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Burns and the St Andrew's societies of North America

Introduction

Illuminated by the glow of 'Burns Day'—then a firm commemorative fixture within America's associational matrix—the first issue of the World Burns Federation's new publication, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, in January 1892, carried a four-page essay exploring the poet's influence on American Literature. Its author, Wallace Bruce, the US Consul in Edinburgh, finds his homeland lauding Burns' literary style, but amongst the wider public they basked 'in the more vital and permanent power of the truth presented'.¹ Burns, he wrote, understood the spirit of America's institutions and recognised that 'the American Republic in its noblest conception was the highest expression of the great truths of Christ's Gospel.'² This might surprize given Burns' troubled relationship with the Kirk.³ Nor did this popularity flow from the volume of work directed at the new country. Henryk Minc's survey of Burns' corpus identifies only three poems that eulogised the aims and virtues of the American Revolution: *Ballad on the American War* (1784), *Address of Beelzebub* (1786), and

¹ W. Bruce, 'The Influence of Robert Burns on American Literature', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* 1 (January 1892), p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³ C.A. Whatley, "'The Kirk's Alarm': Burns and the Presbyterians in mid-Victorian Scotland", *Burns Chronicle* 131, 1 (March 2022), pp. 1-20; S. Sharp, 'Exporting 'The Cotter's Saturday Night': Robert Burns, Scottish Romantic Nationalism and Colonial Settler Identity', *Romanticism* 25, 1 (2019), pp. 81–2.

Ode for General Washington's Birthday (1794).⁴ Yet, Burns' mockery of unearned and unfairly exercised status so fitted republican principles of equality, fraternity, and liberty that Oliver Wendell Holmes lamented Burns had never spent time in that country: 'for those words of his, *A Man's a Man for a' that*, show that true American feeling belonged to him as much as if he had been born in sight of the hill before me as I write, Bunker Hill.'⁵

While no stranger to commemorating his medieval namesakes during his time in Scotland, Wallace Bruce made two other notable interventions highlighting America's debt to Scotland and to Burns.⁶ Invited to present his own composition, 'Walter Scott's Greetings to Robert Burns', Bruce helped mark New York's latest site of memory in October 1880. Here, in Central Park, a statue to Burns was placed across from the bronze dedicated in 1872 to Scott and likewise sculpted by John Steel.⁷ The links between the two nations were again commemorated in August 1893 when Bruce was tasked with unveiling a statue to Abraham Lincoln in Edinburgh's Old Calton Cemetery.⁸ That sculpture, by the American George Edwin Bissell, had inscribed in its base the names of six Edinburgh soldiers who fought under Lincoln, and depicted the sixteenth US President bestowing freedom on African slaves.⁹ The act of absolution it represented echoed the 'great truth of Christ's gospel' in

⁴ H. Minc, 'Robert Burns and the American Revolution, and A' That', *Burns Chronicle* (2001), p. 117.

⁵ A.C. White, 'American Appreciations of Burns', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Register* (1911), p. 83.

⁶ Bruce and Home Ruler Theodore Napier addressed the 1893 Bannockburn anniversary, *The Glasgow Herald*, 30 May 1893, p. 5.

⁷ T. Keith, 'Burns Statues In North America, A Survey', *Burns Chronicle* (2001), p. 74.

⁸ *Scotsman*, 15 February 2016.

⁹ <https://uk.usembassy.gov/embassy-consulates/edinburgh/history/>

Scotland's contribution to America's institutional development. Andrew Carnegie donated funds for its construction along with another fifty others, including the wealthy New Yorkers Cornelius Vanderbilt, William Rockefeller, and William Waldorf Astor.¹⁰ Both at the ceremony and the dinner that evening to honour Bruce's imminent retiral, Scotland's contribution to America was lauded as the respective festivities concluded with a rendition of Burns' *Auld Lang Syne*.¹¹

The manifestation of 'Christian truth' was also foundational to the philanthropic associations established to support Scottish immigrants in North America. The creation of clubs and societies organised around ethnicity characterised the Scottish diasporic experience, both for those who received alms and for those who sought a vehicle through which to dispense charity or to meet and socialise with other Scots of similar social standing. My aim in this article is to explore the extent to which the commemoration of Burns amplified the philanthropic principle within societies committed to relieving want and distress. Focus falls primarily on St Andrew's societies, the dominant form of Scots' associational culture in North America, including those established before, during and following Burns' lifetime. The St Andrew's Society of New York, for example, existed a dozen years before Burns made his mark in 1788 with *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish dialect*, commencing its work five decades before the first Burns supper was toasted in 1801 in Alloway. Yet in St Andrew's societies, as it was in other clubs and associations formed in the diaspora, including those from the 1850s dedicated to Burns' literary works, the poet's commemoration became an essential part of

¹⁰ C. Hurley, 'Lincoln in Scotland: A gift of the Gilded Age', *American Studies Journal* 60 (2016), p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Bruce was presented with a Loving Cup from Edinburgh Corporation to mark his retiral.

their ceremonial and social endeavours.¹² My examination explores how St Andrew's societies in North America remained true to their philanthropic foundation even when the immediate want of the new immigrant was less critical than it had once been, and when the literary and cultural projection of Scotland's ethnic symbols was enhanced through the Burns supper. How, then, was the commemoration of Burns absorbed into the instrumental aims of the St Andrew's society? And what do we learn of diasporic national identity from this process?

The Anatomy of the St Andrew's Society

Scottish associational culture in North America has its origins in the continent's earliest immigrant settlements. The Boston Scots Charitable Society was constituted in 1657 and amongst the earliest associations formed to relieve poverty include the St Andrew's societies of Charleston (1729), Philadelphia (1749), Savannah (1750), New York (1756), Albany (1803), and Baltimore (1806).¹³ Eight years after the fast growing town of Chicago was incorporated into a city with a population 4,170, the Illinois St Andrew's Society (1845) emerged as the settlement's first charitable body to serve a population that had swelled fivefold.¹⁴ Even more directly than south of the border, Canada's St Andrew's societies

¹² T. Bueltmann, A. Hinson and G. Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 114–131.

¹³ Baltimore's society was previously named then 'United Irish and Scotch Benevolent Society', Saint Andrew's Society Records, MG 156. Albany Institute of History & Art Library, New York.

¹⁴ *History of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Savannah*, (Published by the Society, 1821); I. A. Jack, *History of St. Andrew's Society of St. John, N.B., Canada, 1798 to 1903* (St. John: J. & A. McMillan, 1903), p. 20; G. Noble, 'The Chicago Scots', in T. Bueltmann, A. Hinson and G. Morton, eds, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2019), pp. 138–9.

formed in step with patterns of settlement. The earliest societies were the North British Society of Halifax in Nova Scotia (1768), St John, New Brunswick (1798) and Frederickton, Newfoundland (1825). In Lower and Upper Canada, St Andrew's societies formed along the St Lawrence River towards Lake Ontario: in Dalhousie (1825), Montreal (1835), St Catherines (1835), Toronto (1836), Québec City (1837), Kingston (1840), and then Ottawa (1846); and when migrants settled in the west, societies were formed in Winnipeg (1871), Calgary (1884), and Vancouver (1886).

The objectives of St Andrew's societies can be traced back to guilds, trade incorporations, and Corpus Christi societies of the seventeenth century. That range of social action then broadened in the enlightenment phase into music, cultural and social activities, the Oddfellows, as well as, in the case of the beggar's benison, sexual pleasures.¹⁵ The Burns supper itself has its roots in the ceremonial and fellowship practices of the eighteenth-century Masonic lodge.¹⁶ It was an associational world that was closely prescribed, yet the intent was both universal and political. Upon this ethos and organizational structure being ported to North America, migrants took their 'deep roots in Scottish practice and experience' into the land they now lived.¹⁷ Clubs, societies, and associations with a benevolent imperative both

¹⁵ P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 26–59; R.J. Morris, 'Introduction: Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places', in G. Morton, B. de Vries and R.J. Morris, eds, *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 8–10.

¹⁶ C. McGinn, 'Vehement Celebrations: The Global Celebration of the Burns Supper since 1801', in M. Pittock, ed., *Robert Burns in Global Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), p. 195.

¹⁷ R.J. Morris, 'The Enlightenment and the Thistle: The Scottish Contribution to Associational Culture in Canada', in Buelmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie*, pp. 54–5.

characterised and represented the civility that originated within the Scottish moralists and gave representative form to associations of strangers when access to the nation's polity was limited. The alternatives were known and not welcomed: Adam Ferguson had warned against despotism in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society*.¹⁸ So, too, Alexis de Tocqueville who commended the associational culture he observed in America during his visit in 1831–2 as 'pure public spirit'.¹⁹ Voluntary action for public good makes civil society, at its most open, a relationship of 'reciprocal consent' between the people and the state.²⁰ It is a point Putnam takes from de Tocqueville to find 'civil associations contributing to the effectiveness and stability of democratic government', socialising both the individual and the polity.²¹ Openness, accountability and trust were key, where the subscription granted participation and a vote in the society's business, creating what Morris terms a 'subscriber democracy'.²² Membership and office holding were public acts, with subscription lists published in the newspapers, but also reproduced in annual reports and retrospective historical sketches. The extent of America's associational culture in the 1830s that so struck de Tocqueville would

¹⁸ A. Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh: Kinnaird & Bell, 2nd edn, 1768 [1767]), pp. 96–7; J. A. Hill, 'Adam Ferguson's Discourse on 'Rude Nations' in the *Essay* and the Critique of Despotism', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 38, 1 (2018), pp. 104–120.

¹⁹ A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. G. Lawrence, ed. J.P. Mayer (London: Fontana, 1994) p. 68.

²⁰ J.A. Hall, 'In search of civil society', in J.A. Hall, ed., *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 16.

²¹ R.D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1993), p. 89.

²² R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780–1850: An Analysis', *The Historical Journal*, 26, 1, March (1983), pp. 95–118.

continue to grow. Research by Beckert finds that each member of New York's bourgeoisie associated with five clubs in 1891, a growth that matched the maturation of their class identity and included membership of the state's St Andrew's Society.²³ To take one example, Dunfermline-born John Reid, 38th president of the St Andrew's society of New York (1898), and previously a manager and vice president, was a member of the city's Engineers Club, Fulton Club, Society of British Schools and Universities, and the Burns Club, 'of which he was many times President'.²⁴

As an ethnic-based organization, with markers of ethnicity advanced by absorbing the commemoration of Burns, the St Andrew's society is a particular manifestation of civil society. Ethnic constraint is contrary to open participation, yet the evidence suggests that its philanthropic imperative ensured adherence to the moral and public ethos of a subscriber democracy and civic inclusivity while simultaneously operating within ethnic boundaries. To structure my analysis of this equilibrium of opposites, and the contribution Burns' ceremonialism made to diasporic engagement in North America, the anatomy of the St Andrew's society is analysed in four parts: its civic configuration, its ethnic exclusivity, its instrumental inclusivity, and its ethno-symbolic contribution to diasporic boundary making.

²³ S. Beckert, 'Institution-building and Class Formation: How nineteenth-century bourgeois organised', in Morton, de Vries and Morris, *Civil Society*, p. 19; S. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 4–5, 12–13, 65.

²⁴ G.A. Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York, 1756–1906* (New York, 1906), pp. 145–6.

Civic Structure

In Philadelphia, in 1751, members of the St Andrew's Society met in a member's home 'in order to maintain a good Understanding, Acquaintance and Fellowship, with one another ...'.²⁵ Sociability and brotherhood were important points of human connection that encouraged participation. Yet in civil terms, these societies are understood for how they managed issues inherent to everyday life in ways independent of the state, or at a time when the state is too small to have a role:

The Usefulness of private Societies, to answer particular good Purposes, which either had not been, or could not be so well provided for by the publick Acts of a Community, is well known to be fully justified by the Practice of the best of Men in all Ages, and in all civiliz'd Countries.²⁶

The St Andrew's Society of Philadelphia built its reputation upon the principle of trust; and advertised the fact: 'Thus it appears that the design of this society is fair, equitable, and innocent, and to convince the world that it is so, we thought it proper to take this method of making public our rules.'²⁷ For that trust to be credible, a society's governance structure was openly stated. The rules and regulations of the 'St. Andrew's Society, at New York, in the Province of New York', published in 1770, established that meetings would take place four

²⁵ *Rules for the St. Andrew's Society in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin & D. Hall, 1751), p. 5.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3.

²⁷ 'Advertisement', *Rules for the St. Andrew's Society in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin & D. Hall, 1751).

times each year. Modelling their constitution on the Philadelphia society,²⁸ admittance to this, the fourth Scottish benevolent society in America, was by majority vote: accepting ‘any Man of Honour and Integrity, as a Resident Member, provided he be a Scotsman, or of Scots Parentage, and be previously proposed to the Society by one or more’. Of this four-part qualification, ethnicity was but one criterion alongside honour, integrity and being known to the society. The commitment to honour and integrity was laid out in subsequent clauses. Free-riding was penalised, with any officer not acting as required by the rules subject to a forfeit of forty shillings, and any resident member who is absent at the time of a meeting, unless with a reasonable excuse, a fine of two shillings and six pence, or eight shillings if the absence happened on St Andrew’s Day. As an indicator of the society’s civic symbolism, a forfeit of eight shillings went to any member lacking a St Andrew’s cross in their hat at 11 o’clock in the morning on St Andrew’s Day.²⁹

The importance of active participation persists throughout the history of these societies; a point illustrated by the profusion of office bearers elected by the St Andrew’s Society of New York where there were 26 office bearers in 1863, comprising around one quarter of its total membership.³⁰ The evidence suggests, for this society at least, that participation was a long-term commitment. Of those members who had died in 1863, Robert Hyslop had faithfully

²⁸ *Historical sketch of the Saint Andrew's Society, of the State of New-York* (New-York: J. W. Amerman, Printer, 1856), p. 3.

²⁹ The New-York Historical Society [hereafter NYHS], *The Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York Records*, MS 2997: Container 1, Vol 48. *Rules for the St Andrew's Society, in New York* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1770), p. 5 (Clauses, 5, 9 and 11).

³⁰ NYHS, MS 2997 Vol 49, Box 13. ‘List of Officers of the St Andrew’s Society of the State of New York Elected at the Preparatory Meeting, Nov 12, 1863’.

served for twenty-five years, including eighteen years as an office bearer; Thomas Frazer had been a member for twenty-two years, including four years as manager and twelve months as vice president; Professor Renwick had been a manager forty-five years previously; and William Douglas had come from a family connected with the institution since the last century: ‘when the Society was in its youth’.³¹

Membership of St Andrew’s societies has generally claimed those men with greatest social capital, but not women. Toronto, for example, waited until 1903 for the all-female Daughters of Scotland Association to be formed.³² And once ethnicity was diminished as a criterion of membership, anyone able to pay could apply for membership. In effect, however, this principle of openness did not stop membership being concentrated within the urban elites. When New York gained its St Andrew’s Society, its founders ‘... were almost all the heads or members of the best and most prominent Scotch families ... [who] occupied important positions in the professional and business community.’³³ The St. Andrew’s Society of Toronto’s leadership was similarly dominated by men of wealth and political standing. In social status, the society was only bettered by the royal yacht club. Its first President was the MP William Allan. He was later united in the Society by his son George, a mayor of Toronto, John Strachan Jr, son of the influential Bishop Strachan, and by George Brown, the founder

³¹ NYHS, MS 2997: Container 1, Vol 49 Box 13: ‘Deaths in 1863’.

³² S. O’Connor, “‘Nowhere in Canada is St. Andrew’s Day Celebrated with Greater Loyalty and Enthusiasm’”: Scottish Associational Culture in Toronto, c.1836–1914’, in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie*, p. 112.

³³ Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society*, p. 7.

of the *Globe* newspaper.³⁴ In Montreal, the creation of the St Andrew's Society in 1835 was a mechanism for the Anglophone haute bourgeois political elite to counter a growing Francophone community.³⁵

The public act of subscription was key to bourgeois involvement and to establishing association with public figures in lieu of the landed elites who occupied honorary positions in the associational world back in Scotland.³⁶ Evidence from letters sent to the New York St Andrew's Society's secretary indicate appreciation by the city's elites at being recognised by an invitation, looking always to attend, or confirm a substitute was present. Harry van Dyke, President of the Holland Society, ensured his predecessor Tunis O Bergen represented the Society in his absence at the 1900 anniversary dinner, for example.³⁷ Writing from the city's Players Club, David A. Munro's 'determined effort' to secure Mark Twain's attendance, led Olivia L. Clemens, Twain's wife, to apologise that the author will 'not be able to attend the Banquet of the St Andrew's Society before half past nine.'³⁸ But as a sign of his willingness

³⁴ O'Connor, 'Nowhere in Canada', and A. Hinson, 'A Hub of Community: The Presbyterian Church in Toronto and its Role Among the City's Scots', in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country*.

³⁵ C. Bourbeau, 'The St Andrew's Society of Montreal: Philanthropy and Power', in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country*, pp. 70–71.

³⁶ This was also the case in other parts of the Empire: E. Buettner, 'Haggis in the Raj: private and public celebrations of Scottishness in late Imperial India', *Scottish Historical Review* 81, 2 (2002), pp. 223, 230; J.M. MacKenzie with N.R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: ethnicity, identity, gender and race, 1772–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 154.

³⁷ NYHS, MS 2958.8549: 'Harry Van Dyke to G. A Morrison. Dictated 6 Nov 1900'.

³⁸ NYHS, MS 2997: 'David A Munro to George Anderson, 9 November 1900'.

to be seen ‘He will slip into his seat at the President’s Table before the speaking beings.’³⁹ Clearly it was an honour to be asked, even for the Society’s President Andrew Carnegie, the most famous and wealthiest Scot in New York. Despite being hampered by his invitation being lost in the post for ten days, he was still prepared to rearrange his commitments to attend the 1900 Banquet upon the request of Whitelaw Reid, politician, newspaper editor, and Ambassador to Great Britain.⁴⁰ So, too, Congressman Robert G. Cousins, on being asked on 14 November 1901 to respond to the toast on the genius of Robert Burns two weeks hence. He explained: ‘Although I will be much hurried to be there for so early a date, I shall proceed to make arrangements to do so. I can go by way of New York to Washington where I must be on December 2nd at the opening of Congress’.⁴¹ And when the society’s 150th anniversary dinner took place in 1906, the attendees’ social profile was undiminished: J. Hampden Robb, President of the Pennsylvania Society, Sir C. Purdone Clarke, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Lord Edward Gleichen, the Military Attaché at the British Embassy in Washington were among those present.⁴² This cultural and political glitterati demonstrates the social capital being tendered along with subscriptions to this ethnic based association. While New York was undoubtedly the wealthiest illustration of these societies, research has shown elite presence featured in less prosperous surroundings across the settler destinations, as well as in England and Belfast.⁴³

³⁹ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘Olivia L Clemens to George Morrison, 28 November 1901’.

⁴⁰ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘Whitelaw Reid to George Austin Morrison, 16 November 1900’.

⁴¹ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘Robert G. Cousins to George Austin Morrison, Jr, 18 November 1901’.

⁴² NYHS, MS 2958.8549: ‘B Ferree (secretary) to G.A. Morrison, 10 November 1906’; ‘Metropolitan Museum to G.A Morrison 21 November 1906’; ‘Edward Gleichen to G.A. Morrison, 26 November 1906’.

⁴³ T. Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 5–6; J.A. Burnett, “‘Hail Brither Scots O’ Coaly Tyne”:

Ethnic Exclusivity

Whatley has emphasised that statues to Burns were not only the most visible and permanent sign of respect and admiration for the poet, but they also gave diasporans an opportunity to project their identity.⁴⁴ Keith similarly highlights the centrality of Burns statues for identity formation in the diaspora, but his analysis limits this identity to its ethnic form.⁴⁵ The philanthropic as well as the ceremonial activities of the St Andrew's society was an opportunity for primarily men to express Scottishness, and self-identify as Scotsmen, irrespective of whether their identity was also hyphenated with an American or British claim. But how predominant and powerful was ethnic identity, and ethno-cultural symbolism, within civic societies that were contingent on ethnic exclusivity? Certainly, the insertion of the Burns supper into the commemorative programme of the St Andrew's society and the appropriation of the kilt after 1822 gave new ethno-symbolic language with which to project as well as consume narratives of Scottishness. Glasgow printer John Morison Duncan recorded in 1818 his mortification at the 'insipid mixture of Yankeeism and Land-of-Cakeism' that enveloped his evening dining with the St Andrew's Society of New York. Citing this observation, McGinn dates the emerging tartanisation of the Burns Supper to the period when Scottish societies in America added the ploughman poet as a 'defining' element of diasporic Scottishness '(alongside "hamely fare", thrift, whisky, and tartan)'.⁴⁶ Such was

Networking and Identity among Scottish Migrants in the North-east of England, ca. 1860–2000', *Immigrants & Minorities* 25, 1 (2007), pp. 1-21; K. Hughes. *The Scots in Victorian and Edwardian Belfast: A Study in Elite Migration* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); A. McCarthy, 'The Scots' Society of St Andrew, Hull, 1910–2001, in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie*, pp. 238–242.

⁴⁴ C.A. Whatley, *Immortal Memory: Burns and the Scottish People* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2016), p. 4.

⁴⁵ T. Keith, 'Burns Statues in North America, A Survey', *Burns Chronicle* (2001), p. 71.

⁴⁶ McGinn, 'Vehement Celebrations', p. 195.

the apparent growth in this trend, a century on from Duncan's umbrage, Hugh MacDiarmid enraged the World Burns Federation with his scathing analysis of their members' representations of Scottish culture in America.⁴⁷ The poet and nationalist had advanced an analytical trope that characterised diasporans' ethnic identity, using Nairn's language, as a 'deformed' Scottishness and 'cultural cringe' that weakened the progress of political nationalism.⁴⁸ Yet the evidence for this conclusion, when based on the St Andrew's society, is not without challenge. The diasporic identities engendered by these societies in North America was embedded in organisational structures transported from home, were distinctive for their roots in ethnic exclusivity, and wedded to rules designed to foster member and client inclusivity. Throughout the period when Highlandism and the tartanisation of ceremonial activity gained ascendancy, the link these societies generated between ethnic exclusivity and ethnic identity was not straightforward.

The rules of the St Andrew's Society in Philadelphia, drawn up in 1751, details how ethnic exclusivity defined those eligible for help:

Provided always that None but Natives of Scotland, their Widows and Children, or the Widows and Children of those of Scots Parentage, who are, or may be hereafter Members of this Society, shall ever be entitled to any Part of this Charity.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ H. MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1926), with the quarrel discussed in P. Malgrati, *Robert Burns and Scottish Cultural Politics, 1914–2014: The Bard of Contention* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

⁴⁸ T. Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain* (London: Verso, 1981), pp. 114–6, 156; D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland* (London: Routledge: 2001), pp. 180–1.

⁴⁹ *Rules for the St. Andrew's Society in Philadelphia*, p. 9.

The emphasis on the St Andrew's Society of New York was to provide charitable relief and assistance to 'our fellow Creatures in Want and Distress'. Only then did it specify 'connections by blood' down to the grandfather as a criterion, and not until 1897 did it widen this eligibility to any who could show Scottish lineage.⁵⁰ Still, the importance of ethnicity as an organising principle was firm. Those able to approach the St Andrew's Society of Quebec for support in 1835 were 'None but Scotchmen, and the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of natives of Scotland, or sons of Members.' The rationale was that 'the soil that gave them birth, recalls the scenes of former days.'⁵¹ In Montreal, the city's St Andrew's society determined 'to advance the cause and welfare of Scotsman and their descendants', and similarly worded constitutions were replicated by societies established in newly formed settlements in Upper Canada.⁵²

A comparable projection of exclusivity was found when a Sons of Scotland Association was formed in 1876 to support those in Toronto with no wish to obtain charity, but still in need of financial security. The Association's first object was 'To unite Scotsmen, sons of Scotsmen,

⁵⁰ NYHS, MS 2997: *Rules for the St Andrew's Society*, p. 6; Morrison, *History of the Saint Andrew's Society*, p. 30.

⁵¹ *Constitution of the St. Andrew's Society of Quebec with a list of office bearers*, Article III.

⁵² *St. Andrew's Society of Montreal Handbook* (Montreal, 2001), p. 4. *Constitution of the St. Andrew's Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ont.* (Hamilton: 1876); *Constitution of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Toronto and Home District of Upper Canada with a list of its officers* (Toronto: Printed at the Patriot Office, 1836); *Constitution of the St. Andrew's Society of the Town of Kingston and Midland* (Kingston: Printed at the Tourist Office, 1841).

and descendants, of good moral character ...'.⁵³ Sons of Scotland associations brought together mostly semi- and skilled working Scots to save for uncertain futures, subscribing to acquire health insurance, employment protection, and sometimes property loans using the tontine principle. The Inverness Camp of the Sons of Scotland in Goderich Ontario, for example, offered sick and funeral benefits. While based on common investments rather than charity, similar ethnic criteria matched with the St Andrew's society, as it did in foregrounding its civic structure. When informing its members through its second by-law that the tartan worn by the camp would be the Hunting McLean tartan, the rules of order of the Goderich Sons were clearly based on equal access within a prescribed governance structure: all communications at the camp were through the chair, no one could speak across another member, nor disrupt another who was speaking.⁵⁴ Toronto's Sons also wrapped its constitution in a tartan cover, named its leading office bearers the Grand Chief and Grand Chiefdom, made the Balmoral Bonnet the standard head covering in camp, yet despite this cultural cloak its primary object remained to build savings for later drawing down by those who were sick, financially distressed or unable to pay funeral costs.

St Andrew taught the importance of an open table at the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:8–10), and this remained a fundamental principle for the charity being offered to strangers. The St Andrew's Society of Montreal opened a temporary shelter for transient Scottish migrants in 1857, later growing to help with their education and employment.⁵⁵ The

⁵³ *Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association. Constitution of the Grand and Subordinate Camps* (Toronto: Printed by the Grand Camp, 1915), p. 9.

⁵⁴ *By Laws and Rules of Order of Inverness Camp, No 54 SOS, Goderich Ontario* (Goderich, 1893), pp. 3, 11.

⁵⁵ Bourbeau, 'St Andrew's Society of Montreal', p. 75.

provision of burial plots for indigent Scots remains a feature of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Albany, formed in 1803, with further plots purchased in 1930 and 1945.⁵⁶ While the work of the Chicago Scots, the successor body to the Illinois St Andrew's Society, remains a notable example of later life care for the poorest who meet the society's ethnic criteria. Its endowments help fund the Scottish Home (1910) for indigent Scots to reside in their final years and, since 1858, the Rosehill burial grounds 'for poor and friendless Scots' in the city.⁵⁷

Instrumental Inclusivity

In observing that 'city' and 'civility' have the same etymological origins, Sennett has characterised the city as 'a place of autonomous interactions where strangers are able to integrate and to form social bonds.'⁵⁸ Associations of strangers have the potential to develop civil and political groupings which Hall conceptualised as a public good offering balance between the people and the state.⁵⁹ Yet civic cohesion, in different urban settings, is confronted by religious pillarisation and by ethnic exclusivities of the kind represented by St Andrew's and Sons of Scotland societies.⁶⁰

To meet this challenge, the balance of achieving instrumental inclusivity within rules of ethnic exclusivity (helping 'friendless Scots') was calibrated over time by a succession of

⁵⁶ <https://www.standrewssocietyalbany.org/benevolence/> (Accessed 11 November 2022).

⁵⁷ Noble, 'Chicago Scots', pp. 147–150.

⁵⁸ R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: A Knopf, 1977), p.

⁵⁹ Hall, 'search of civil society', p. 16.

⁶⁰ J.C.H. Blom, 'Pillarisation in Perspective', *West European Politics* 23, 3 (2000), pp. 153–164.

managers, almoners, clerics and physicians. Extant petitions sent to the St Andrew's Society of Charleston show the range of requests received, and a willingness to provide transformative alms. Widowhood and a poorly child occasioned Elizabeth Allen to ask for assistance in 1740;⁶¹ Mary Allan, a native of Scotland, appealed in 1768 for maternity and rent support—to a 'charitable good God'—offering rewards in heaven in return for supporting a poor women in labour.⁶² Other claims included a prisoner, John Cuming, seeking funds for his wife;⁶³ a 70 year-old Hugh Rose who had this crop destroyed by bears and 'stolen by negroes';⁶⁴ illness;⁶⁵ a wish a return to Scotland;⁶⁶ and from those who regularly approached the society for aid,⁶⁷ oftentimes when trade was dull or when 'it was impossible for me to make a living without the support of my friends.'⁶⁸

Decisions were reached on which claims to fund, and how many repeat requests to accept. For the St Andrew's Society of New York in the 1860s, this work was done by six managers, a treasurer, secretary, and assistant secretary, one physician, and two chaplains who were assisted by four standing committee members, five in the committee of accounts, and two in

⁶¹ Lowcountry Digital Library [hereafter LCDL]: MS 0144 Box 07 Folder 16: 'Elizabeth Allen's Petition Letter to the St. Andrew's Society [1740]'.

⁶² LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 7 Folder 17: 'Mary Anderson's Petition Letter of the St. Andrew's Society [1768]'.

⁶³ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 7 Folder 16: 'Petition from John Cuming to the St. Andrew's Society [1754]'.

⁶⁴ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 7 Folder 16: 'Petition from Hugh Rose to the St. Andrew's Society [1758]'.

⁶⁵ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 7 Folder 18: 'Petition from Elizabeth Day to the St. Andrew's Society [ND]'.

⁶⁶ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 7 Folder 17: 'Petition from William Cochran to the St. Andrew's Society [1768]'.

⁶⁷ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 8 Folder 2: 'Petition from Elizabeth Campbell to the St. Andrew's Society [1808]'.

⁶⁸ LCDL, MSS 0144 Box 8 Folder 2: 'Petition from A. Morrison to the St. Andrew's Society [1808]'.

the committee of instalment.⁶⁹ In 1905, a ‘Scotch women visitor’ was added to meet their growing charitable work.⁷⁰ Following changes to the society’s constitution in 1897, a management board would meet monthly to decide on the disbursement of funds. To aid their assessments, each case was investigated by the almoner and advice sought from the society’s chaplains and physicians: yet only those who met ‘the objects of the Society’s bounty’ would receive support.⁷¹ Over the twelve months to November 1864, the Society helped 367 individuals who between them made 1,038 applications for relief, with an average of two to three claims per person. \$2,100 was distributed, with \$1,800 for general funds and \$300 from a newly established Centennial fund.⁷² In the report of November 1866, the number of multiple requests for support had increased, with 1,500 claims being made by 486 individuals, an average of three claims each. The doles distributed increased by 50% to \$3,125, of which \$2,780 came from ordinary funds and \$345 from the Centennial Fund.⁷³ As well as serving those who were resident in the city, the Society in 1866 helped fifteen families return to Scotland, twenty-three to move to Canada, and to support two into hospital and two be buried in the Society’s plots at Cypress Hill Cemetery.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘List of Officers, 1863’.

⁷⁰ Morrison, *History of the St Andrew’s Society*, p. 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 161–169.

⁷² NYHS, MS 2997: ‘List of Officers of the St Andrew’s Society of the State of New York. Elected at the Preparatory Meeting, Nov 10, 1864’.

⁷³ NYHS, MS 29972: ‘Report of the Secretary of the St Andrew’s Society, November 1863’.

⁷⁴ NYHS, MS 2997: *Saint Andrews Society List of Officers for 1866/7* [November 1866].

All who applied for relief were considered equally under the rules, and this openness was achieved through the self-regulation of membership, election to office, and charitable disbursement. The rules and orders were placed in a strong box under lock and key, alongside all money in stock. Significantly, these rules and orders were always laid on the table at meetings for the members to read. Ascribed with a quasi-religious authority, ‘nothing shall be talk’d about but the Business of the Society, while the President keeps the Chair; whoever offends against this Rule, after having been once reprimanded from the Chair, shall forfeit One Shilling, *toties quoties*, to the Box’.⁷⁵

Yet in restricting this inclusivity by ethnic lineage, neither in 1770 nor in its revisions through to 1902 does the society’s constitution spell out why Scotland’s patron saint was taken to represent their work. Yet undoubtedly, they would be aware that St Andrew was ‘first called’ (John 1:35–42) and taught by Jesus to become a ‘fisher of men’ (Matthew 4: 18–19; Mark 1: 16–17). In balancing universality and exclusivity, it was a category of birth and lineage, not an essentialised nationality, that limited support for ‘all men’ to those of Scottish nativity. Other than insisting on the cross of St Andrew’s being worn on the day itself, at a stated hour, there is no mention of symbols of the nation in the constitution and rules. Not until the revised 1902 version, in its penultimate clause, is the society’s seal, insignia and the Diploma, awarded upon admission to the society, detailed as ethno symbolic markers.⁷⁶

Ethno-Symbolic Boundary Making

⁷⁵ NYHS, MS 2997: *Rules for the St Andrew’s Society, in New York*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

In his history of the Burns supper, McGinn outlines the ritual of freemasonry and profusion of toasts that have developed.⁷⁷ Whatley, and Malgrati, also observe the centrality of this ‘quasi masonic’ ritual of brotherhood and toasting that defines its format into the present.⁷⁸ With evidence of Burns suppers being held in North America from 1820, signs of ethno-symbolic transformation are found around this time,⁷⁹ although the ‘Yankeeism and Land-of-Cakeism’ that John Duncan thought worthy of note in 1818 is, on closer examination, symbolically very modest: ‘A broad blue banner ... flying from one of the windows of the City Hotel, blent with the silver cross, to Scotia-dear.’⁸⁰

In all parts of the Scottish diaspora, clubs and societies that organised around ethnic or national descent deployed some amount of ethnic symbolism to build community cohesion and bounds.⁸¹ The tartanisation of St Andrew’s societies also occurred in North America, broadly matching the timeliness of cultural Highlandism found in Scotland, but it was neither emphatic nor progressive. The artefacts gifted to the St Andrew’s Society of New York between 1835 and 1902—after a fire in August 1835 had destroyed records, as well as the

⁷⁷ McGinn, ‘Vehement Celebrations’, pp. 189–190.

⁷⁸ Whatley argues this sentiment of brotherhood was little different between those who were and were not Freemasons, Whatley, *Immortal Memory*, 5, 58–9, 105; P. Malgrati, ‘Geography and Typology of Contemporary Burns Suppers’, *Burns Chronicle* 130, 2 (2021), p. 128.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5.

⁸⁰ J.M. Duncan, *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1820), p. 235.

⁸¹ P.E. Rider & H. McNabb, eds., *A Kingdom of the Mind: how the Scots helped make Canada* (Montreal & Kingston, 2006), p. xvii; Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together*, pp. 4–7; W. Safran, ‘Diasporas in Modern Societies: myths of homeland and return’, *Diaspora* 1, 1 (1991), pp 83–99.

society's seal and snuff mull⁸²—included no depictions of Burns, or editions of his works. Instead, in total, the society received snuff mulls of a ram's horn (1835) and head (1899), a marble bust of Walter Scott (1857), an engraving of Prince Albert in Highland Dress (1859), bagpipes (1895), and the banner of the society and flag of St Andrew in silk (1902).⁸³ 'Scotch military men' would attend their events in 'full costume', tartan and artefacts were lent to adorn tables at anniversary dinners, and the St Andrew's Society of Montreal was gifted 'transparencies of Sir William Wallace, John Knox, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and a Highland Chief'.⁸⁴ While the expectations of those gathered to celebrate Burns' centenary at Astor House were met in the form of a piper dressed in tartan, now an invented tradition that graced most if not all these ceremonial occasions.⁸⁵

Despite deepening their use of modern representations of Highland culture, whether commemorating Burns or Scotland's patron saint, the constituted rules and regulations of the St Andrew's society remained protected. Disentangling its links and lineage to the homeland, the St Andrew's Society of St John created a separate curling club in 1855 for its members.⁸⁶ When the Caledonian Society of Toronto was formed in 1869, comprising many members of the city's St Andrew's Society, they took their annual day of celebration to be 'the peasant

⁸² NYHS, MS 2997 Saint Andrew's Society: I.2 General Meetings, 1835-1866 Vol. 2 'Preparatory Meeting 12 Nov 1835'.

⁸³ Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society*, p. 177.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 20–1; R.J. Morris, 'The Enlightenment and the Thistle: The Scottish Contribution to Associational Culture in Canada', in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country*, p. 51.

⁸⁵ *New York Times* 26 January 1859.

⁸⁶ *Constitution and Bye Laws of the St Andrew's Curling Club, and List of Members* (Saint John, New Brunswick: J & A McMillan, 1874), p. 3.

bard of Scotia' to distinguish themselves from St Andrew's day. They also eschewed the older society's focus on philanthropy to promote culture, dress, and music.⁸⁷ Whereas when the St Andrew's and Caledonian Society of the City of Vancouver was formed in 1886, much later than the other examples shown here, it had a dual purpose supporting the relief of natives of Scotland and their descendants, saving them from sickness and distress, but also working to promote national games and costume, literature and music.⁸⁸

While more awash with ethnic-based cultural symbolism, Caledonian and Burns groups generally had similar organisational structures to St Andrew's societies, with some evidence indicating comparable sentiments of Christian piety lay behind their community engagement. When the St Andrew's Society of Ottawa reconvened after a period of absence—caused by 'disagreements'—the Burns centenary provided 'fresh impulse of patriot fervour' to a society charged by Rev Mr Spence with the sentiment of Deuteronomy 15:11: 'For the Poor shall never cease out of the land'.⁸⁹ With the stranger's want fated never to end, the Boston Burns Club opened its celebration of the Burns' centenary stating selfless help, humble as it may be, was a 'unique feature of our republicanism'.⁹⁰ Formed in 1850, the club's constitution gave honour to the poet for his literary genius, for his fortitude when faced with difficult life choices—of poverty and persecution—and the friendships and sociability he formed through the 'utility of such societies'. Its members 'admire the honest independence of BURNS.

⁸⁷ O'Connor, 'Nowhere In Canada', pp. 105–6.

⁸⁸ *Constitution of the St Andrew's and Caledonian Society of the City of Vancouver* (Vancouver, 1887), p. 4.

⁸⁹ J. Thorburn, *Sketch of the First Half Century of the St Andrew's Society of Ottawa, 1846–1897* (Ottawa: Haldane & Co, 1898), p. 11.

⁹⁰ Boston Burns Club, *Celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns* (Boston: H.W. Dutton & Sons, 1859), p. 3.

Liberty—American liberty! —fought side by side with his sentiments of freedom and manly self-respect, and found in them a powerful ally'.⁹¹

This was primarily a movement of second and subsequent generations of Scots. Of its original membership, three quarters were born in America. Taking birthplace as the sole criterion of nationality, Figure 1 shows a maximum 16% of its members classified as first-generation Scottish immigrants.⁹²

Birthplace	No.	%
United States	134	76
Scotland	28	16
England	7	4
Ireland	5	3
Canada	2	2
Spain	1	1
Total	177	100

Figure 1 Birthplace of the Inaugural Membership of the Boston Burns Club (1850). Source: Boston Burns Club, *Celebration*, pp. 9–12.

As Wallace Bruce lauded Burns for recognising in America, and for the poet himself being recognised as representing the highest expression of Christ's truth, so the commemoration of

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 9-12.

Burns added emphasis to the diaspora's ethnic symbolism. Yet it did not overwhelm the 'particular good Purposes ... provided for by the publick Acts of a Community', that reinforced Scottish associational culture in America.⁹³ When the Burns Club of New York met at the Cooper Institute, home of the 'Mechanics and Tradesmen', this association of strangers came to commemorate the universality of Burns' as the 'true ethologist'.⁹⁴ Even those elites who attended the commemorative banquet to Robert Burns at Astor House in the city, accepted that Burns was 'the poet of humanity'. That assembly came from 'the Pulpit, the Press, and the Bar',⁹⁵ and the civic participation that transported these incomers to become social and political insiders was a fundamental part of their class formation.⁹⁶

When Rabbie met Andrew in New York

When the St Andrew's Society of New York gathered in its 152nd year to be addressed by its former President Andrew Carnegie, the world's richest Scotsman, alongside the day's greatest professional Scotsman, Harry Lauder, 625 were in attendance. Lauder's current tour of America had secured fame for his characterisation of the 'canny Scot' and the

⁹³ *Rules for the St. Andrew's Society in Philadelphia*, p. 5; J.M. Montgomery, 'How Burns Conquered America', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 30, 1 (1988), pp. 238, 244.

⁹⁴ *New York Times*, 25 January 1859.

⁹⁵ *The Centennial Birth Day of Robert Burns as Celebrated by the Burns Club of the City of New York* (New York: Lang and Laing, 1860), p. 6. 'Commemorative banquet to Robert Burns at Astor House in New York', *New York Times* 26 January 1859. The fine surrounds of the venue are visible on a wood engraving: Library of Congress Washington, D.C. 20540: <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>

⁹⁶ Beckert, 'Institution-building', pp. 28–9.

‘quintessential Scot’,⁹⁷ and this inviting combination led ‘fully 30 to express their nationality by exposing their knees and wearing the kilt.’⁹⁸ Those thirty, if indeed no others were so clad, amounted to less than 5% of those in attendance. Even those that did bare their legs were labelled duplicitous since ‘most ... wore long fur overcoats and went home in closed automobiles.’⁹⁹ Nor, it was erroneously suggested, was the kilt worn at other ceremonial activities: ‘There is only *one night* in the year when loyal Scotchmen of New York may do what Mr. Lauder of Scotland does every night in the way of national dress reform.’¹⁰⁰ It was a modest form of patriotism, and bare knees added little to ceremonial or everyday wear, as the wives and daughters of these men would attest.

However ‘tartan-washed’ were his claims to those assembled, Carnegie turned the blood link into one of racial superiority. The subeditor of the *New York World* summarised his speech in three statements, with the final comedic observation to perhaps make the industrialist’s boasts more palatable:

CARNEGIE CLAIMS ALL VIRTUES FOR MEN OF HIS RACE

SCOTS SINCE THE FIFTH CENTURY HAVE BEEN TEACHING OTHER
PEOPLES, HE TELLS DINERS AT ST ANDREW’S

⁹⁷ M. Schweitzer, ‘The Canny Scot’: Harry Lauder and the Performance of Scottish Thrift in American Vaudeville’, *Theatre Research International*, 36, 3 (October 2011), p. 255.

⁹⁸ NYHS, MS 2997: *The New York Sun*, 1 December 1908.

⁹⁹ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘Cutting from *New York World*, 1 December 1908’.

¹⁰⁰ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘“Scots At Banquet Recall Old Land”, Cutting from *The New York Sun*, 1 December 1908’. Emphasis added.

—
DOESN'T EVEN OMIT OUR NATION'S CONSTITUTION

—
HARRY LAUDER, ANOTHER BRAW SCOT, SINGS BALLADS – KILTS
AND BARE LEGS ABOUND.

Carnegie was 'Entirely surrounded [sic] by Scotch flags, Scotch music, Scotch whiskey [sic] and gentlemen in kilts,' and his hyperbole did not go unnoticed: he 'practically rolled all the cakes there are into one big doughnut, bit off the entire rim for Scotland, and left England, Ireland, America, Asia and Africa to divide the hole among them.' His oration included telling Americans of their constitutional debt to Scotland, but with the solemnity of Bruce's words now submerged by bombast.¹⁰¹ Harry Lauder gave the toast 'Honest Men an' Bonnie Lassies' from Tam o' Shanter, although there was little mention of Burns other than from the songs of E. Theodore Martin.¹⁰²

But whatever impact this ethnic boasting retained, the next year the Society chose to celebrate its common purpose with the city's philanthropic societies. Invited to the President's Table in 1909 were representatives of the city's associational world:

Canadian Society

Society of the Sons of the Revolution

British Schools and Universities Club

St Nicholas Society

Southern Society

New England Society

¹⁰¹ NYHS, MS 2997: 'New York World', 'Cutting from *New York Evening World*, 1 December, 1908'.

¹⁰² NYHS, MS 2997: 'Scots At Banquet Recall Old Land'.

New York State Society of Cincinnati

St David's Society

St George's Society

The Holland Society

Pilgrim's Society

New York State Society of Colonial Wars

With the addition of President Robert Frater Munro and the two chaplains of the Society, that made fifteen representatives from the societies of New York out of twenty-four at the President's Table. They sat alongside two representatives of the US navy, the British Consul General at New York and J. Annan Bryce, MP for Inverness in Scotland.¹⁰³ Photographic evidence presents a seated audience that makes it impossible to discern the prevalence of kilts, and the written record offers little help. But if the choice of Highland dress did not spread correspondingly with the expansion of a toast list now invariably featuring Burns, still civic action, and 'pure public spirit', continued to underpin the St Andrew's society and the Scottishness it engendered.¹⁰⁴

This Scottish identity was a diasporic one, formed transnationally with the homeland and rooted conterminously in the periphery and the centre.¹⁰⁵ Three days after the death of Victoria, Carnegie instructed Morrison on Burns Day 1901 to make the New York society's membership list available to Century Publishers to distribute the announcement of a deluxe

¹⁰³ NYHS, F128 MS 2725.514 C65: 'Photo of St Andrews Society in Annual banquet recounts Valour of Scotch, Waldorf Astoria' [1909].

¹⁰⁴ NYHS, MS 2997, '*The New York Sun*'; 'G.A. Morrison to Henry Van Dyke, 6 November 1900'; de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁵ T. Bueltmann and G. Morton, 'Partners in Empire: the Scottish diaspora since 1707', in D.M. MacRaild, T. Bueltmann and J.C.D. Clark, eds, *British and Irish Diasporas* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), pp. 212–4.

edition of *Life of Victoria* by the librarian at Windsor Castle R.R. Holmes. The publisher wrote ‘we have only fifty copies or so, so the opportunity of getting it may be one that British born Americans may be pleased to learn of’.¹⁰⁶ This homage to the imperial Queen did not mark the decline of the St Andrew’s society’s republican sentiments, however.¹⁰⁷ In 1906, Morrison opened his history of the society by highlighting that three of its original members were signatories of the Declaration of Independence.¹⁰⁸ When Bruce wrote that Burns recognised the connections between America and Scotland, he was planting the latter’s Christian brotherhood, sociability and equality firmly in the independence and work of the Republic’s associational world.¹⁰⁹ It was the same contrapuntal relationship that framed Rev Bruce Taylor’s annual sermon to the St Andrew’s Society of Kingston in Ontario, since “‘A man's a man for a' that’” is even truer of Scotland than it is of many a democracy which with more confidence expresses its principles before your eyes.’¹¹⁰ It came from the belief that ‘Scotland is what providence has made her, but Scotland is also what her sons made’ by being the first call for strangers in need.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ NYHS, MS 2997: ‘Letter from J.B. Gilder to Andrew Carnegie 25 January 1901 [with handwritten instructions for Morrison by Carnegie].’

¹⁰⁷ In the list for 1792, the society’s extant copy has the toast to ‘The King of Great Britain’ scored out. The toast was not included in the 1790 or 1791 anniversary dinners. NYHS, Petitions, toasts, letters of election 1765-1856: ‘Toasts for the Anniversary Day’.

¹⁰⁸ Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹¹⁰ Rev. R.B. Taylor, *The St Andrew's Society Kingston, Annual Sermon, Chalmers Church Kingston, 1 December 1918* (Printed by the Society), pp. 2–4.

¹¹¹ Anniversary dinner toast by Dr Barclay (1898): Jack, *History of St. Andrew's Society of St. John*, p. 184.

Tartan cloth, Highland and Jacobite-themed mementoes were a regular adornment at the grand dinners of both St Andrew's and Burns societies in North America, and cross membership was common.¹¹² But of the four meetings in the year attended by the subscribers to the St Andrew's society, along with the regular work of almoners, managers and office bearers, the annual celebratory dinner was but one event. The almoners did their work throughout the year, supported by one but usually two ministers of religion. When stripped bare, the masonic tinge of Burnsian brotherhood is captured within the civic ritual of associational culture and contemporaries' Christian humility, to which ethno symbolic commemorations added depth but did not overwhelm.

¹¹² *New York Times*, 26 January 1859; Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society*, pp. 21, 122, 147; *Toronto World*, 24 June 1914.