea Shanties, Country, Bluegrass, and Old Time, to name but a few musical idioms, the result is a culturally rich, chameleonic, and compelling musical journey performed with unrivaled passion and gusto. Atlantic Seaway wholly supports the research activities and mission of the registered non-profit organization, the Alliance for Scottish Roots Music (ASRM), recipient of the National Trust for Scotland's 2012 'Great Scot' Award. The project has featured musicians representing the Berklee College of Music, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, The University of the Highlands, and the University of Strathclyde. They have performed at some of the world's most respected Celtic music festivals including Celtic Connections Festival, Interceltique De Lorient, The American-Scottish Foundation's Robert Burns Gala, Tartan Day at the British Consulate-General, Boston. Representing Atlantic Seaway today are National Trust of Scotland Foundation USA, Artist-in-Residence, Maureen McMullan (Vocals/Musical Direction), Maeve Gilchrist (Harp/Vocals), Duncan Wickel (Fiddle), Lukas Pool (Banjo), and Jenna Moynihan (Fiddle). For more information visit: www.ntsusa.org/music/

Colin Calloway



Scots and Indians on American Frontiers

This talk will briefly review historic encounters between Scots—particularly Highland Scots—and American Indians across North America. In some cases and certain regions, Scots and Indians coexisted closely and intermarried, notably in Creek and Cherokee country in the Southeast, and during the Canadian fur trade. When Scots participated in the westward expansion of the United States, however, their relations with Indian

peoples west of the Mississippi do not appear to have differed significantly from those of other emigrant groups. The talk will point out some of the factors and circumstances that shaped Scots-Indian relationships elsewhere, ask whether there was anything distinctively Scottish about Scots-Indian encounters in the American West, and consider reasons why the kind of relationships Scots established with Indians in other times and places were rarely replicated in the American West.

Colin G. Calloway received his B.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Leeds in England. He has taught at the College of Ripon and York St. John in England, at Springfield High School in Vermont, and at the University of Wyoming. He has also served as editor/assistant director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago. At Dartmouth College, he is the John Kimball Jr. 1943 Professor of History and Professor of Native American Studies. He served four consecutive three-year terms as chair of the Native American Studies Program. His books include *Pen and Ink Witchcraft: Treaties and Treaty Making in American Indian History* (2013); *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* (2010); "White People, Indians, and Highlanders": *Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and North America* (2008); *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (2006), *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark* (2003), which won six "best book" awards; *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (1999; 2004; 2008; 2012); *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (1997, 2013); *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (1995), nominated for a Pulitzer prize; *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800* (1990) and *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815* (1987). He has also edited several collections of essays and documents. He was President of the American Society for Ethnohistory in 2007-08, has been given awards by the Missisquoi Nation of Abenakis and the Native American Students at Dartmouth, and was selected for the American Indian History Lifetime Achievement Award in 2011.

Margaret Connell-Szasz



Scots and Indians: Shaping Nationalism within the Nation State

This presentation will enlarge on the theme of Scots and Indians on American frontiers by assessing Scots and Indians as late-twentieth century proponents of nationalism. By the 1990s, seismic global power shifts, beginning with the independence gained by former European colonies such as India and culminating with the Soviet Union's collapse, had thrust the concept of nationalism to the forefront of global politics. For American Indians, Red Power in its many forms had reconfirmed Native American sovereignty, alerting other Americans to their status as independent nations located within the United States. For Scots, antagonism toward England and a renewed sense of Scotland's unique past had spawned a movement for greater autonomy within the United Kingdom and, later, a much-contested bid for independence. Both of these movements drew on deep historical roots. Both movements spoke to nationhood, largely within, possibly outside the larger nation-state. Both political struggles were spurred by cultural renaissance. A resurgence of literature, theatre and music recharged cultural batteries, while Scottish and Indian-run schools, colleges and universities energized revitalization movements for Scotland's indigenous languages—

Scottish Gaelic and “Scots”—and the many indigenous languages of Native North America. Linked by a symbiotic relationship, cultural revitalization reinforced the demands of political reality. By 2000, Indians and Scots had counted coup: Indians celebrated passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act in 1975, and in 1999, Scots cheered the re-opening of Scotland’s Parliament.

President-elect of the Western History Association and Regents Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, Margaret Connell-Szasz is a student of American Indian and Alaska Native History, Modern Native American /Celtic History, Comparative Indigenous History, and U.S. History. A Research Fellow at the School of Divinity, History and Philosophy, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, she has taught Scottish, English and American students at universities in England and Scotland. Publications include *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*; *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination*; and *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*. Although her roots lie in the Columbia River Plateau, in recent decades she has lived in New Mexico and abroad. Current writing projects include editing “Nations on the Move”, essays on cultural renaissance and nationalism in Scotland, Wales, Ireland(s) and Native America; a study of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Gaelic College on the Isle of Skye; and second author with the late Ferenc M. Szasz, for the forthcoming *Abraham Lincoln and Religion: A Brief Introduction*. Her family members reside in New Mexico and the Pacific Northwest.

Michelle Delaney



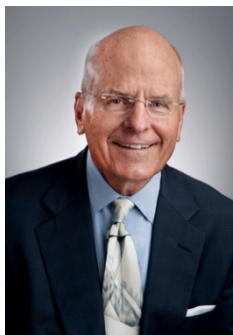
Michelle Anne Delaney was named Director of the Smithsonian Consortium for Understanding the American Experience in July 2010 and also serves as Senior Program Officer in the Office of the Under Secretary for History, Art, and Culture. She works with the Institution’s senior leadership and with directors and staff of the Smithsonian’s American museums and research centers to develop and implement the Smithsonian’s strategic plans, national campaign, education and access, web and digital strategy, and revenue and business policies. Prior to this position, Delaney was curator of photography in the Photographic History Collection, National Museum of American History, where she worked since 1989. Her research interests include American visual culture, early Daguerreian-era photography, history of art photography, Eadweard Muybridge’s locomotion studies, contemporary photojournalism, and Washington, DC photography. Delaney has successfully directed collections-based and scholarly research grants, and a 2006 Getty Foundation Conservation grant studying the Smithsonian’s collection of Hillotypes, early experiments in color photography. She and her co-editors received a 2009 Smithsonian Secretary’s Research Prize for the exhibition catalog *The Scurlock Studio and Black Washington: Picturing the Promise*. Her most recent exhibition project is a companion to her first book, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History* by Gertrude Käsebier, jointly sponsored by the Buffalo Bill Historical Society, Cody, Wyoming, and the National Museum of American History. In 2009, Delaney was appointed an associate editor for visual culture for *The Papers of William F. Cody*. She received her master’s degree in American Studies from the George Washington University and is currently a History Ph.D. candidate at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Bruce Eldredge



Bruce B. Eldredge has served as a museum director and arts administrator for over thirty years. He is a 1974 graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a double major in History and Geography. He received his Master of Arts degree from Texas Tech University in Museum Science with a concentration on museum administration in 1976. While in graduate school, Eldredge studied in the Business School and the School of Mass Communications as well as with the Museum of Texas Tech University. During his career, Eldredge has held numerous posts as a museum director including his current position as Executive Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyoming. He assumed his current position in January 2008 and during his tenure has reduced operating expenditures while maintaining quality programs. In addition, he oversaw an increase in major gifts to the Center and has been working to reorganize its entire development operation. In late 2008, Eldredge represented the Center at a White House ceremony when the Center received the National Medal for Museum Service, the highest award given by the federal government to a museum in the United States. Prior to assuming his position at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Eldredge was Chief Executive Officer of the Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture in Spokane, Washington. The Museum is a unique blend of public and private support being a not-for-profit corporation and an official state agency of the State of Washington. Eldredge has operated museums in New Mexico, Texas, Virginia, Arizona, Michigan, and New York. During most of his career, he directed museums related to Western American art or history. He also has experience in operating museum systems, municipal museums, and school district museums. He has directed museums of art, history, American Indians, in addition to historic houses, children's museums, planetariums, and nature preserves.

John Gray



John Gray was named the Elizabeth MacMillan Director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History on May 8, 2012 after an extensive national search. Under Gray's leadership, the museum has embarked on a dynamic strategic plan that will guide the revitalization of its 120,000-square-foot west exhibition wing. Exhibitions and programs will focus on the themes of Innovation and American Business, Democracy and Immigration, and American Culture, animated by lively music, food, and theater presentations. Gray has a track record in transforming organizations, enlisting scholars, supporting serious research and leading successful fundraising campaigns. Prior to becoming the museum's ninth director, he was founding president of the Autry National Center of the American West, a successful merging of three

cultural organizations: the Autry, Colorado's Women of the West Museum in Denver, and Los Angeles' oldest museum, the Southwest Museum of the American Indian. He also created the Institute for the Study of the American West, which supports the scholarly, interpretive and educational activities of the Autry National Center. Commercial banking was the foundation of Gray's previous career. He served as executive vice president of First Interstate Bank of California in Los Angeles from 1987 until 1996 and worked at the Small Business Administration in Washington, D.C., for two years, 1997 to 1999. Gray has a bachelor's degree from C.W. Post College at Long Island University and a master's degree in business administration from the University of Colorado. He serves on the boards of the Global Center for Cultural Entrepreneurship in Santa Fe and Community Development Technology in Los Angeles.

Marjory Harper



Romance, Rhetoric and Reality: Scottish Settlers and Sojourners in the American West

“There is nothing more agreeable to picture and nothing more pathetic to behold.” So wrote Robert Louis Stevenson when in 1879 he left Scotland to cross the Atlantic in pursuit of his lover, Fanny Osborne. Stevenson’s juxtaposition of optimistic expectations and negative experiences among emigrants to America is a recurring theme in public commentary, especially in the nineteenth century, as romantic perceptions and promotional rhetoric jostled with the harsh realities of frontier settlement. That juxtaposition also provides the structural framework for this paper, which draws on newspapers, guidebooks, diaries and oral testimony to explore the experiences of Scottish sojourners and settlers across two centuries. After brief consideration of their general motives, their choice of the United States over other destinations, and public attitudes to American settlement, it investigates the reasons for the particular lure of the West. In analysing the ways in which a general fascination was translated into specific involvement, it dips into the activities of recruitment agents, remittance men, ranchers, farmers, tradesmen and Mormon converts. How significant were Scottish heritage and culture in shaping immigrants’ experiences and their impact on the economy, society and culture of the West? Is there anything exceptional about the Scots, in comparison with other ethnicities, or about the West, in comparison with other favoured Scottish destinations, particularly Canada? Did the immigrants constitute a recognisable Scottish diaspora in the West or was their ethnic identity diluted or abandoned on the frontier?

Marjory Harper is Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen, where she also studied. She specialises in nineteenth- and twentieth-century migration history, particularly from Scotland, and has published five monographs and four edited collections. Her study of nineteenth-century Scottish emigration, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, won the Saltire Society Prize for best history book of the year in 2004 and her most recent monograph, *Scotland No More? The Scots who left Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (2013) has just been awarded the Frank Watson Prize by the University of Guelph in Ontario. With Professor Stephen Constantine, she co-authored *Migration and Empire* (2010), a Companion volume in the Oxford History of the British Empire, and she is currently working on a commissioned monograph on Scottish emigration to New Zealand, as well as on a multi-disciplinary international research project on migration and health in historical and contemporary contexts.

Jeremy Johnston



Jeremy M. Johnston is the Managing Editor of *The Papers of William F. Cody* at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyoming. Jeremy was born and raised in Powell, Wyoming. He attended the University of Wyoming receiving his BA in 1993 and his MA in 1995. He taught at Northwest College in Powell, Wyoming for fifteen years. His past writings appear in *Annals of Wyoming*, *Colorado Heritage*, *Points West*, *Readings of Wyoming History*, *The George Wright Forum*, and *Yellowstone Science*. He released his first book, a photo history of Powell, in 2009 followed by a “then and now” photo history in 2012. He is the recipient of the 2006 Coke Wood Award, sponsored by Westerners International, for his article *Progressivism Comes to Yellowstone: Theodore Roosevelt and Professional Land Management Agencies in the Yellowstone Ecosystem*. Jeremy is a past-president of the Wyoming State Historical Society and appeared on various Wyoming PBS documentaries including *Roy Barnes: Rocky Mountain Cowboy* and *Wyoming Voices*. Jeremy, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, Scotland, is finishing his doctoral dissertation examining the connections between Theodore Roosevelt and William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody. He is currently working with Dr. Charles Preston on an annotated version of Ernest Thompson-Seton’s *The Biography of a Grizzly*, to be published by University of Oklahoma Press. His hobbies include boating, fly-fishing, big game and bird hunting, and reading. He enjoys spending time with his wife Amanda and his two sons, Jaxon and Samuel, and his daughter, Alexa.

Angela McCarthy



Revisiting the Conundrum of Scottish Emigration

Between 1815 and 1930 central and Western Europe experienced unprecedented mobility with an estimated 60 million people leaving for overseas shores. Among the largest flows were 11.4 million from Britain, 9.9 million from Italy, and 7.3 million from Ireland. Scotland’s contribution to the outflow to non-European destinations between 1825 and 1914 was around 2 million, while a further 1.25 million left in the period after 1914. This presentation charts some key aspects of the Scottish migrant flow during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries before addressing what has been termed the ‘paradox of Scottish emigration’, that is the puzzle as to why so many Scots emigrated during this period. The presentation concludes with some suggested ways forward for the study of the Scots abroad.

Angela McCarthy is Professor of Scottish and Irish History and Associate Director of the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Otago, New Zealand, where she teaches modern Scottish history, modern Irish history, and Scottish and Irish migration. She is also Visiting Professor of the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Angela is the author and editor of several books on Scottish and Irish migration including *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration, 1921-65: 'For Spirit and Adventure'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) and *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, International Library of Historical Studies 36, 2006). Her most recent project, funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden Fund, examined migration, ethnicity, and madness and will be published by Liverpool University Press.

Phil Roberts



Boom, Blizzard and Bust: Small Scottish Investors, Insider Information and the Collapse of Western U. S. Cattle Companies, 1886-87

Huge absentee-owned cattle ranches dominated the industry and the prairies of Wyoming in the 1870s and 1880s. Initially, most absentee owners who furnished the capital realized spectacular returns, as much as promised by the promotional literature. Most Wyoming investor-owned cattle companies initially attracted the wealthy, many from Scotland.

Following price declines, overcrowding on the open range and the disastrous winter of 1886-87, many of the large outfits went bankrupt. The collapse in Western cattle was a calamity for some wealthy Scotsmen, but as this paper demonstrates, a few of them managed to avoid losses by selling out to unsuspecting later investors. Many of those who bought were the small shareholders--small businessmen, farmers, business employees, widows in Scotland-- who did not know about the changed conditions and who assumed the investments would pay as substantially as the promoters still promised.

The numbers of middle class investors enticed into buying stock in fast growing, risk-free American ranch companies were small. Nonetheless, the financial losses incurred from the ranching collapse were so great that it permanently altered Scottish attitudes about investing in the American West. The paper also demonstrates the role of insiders in extending the losses to later uninformed small investors.

Phil Roberts has been teaching the history of Wyoming and the American West, legal history and natural resources history at the University of Wyoming since 1990. Prior to joining the history faculty at UW, he earned the Ph.D. in history from the University of Washington. He also holds a law degree from the University of Wyoming College of Law. A native of Lusk, Wyoming, his early years were spent on the family ranch in eastern Wyoming. A veteran of the U. S. Marine Corps, he has practiced law, edited newspapers and worked in public history. He has written extensively on Wyoming history.

John Young



Scots on the Move: The Historical Context of Scottish Migration in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods

This presentation will provide an overview of migration trends in medieval and early modern Scottish society, including the key destinations and locations that Scots migrated to. It has long been recognised that a 'culture of mobility' existed in medieval and early modern Scottish society. Large numbers of Scots were active in France, the Baltic region, Scandinavia and Russia. Many were scholars, traders, soldiers and diplomats. By the seventeenth century, the three main destinations were Poland, Scandinavia, and Ulster in the north of Ireland. A large body of recent scholarship, largely drawn from European archives, has indicated the significance of Scottish commercial networks. It also appears that Scots tended to assimilate relatively quickly. Scots were also present in the Americas in the seventeenth century. The largest migration of Scots to Ulster took place in the 1690s. It has been recently argued that this is the key migration for the great waves of migration from the north of Ireland to colonial North America in the eighteenth century, and the 'formation' of the Scotch-Irish. In an American context, there is therefore an important comparative aspect of the Scots and the Scotch-Irish, most notably with the participation of Scots in the British Empire. Within the wider perspective of Scottish migration in later centuries, a culture of mobility continued to exist (and does to this day). For the purposes of looking at Scots in the American West, it is important to keep this previous migratory experience in mind, especially with regards to the Scots as 'frontiers' people'.

John Young is Senior Lecturer at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland. He is a graduate of the University of Glasgow where he graduated with first class honours before proceeding to take his Ph.D. there. He has published widely in early modern Scottish History, most notably on the pre-1707 Scottish Parliament, the Covenanters, and Scotland's relations with Ulster. He is the editor of the peer-reviewed journal, *Parliaments, Estates, and Representation*, the journal of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. His work has been published in the proceedings of several European Parliaments, including the French National Assembly, and the parliaments of Poland, Portugal, and Catalonia. At the University of Strathclyde, he is involved in the management of postgraduate students working on *The Papers of William F. Cody* at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West. Last year in Cody, Wyoming, he participated in a symposium on Scots in the American West, and this is an area that he has a growing interest in.