Spiritual homes on the move: narratives of migrations from Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries

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This paper explores the process of the creation of home as a constellation of faith and migration. Building on discussions in geography and anthropology describing home as being in-between mobile and fixed, a hybrid entity-in-construction, the paper challenges the antimonies between place-based or placeless, real or imagined homes common in migration research. Building on the analysis of historical narratives of 18th- and 19th-century migration from Scotland, it highlights the ways in which migrants were involved in the construction and performance of homes through faith and movement. It draws on the work of Deleuze and Guattari to explore not only the material, imagined and relational nature of spiritual homes, but also attends to performative acts of faith, affective dimensions and openness to the otherworldly being. Using the concepts of multiplicity, affect and the collective, it considers spirituality as a part of the fluidity of homes and an uncertain movement between them. It explores fusion and heterogeneity of spiritual attachments and connections that bring unexpected actors together in more or less intensive states of spiritual co-belonging 'at home'. The paper concludes with conceptual reflections about spiritual homes as dispossession and exposure in an impossible relation with the foreign and otherworldly in migration.

Keywords: Migration, home, spirituality, Deleuze, Scotland, history

'Scotland. Just a few sad songs and old ballads! […] We'll take Scotland with us: a kingdom of the mind'. (Niven, 2015, p. 19)

Our study illustrates the importance of faith in developing new imaginations of migrants' journeys, looking at how the performance of the 'kingdom of the mind' could establish connections between different homes and times. During the last two centuries, migrants leaving Scotland experienced a series of transformations that helped to develop their social and spiritual lives beyond one particular country. Importantly, these experiences problematized the meaning of home as a stable entity that is fixed and limited to a specific location. As Staeheli and Nagel (2006, p. 1602) argue, 'migrants, … throw into question the ability to locate people and communities in specific places, specific homes'. Within the religious context, contemporary understanding of faith as inherently mobile further challenges sedentary approaches, setting the concept of 'home' in motion (Levitt, 2009). This mobility of faith further implies the exploration of spirituality both within and beyond formal religious frameworks towards the analysis of what Dewsbury and Cloke (2009, p. 696) term 'spiritual landscapes' that 'can be inhabited, or dwelt, in different spiritual registers'. Earlier discussions on 'travelling faith' (Levitt, 2009) have often been framed within the binary framework of mobility and stasis, and, while accepting the importance of relational ways of enacting religion on the move, they overlooked spiritual lives beyond formal religious spaces and affective ways of 'being at home' with God (see Shubin, 2011 2012 for detailed analysis of the links between religion, spirituality and migration). Despite the important role of religious institutions in migrants' journeys, their imaginations and emotive performances of home in migration are never complete insofar as they interact with the divine, unknown and incomprehensible.

There are still many assumptions about home in geographical literatures that, as Blunt and Dowling (2006) stress, fail to bring together the mobile and placed character of home. As a result, Ralph and Staeheli (2011, p. 562) call for 'alternative models of home [that] can unsettle

normative constructions' in the context of cross-border movements. While many current debates often describe home-making as a contemporary phenomenon shaped by the unprecedented number of people on the move, this paper highlights the historical importance of cross-border mobilities that affected conceptualisations of home. To address these concerns, first, the paper offers a more mobile conceptualisation of home, not limited to specific geographical location or expressed through ownership and mastery. It offers new ways of conceptualising home as a *process* rather than a stable entity that emerges through the coming together of different spiritual, imaginative and material elements while also being framed by spatio-temporal structures. Second, the paper broadens theorisation of 'travelling faith' by highlighting the creation of homes through performative acts of faith, affective dimensions and openness to the otherworldly God. In an attempt to re-discover spiritual homes as multi-scalar and relational entities (Blunt and Dowling, 2006), we use Christian theology as an illustration familiar to us to interpret the role of faith in modern (post-1800) migration from Scotland without privileging it over any other belief systems.

Home and spirituality in migration studies

We draw on three key themes emerging from the discussions about the complex homes that link together faith and migration. First, homes are increasingly seen as *messy and overlapping*, bringing together physical, imaginative and what we earlier called 'spiritual' elements of mobility (Shubin, 2011). This spiritual mobility expresses physical dislocations enabled by the spirit, faith-based performative movements beyond rationality and the emergence of new imaginations such as the 'home' or 'country' of God. Homes are made and remade in migration while they are also constitutive of spiritual forces that produce specific bodily dispositions,

memories and affects (Ahmed et al., 2003). Home provides an opening to the world, which does not have a definitive boundary as it connects different scales and it is constructed out of 'movement, communications, social relations which are always stretched beyond it' (Massey, 1992, p. 13). In a similar way, spiritual homes are continuously reproduced through an ongoing relationship with God that links together different socialities, institutions and performances of the spirit that can never be localised (Shubin, 2012). This dynamic understanding of home as a process rather than an entity challenges the antimonies of home as fixed or mobile, place-based or placeless.

Second, discussions linking home and migration also point to the uncertainty of home, exploring 'hom*ing*' as an open-ended process that can never be fully completed (Boccagni, 2016). When migration scholars speak about yearning for home (Chambers, 1990) and 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996, p. 16), they describe an unpredictable movement towards home, thwarted by homesickness and the impossibility of return to the migrants' places of origin. In a spiritual sense, searching for home is also a part of a journey with God, an ever-evolving relation to the transcendent being (Motyer, 2009). The process of 'seeking and dwelling' with God (Shults and Sandage, 2006, p. 15) and longing for spiritual home describes the migrants' search for spiritual foundations while being on a journey of developing their faith.

Third, homes are often described as *practices constitutive of mobile being*, drawing on Heidegger's (1996a) analysis of being-on-the-move beyond the measurable and objective frameworks that structure migrants' mobilities. Blunt and Dowling (2006) build on Heidegger's ideas to present homes as relationships between sets of feelings and specific

places. Collins and Shubin (2015) problematize the timing and placing of home that emerge as a combination of habits beyond reason. In dialogue with Heidegger, home in these cases is not understood as a particular location, but a passage to becoming homely, through challenging experiences of being unhomely and coming back to things that matter to migrants (Shubin, 2015). Young (1998) refers to this process as the overcoming of 'spiritual homelessness'. From this perspective, the 'kingdom of the mind' in the opening quote does not convey a geographical space of home, but describes it as a part of a journey to maintain relations of nearness and closeness to other things (songs and ballads) and living beings (Scots).

In adding to these debates, this paper further explores the construction of spiritual homes and spaces created through migration by drawing on the scholarship of Deleuze (1988, 1994, 2006) and his work with Guattari (1987). Deleuze and Guattari's interest in becoming as a continuous transformation helps to articulate the ways in which migrant homes are continuously reconstituted. 'You never arrive somewhere', stress Papadopolous and Tsianos (2007, p. 210), drawing on Deleuze, since migration cannot be limited to the rational calculative actions of a singular individual, with clear trajectories and endpoints.

Deleuze's ideas also help us to understand a spiritual searching for home as never complete, since arrival in the Promised Land cannot be fully predictable. In spite of Deleuze's irreligiosity, he explores potentialities of change that free up relationships within existing spiritual territories. Hallward (2006, p. 156) describes Deleuze as a 'spiritual extra-worldly thinker' and argues that Deleuze's focus on becoming facilitates understanding of the 'utterly spiritualised' movement of being beyond the logic of representation. We draw on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, p. 249) statement that 'becoming and multiplicity are the same thing' in order to express the idea of home as manifold and dynamic. As Saldanha (2017, p. 50) suggests, 'a

Deleuzian multiplicity is not a set but an emergent, mobile, fuzzy moving-together of many elements', offering conceptual tools to explore the developing, multiple and open nature of spiritual homes.

We draw on two conceptions of multiplicity developed by Deleuze and Guattari. First, this concept expresses an extensive numerical multiplicity of order dealing with exteriority, quantitative *differenciation* and difference in degree. Second, it exposes intensive qualitative multiplicity producing fusion, heterogeneity and difference in kind. Such multiplicities are irreducible to dualistic terms, so the relationship between extensive and intensive homes in migration cannot be used to define mobile being in a simply negative or positive way. Instead of the opposition of different characteristics of multiplicities, we consider the processes of movement from one to the other that generate difference and change.

Analysis of the simultaneous movement between closure and openness, placed and mobile home, which Deleuze and Guattari (1987) term *de/re-territorialisation*, interrupts the dominant oppositions in migration research. As part of a double gesture, this movement attempts to delimit, and name homes as a function of a territorial organisation such as a geographical 'catchment' area. The state cuts up mobile lives along the thresholds of migration/settlement and fixes homes within the code-territory complex of 'areas of jurisdiction'. At the same time, the deterritorialising vector creates a line of escape from existing inventories of migrant homes that dismantles fixed and 'localised' homes by creating new territories such as a non-geographical space of love or transnational care. Multi-scalar homes undergo metamorphosis and overspill the territories that assign binary relations (not/belonging) and positions

(host/guest). Such deterritorialised home emerging in the process of migration ‘is neither here nor there... rather, itself a hybrid, it is both here and there’ (Bammer, 1992, p. 9). In this pulsating movement of creating extensive and intensive multiplicities, homes ‘swing between territorial closure that tends to restratify them and a deterritorializing movement’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 337).

Although the approach used in this paper draws illustrations from a particular historical milieu, it does not intend to reveal specific historical ‘truths’. We accept that controversies in history and exclusionary practices generated by Western interpretations of religion and false spiritualizations left unwelcome marks on the landscapes and people in the ‘new worlds’, both in materialist terms and signified narratives. However, the processes of cross-cultural and spiritual encounter cannot be easily reduced to the stereotypes of incorporation and imposition of pre-determined values: this would solidify the ahistorical model of a ‘universal and unmarked Western subject’ (Wuthnow 2002, p. 181) and conceal paradoxical experiences of coloniality (Glissant, 1989). Colonial societies created through immigration simultaneously deterritorialized structures of social life and spiritual practices, and reterritorialized them by transforming earlier social, cultural and spiritual codes (Patton, 2010). Home-making in migration developed through the conflation of cultural preferences and the uncertain effects of spirituality on values and cultural exchanges (Shubin, 2020a). In addressing these processes of de/re-territorialisation together, we consider the ways in which spiritual homes are always at least double as they are brought together and dispersed, differed and deferred. In exploring homes as multiplicities we consider how they evolved and connected things, objects and emotions rather than attempting to describe the essentialised qualities of what homes ‘were’.

Context and methods

We explore performance and production of spiritual homes in the context of emigration from Scotland, which has affected the country for centuries. During medieval and early modern times the movement was primarily to Europe, and subsequently to Ireland, and was undertaken in pursuit of education, trade, warfare and farming. After 1707, when the union of the parliaments created the nation of Great Britain, attention switched to North America, which dominated the outflow until the late twentieth century. During the period highlighted by the examples in this paper, the main focus was the eastern areas of what in 1867 became part of the Dominion of Canada. From the 1830s free settlers (as opposed to convicts) began to go to Australia, and later to New Zealand, which became a Crown colony in 1840.

The pursuit of economic and social betterment was the emigrants' overriding objective, particularly the prospects of independence and land-holding that were held out to them by recruitment agents, advertisements, guidebooks and private correspondence. Rising rents and consolidation of farms in the rural Lowlands were seriously curtailing opportunities for a large class of tenant farmers, while urban tradesmen were subject to labour market fluctuations during industrialisation (Harper, 2001, p. 233).

For many Highlanders, however, the crisis was more acute and the exodus more traumatic, due to eviction, enforced relocation and their replacement by sheep: a phenomenon that has come to be known as the Highland Clearances. They took place mainly in a concentrated period between 1770 and 1860. The landlords who implemented the economic transformation had virtually unfettered legal power to evict tenants for whom there was no alternative economic opportunity within the Highlands. In the context of poverty and potato famine in the 1840s and 1850s, clearances became even more coercive, and the link between evictions and the enforced emigration of thousands of people most direct and most bitter (Cameron, 2001). As we shall see, the Highlanders' devotion to their ancestral lands meant that the

economic disruption of being evicted was secondary to the emotional distress and sense of betrayal embedded in clearance, and they sought – through emigration – to transplant overseas a way of life that was being obliterated from their homeland. Integral to that way of life was the spiritual leadership provided by a range of priests and pastors who often accompanied or followed the emigrants to their new lands. Figures 1, 2 and 3 mark some of the points of departure and arrival mentioned in this paper, but these illustrations by no means offer an exhaustive account of Scottish emigration.

INSERT Figures 1, 2 and 3 ABOUT HERE

Methodologically, illustrations of concepts of spirituality and home are drawn from the Highland region of Scotland by means of rigorous archival investigation of a wide range of contemporary records, supplemented and corroborated by published scholarship. By their very nature, these sources are subjective and biased, not least because the material was written by those in authority, or those who were sufficiently literate to record their views. Its very survival also reflects a process of selection. The archive is not a standardised, hierarchical database which can be interrogated objectively, but a series of written insights, drawn from a variety of perspectives, the significance of the evidence then being filtered through the pen of the historian (Farge, 2013).

To express the processual qualities of spiritual homes we drew particularly on the annual reports of missionary organisations such as the Glasgow Colonial Society, the Baptist Home Missionary Society, or the non-denominational Highland Missionary Society. These reports, sourced from archives and libraries in Scotland, London and Canada, reveal the extent of emigration, the concern of pastors and denominations to offer spiritual support to those leaving, and the steps they took to provide the ordinances of religion in the colonies. The

family correspondence of an emigrant from the rural Lowlands of Scotland in the 1840s, published 130 years later, explains the way in which denominational networks could be used to facilitate settlement in Canada. Archival research and autobiographical study are supplemented by literary criticism and oral testimony (interview conducted by one of the authors in 2017), that provide corroborative evidence about the construction of homes through faith.

Spiritual homes as extensive multiplicities

First, spiritual meanings of home are framed by formal institutional contexts such as religious infrastructures. In the context of formal religion, spiritual homes emerge as a *combination of transnational activities* of the churches, including missionary campaigns, religious orders, pilgrimage and organised faith-based encounters. From this perspective, spiritual home can be described as a 'constellation of juxtaposed, imbricated, ordered subsystems' of homogenised forms of worship, membership, formal devotional practices and contexts where migrants performed spiritual lives (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 231). For many 18th-century emigrants from the Highlands, their religious practices, often related to a particular spiritual pedigree and their long-standing belief in the importance of *dùthchas*[i], helped them to take Scotland with them, in spiritual terms, and develop home-like attachments. Scottish churches encouraged ministers, catechists and evangelists to go overseas, not only as missionaries to convert the heathen, but to shepherd the flocks of their own countrymen because of fear that migrants would fall away without the ordinances of organized religion. Some clergymen were impelled overseas by that sense of vocation, while others were forced to move to new homes overseas to follow their brethren. Dugald Sinclair, pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church in

Argyll, consistently refused requests from former members of his congregation to join them in Upper Canada until in 1831 he felt he had to move abroad when the congregation in Scotland became unviable as so many had emigrated (Report of the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland (1831), p.6 quoted in Meek, 1988, p. 28). In such situations, spiritual homes were remade through the networks of churches, long-distance spiritual guidance and the spiritual mobilities of migrants themselves.

Although institutional structures were important in influencing the development of migrants' imaginations and faith-related practices, they did not fully determine spiritual homes. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) terms, multiplicities cannot be intrinsically defined or localised, so that even spiritual homes staged within strong institutional frameworks involved practices and interactions outside the religious context. As the Canadian experiences of James Thompson from Aboyne in Aberdeenshire demonstrate, home-making involves both spiritual and materialist dimensions (Thompson and Preston, 1974). Thompson's (1974, pp. 52-56) letter to his sister written on 18 July 1844, explains how he used the network of St Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church in Montreal and, in particular, his good relationship with the Scottish minister, Rev. Henry Esson from Thompson's home parish of Aboyne, to develop a sense of home in Canada. Due to these church-based links, he managed to find a baking job with Scottish employers and lodging with a man from Aberdeenshire. He also found spiritual support at the church where he mixed with fellow Scots and heard visiting Scottish preachers. As this example shows, spiritual home for this migrant included a multiplicity of diverse practices, signs and objects not limited to a formal religious context as it 'does not have a precise form, or world, that can be settled upon, discerned and then variably imagined' (Dewsbury and Cloke, 2009, p. 697).

Second, visions of spiritual homes were articulated in relation to the missionary purpose and religious zeal of the sending churches. Here spiritual homes were recreated as a *combination of language forms, discursive practices, signs and symbols* expressing belonging and conformity to the formal structures of religious institutions. Bowes (2007) reflected on the prevalent mid-19th-century discourse about emigration being a Christian duty to spread the New Testament church. In that time, it was those belonging to the Christian Brethren denomination who were more likely to emigrate than the general population, with about 10.6% of the Scottish membership emigrating between 1860 and 1967 (Dickson, 2002). The working-class origins of many emigrants also provided a robust network of overseas contacts and broader opportunities to share faith. The ministers of nonconformist churches were more predisposed to emigrate in search of spiritual homes than their Established Church counterparts. Among Baptists and Congregationalists, a broader sense of autonomy, meagre stipends and the lack of manses[ii] and glebes[iii] forced nonconformist pastors to take secular employment alongside their people. These parallel migrations of clergymen helped to reinforce migrants' membership in their church community, and to frame their sense of spiritual homes using the accepted religious signs and language. Religious institutions also offered extra inducements to emigrate, which legitimated the process, such as the opportunity to evangelise or establish assemblies. Clergymen themselves sometimes provided financial assistance and personal leadership to support the transfer of specific forms of spiritual practices and to maintain a sense of spiritual community. In 1772, two Scottish Catholic bishops devised and financed the emigration of disgruntled Highlanders from South Uist and the adjacent mainland to Prince Edward Island (then known as St John's Island), while in 1817 Norman MacLeod, a separatist, rusticated preacher and parish schoolmaster in Ullapool, led 400 Presbyterians from Assynt in North-West Scotland through an Odyssey of travel, initially to Nova Scotia, in 1849

to Australia, and ultimately to New Zealand (Bumsted, 1982, pp. 57-61; Harper, 1993, p. 531-532).

In some instances, the churches carefully planned the creation of new overseas settlements and effectively designed the new homes of their followers, as was the case with Anglican and Presbyterian colonies established in the late 1840s in the provinces of Canterbury (Christchurch) and Otago (Dunedin), New Zealand. The Otago scheme in particular was assiduously promoted by the newly established Free Church of Scotland, which was involved in administering the new spiritual homes, recruiting ministers (such as Reverend Thomas Burns who gave up his Scottish charge to become minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Dunedin), publishing books and pamphlets and shaping migrants' religious practices (Harper, 1993, pp. 292-293; 2003, p. 134; Harper and Constantine, 2010, p. 80) Framing of the spiritual homes involved sharing the acceptable models for praying and running faith-based communities, with the churches helping migrants to maintain religious habits, practices and language to develop their sense of spiritual belonging.

Of course, not all religious encounters between emigrants and host societies were positive. The expansion of Christianity, particularly within the British Empire, from the early eighteenth century was often associated with colonialism, economic exploitation and cultural control. It is important to stress that the Christian-humanitarian model of colonization that attempted 'to control the destinies of others' (Hall, 2002, p. 21) was differently interpreted by colonial officials, missionaries, migrants and the First Nations. Under the banner of 'scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness' among the natives in New Zealand, missionaries often considered Maori people and culture as inferior, sinful and abnormal, which justified practices of 'normalisation', bringing 'the misery, the contamination' upon the Maori

(Hokowithu, 2004, p. 265). Furthermore, two Church Mission Society missionaries, Henry and Edward Williams, were at the core of the disputed interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi, 'the founding document of New Zealand as a bi-cultural society' (Dalziel, 1999, p. 578). Their English translation of the Treaty did not safeguard Maori land, which differed from the Maori text promising the chiefs full authority over their territory (Lester, 2009). At the same time, in the dominant settler imagination, new territories were seen as a 'natural' extension to their homeland, so that Christian missionaries and 'missionary-ridden government' were criticised for 'ruining the colony' (Wake, 1962, p. 343) and considering the needs of Maori 'savages' in the Treaty to be more important than those of the immigrant settlers (Moon, 2015).

Furthermore, at that time the centralising influences of the church also led to specific naming and segregation of spiritual mobilities. In Cape Breton island, the Mi'kmaq – the oldest settled ethnic group in the region – was converted to Catholicism by French traders in the 16th century, but they were drawn into the religious division of the island along Catholic-Protestant lines, often to the loss of their own sense of home (Murdoch, 1998). The diversity of mission organisations divided by class, rural/urban background and denomination created contested relations between religion and empire, that 'were as likely to undermine each other as they were to provide mutual support' (Porter, 1999, 245). Factionalism, denominational rivalry and fears of proselytising fuelled by the home churches in Scotland often constructed expectations about migrants' spirituality in terms of sets of rules and rituals to be followed. The Reverend John McLennan of Prince Edward Island, reporting on his tour of Cape Breton, blamed the settlers' spiritual condition on a mixture of pastoral neglect and backsliding.

> in course of my travelling through the island, I met with many persons grown up to be men and women, who never saw the face of a *clergyman* before. Multitudes

> even of adults were unbaptized; and thousands, to whom the sacred rite had been administered, sunk in the most deplorable insensibility, and in the grossest ignorance. There are few here, generally speaking, who can read at all. The Bible in several sequestered spots in the woods is totally unknown, and the Sabbath Day utterly forgotten. (The Glasgow Society, First Annual Report, 1826, p. 22)

As this quote suggests, the spiritual placement of Scottish settlers was signalled through language that attempted to narrow down the complexity of their homes by using stereotypes and discursive reasoning. Reason here, used in opposition to the lack of reason, madness or 'insensibility' of migrants, legislates for specific ordering and naming of settlers' experiences as unacceptable and needing to be changed. Through the work of language attempting to make otherworldly connections intelligible, spiritual homes are replaced with meanings such as territories of 'sacred rite', 'the Bible' or 'the Sabbath' that condition the possibility of belonging. This form of reasoning, exercising control over the unruly, turned many of the migrants away from God and challenged their expectations about secure fellowship with God in a spiritual home. William Porter, an itinerant Anglican missionary, produced a rather bleak picture of migrants' spiritual homes when he wrote in 1843 that

> Our people are so few, so scattered, so swamped and intermingled by marriage, among the Presbyterians and Dissenters on the one hand, and among the ignorant Romanists on the other, that they can scarcely be kept sound in the faith … (Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Correspondence of the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; Rev. W. G. Porter to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, 1 January 1843, quoted in Stanley, 1983, p. 33).

In Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) terms, religious discourse in the above quotes, conveyed through 'order-words', organises multiplicities of people, landscapes and emotions in a way that determines positions for the migrants and sets out their choices for them. The language used in the above statement is concerned with defining migrants' lives in the new world through the process of naming (migrants seen as unfaithful), segmentarity (Presbyterians, Dissenters), standardising (all 'sunk in insensibility') and producing positives and negatives (ignorant, illiterate). As a result, these discursive mechanisms created a measured, bounded, and partitioned sense of spiritual homes.

Third, spiritual homes in migration could be seen as a *multiplicity of wider cultural practices* such as prayers, hymn narratives and spiritual performances that were supported by institutional religion and personal faith. The commitment of Scottish churches to their diasporic flocks helped to create the migrants' sense of belonging to a bigger spiritual home in the 'country of God' (Motyer, 2009, p. 23). Migrants' spiritual homes were recreated through freewill offerings from Scottish congregations, visits from travelling ministers and pastoral support. Although until 1825 the Church of Scotland had no auxiliary body to support its members in the colonies, church-based activities helped migrants to feel planted in their earthly lives simultaneously in old and new homes and encouraged their movement towards a home with God in Zion (Hebrews 12:22). A branch of the Glasgow Colonial Society, the Edinburgh Ladies' Association, formed by a group of evangelical clergy and laity, sponsored the

emigration of so many Gaelic-speaking ministers, catechists and teachers that by the 1850s it had 'provided the scaffolding and framework for the whole edifice of Presbyterianism in Cape Breton' (Stanley, 1983, p. 122). Organisationally, this created a multiplicity of order with reports, religious literatures and money framing the spiritual homes of the overseas settlers. The 1826 report claimed that at least seven Gaelic-speaking ministers were required to meet the needs of 4,000 'ignorant and illiterate' people, mostly Highlanders. (The Glasgow Society, First Annual Report, 1826, p. 27).

Heterogeneous settlers, their multiple religious attachments and spiritual positions developing in a challenging context were reduced to separate entities and numbers. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, p. 38) terms, descriptions of spiritual home in this context point towards a 'multiplicity of exteriority, of simultaneity, of juxtaposition, of order, of quantitative differentiation'. Thus, the possibility of a spiritual home was framed in rather instrumental terms, with clearly described subjects (4,000 'ignorant' settlers), landscapes ('impenetrable *desarts*'), spiritual conditions (prejudice) and measures of external intervention (seven ministers) forming the spiritual set-up. However, despite these ordering influences, migrant homes as multiplicities changed their nature through different intensities during the spiritual and geographical journeys, which we consider in the next section.

Spiritual homes as intensive multiplicities

Spiritual home as an intensive multiplicity rejects the idea of a prior unity that has been fragmented and focuses on fusion, organisation and heterogeneity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). First, spiritual home as an intensive multiplicity is *excessive of specific dimensions* and can never be fully defined through discrete variables such as materials (the Bible), performances (prayers, stories) and feelings (emotions, expectations). For many passengers leaving Scotland, the emigrant ships became temporary spiritual homes through the combination of worship, prayers and the sharing of Bibles. As the mid-19th century records of Norman Macleod (quoted in Meek, 1988, p. 16) indicate, he witnessed the creation of a sense of spiritual environment aboard an emigrant ship wherein intricate and inextricable couplings of people, memories, signs, expressive (Gaelic) language notes and objects developed akin to Sloterdijk's (2005) 'atmosphere'. The acts of storytelling, drawing parallels with the search for home by Abraham and Jacob, collective chanting, holding hands and sharing of newly-printed Gaelic Bibles, brought different elements of the spiritual journey together. Even though the elements comprising spiritual home can be determined (sermons, prayers), it cannot be portrayed as a complete whole due to the uncertainty and excessive nature of the practices that remake it. From Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) perspective, spiritual homes therefore can be seen as multiplicities of heterogeneity and fusion (old/new) that go beyond the neatly mappable temporal and spatial areas often used to describe home-like belonging.

Second, in Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) terms, intensive multiplicities are fluid structures that *continuously emerge*, so that spiritual homes cannot be fully described, as they are in a state of flux and becoming. Travelling and migration have often been described as 'spiritual acts' that help 'to express the desires and beliefs of the soul' (Solnit, 2001, p. 50). Many of the displaced Highland emigrants saw their travel as an opportunity to seek spiritual solace by anticipating

their reward in heaven rather than perpetrating revenge for the Clearances on earth. Spurred by the well-documented spiritual revival in the Highlands, many of the migrants were driven by hope of the eternal home that would develop during the trials of the voyage and settlement (Harper, 2005). ‘Casting all your care upon him for he careth for you’ (1 Peter 5:7) was the theme of a parting sermon preached by the Congregational minister of Sannox, Arran, that strongly resonated with the Canada-bound contingent of cleared islanders in 1829 (Meek, 1988, p. 16).

From the very start of the migrants’ physical journeys and eve-of-departure sermons, spiritual homes were continuously reproduced through spiritual openings and passions expressed on board the ships. Alexander Macleod, missionary in Portree, Skye, recorded in 1833 in his journal that, having been requested by the pilot of an emigrant ship to lead worship on board, he was ‘astonished and delighted’ that the large number of passengers, despite their ‘great noise and bustle’, behaved ‘with great circumspection and attention during the time of worship, after which they showed a great desire that I should give them another visit’ (The Highland Missionary Society, 11th report, 1834, p. 26). Before returning the following day (Sunday), Macleod secured the captain’s permission to bring others on board the *Adrian,* so that the emigrants and those they were leaving behind shared a final service of worship on the ‘greatly crowded’ deck of the vessel (The Highland Missionary Society, 11th report, 1834, p. 26). In this context, spiritual homes emerged as multiplicities that were excessive of the actual positions and interests of migrants, as they involved a leap of faith and ‘great desire’ that allowed for seemingly impossible (amid ‘great noise and bustle’) connections with God to develop.

Third, spiritual homes can *create a sense of being in-common* that cannot be determined in terms of a singular identity. As Meek (1998) suggests, spiritual communication and a sense of common dwelling with God have often developed during the worship on board emigrant ships departing Scotland in the mid-19th century. One of the eve-of-departure sermons performed in the Gaelic language, and therefore appealing to the migrants' cultural roots, forged a vision of continuous co-belonging at home with God:

> 'Let me not hear', said the minister, 'such talk as this. Be courageous; this is not the time for you to show weakness; put your trust in God; for it is not without His knowledge that you are going on this voyage. … is not God to be found on the ocean as well as on land?' (Translation from Gaelic quoted in Meek, 1988, p. 17).

As this quote suggests, spiritual home brings together 'old' (Scotland) and 'new' (Canada) homes, oceans and lands, based on a sense of sharing a common bond of citizenship in 'the kingdom of the Almighty'. Spiritual homes in this case emerge as 'machinic assemblages of bodies, actions and passions' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 88) beyond specific locations. Spiritual homes emerge as a collective between individuals and expressions that create new ways of functioning in a process of mutual exposure to the otherworldly God.

Fourth, spiritual homes *embody desire and affect* that develop collective relationships between different spiritual and material elements in the process of migration. We can apply here Guattari's (1995, p. 9):

> The term 'collective' should be understood in the sense of a multiplicity that deploys itself as much *beyond the individual*, on the side of the socius, as before the person, on the side of pre-verbal intensities, indicating a logic of *affects* rather than a logic of delimited sets.

Affect here refers to corporeal, sensuous, expressive being on the move, a way of being-attuned that cannot be reduced to objective displacements (Collins and Shubin, 2017). The very departures of Scottish emigrants for the new world produced affective states excessive of the individual and made possible different ways of relating to God. In 1841 a party of emigrants from the interior of Sutherland, most of whom had never seen the sea before embarking at Helmsdale, were terrified by the gale on their first night afloat. 'Suddenly, as if by common consent', wrote an observer on board, 'they raised a Gaelic psalm tune, which mingled, with wild and plaintive effect, with the roar of surf and wind' (*Inverness Courier*, 27 January 1841, quoted in Barron, 1907, p. 20). Eleven years later Norman Macleod's Gaelic address to the Skye emigrants embarking at Greenock in 1852 reflected on affective disclosure of spiritual home in the process of prayer and singing of the 23rd psalm, 'amidst much sobbing, and under very deep impressions' (*Glasgow Constitutional*, 17 July 1852, quoted in Richards et al., 1988, p. 75). These events reflected the coming together of the bodies, signs, sudden and pre-reflective ('as if by common consent') resonance with prayers that defined the migrants'

dwelling with God. The resultant spiritual homes were inter-subjective and driven by a desire that, in Deleuze's (1988) terms, animated the world and transcended the individual. Affective performances such as shared prayers allowed migrants to make themselves at home during the voyage and develop faith-relationships not based on rational knowledge.

Spiritual homes are also produced by the affects after the migrants' arrival to a new place. As Cameron Tallach, a Christian missionary in Taiwan, recalled, he sensed being moved by the spirit of God during a Mandarin service, despite his inability to speak the language. 'Worshipping the same God that we had worshipped back in Scotland … the sense of strangeness … just lifted, and I felt at home.' (Tallach, 2017)

This 'feeling at home' and continuous belonging to 'the same God' reveal spiritual connections that generated the disclosure of spiritual homes.

Fifth, spiritual homes as multiplicities *are always incomplete* as they assume *being in-between* earthly and heavenly lives. In Christian terms, multiplicities of people, passions and prayers developing in migration are moving towards being at home in Zion (Hebrews 12.22) that is always to come since 'our citizenship is in heaven' (Philippians 3.10). A spiritual home refuses attempts to complete it since with the ineffable God 'an objective map of the objective environment one finds before oneself, can never be given' (Dewsbury and Cloke, 2009, p. 701). In the historical context, the movement of Scottish migrants towards a spiritual home meant learning how to trust God during the ambivalent journeys of not being at home in terms of

immediate security. Reverend Dr Norman Macleod (*Caraid nan Gàidheal)* reflected on such a sense of hope and openness expressed by Australia-bound Skye emigrants embarking at Greenock in 1852:

> They declared, in very touching language, that they went forth trusting in God, as did Abraham of old, not doubting that he was sent of God for purposes of good. (*Glasgow Constitutional*, 17 July 1852, quoted in Richards et al., 1988, p. 75)

As this quote demonstrates, the migrants accepted that spiritual and physical wandering through foreign lands can only be anticipated but not fully experienced (Kidd, 2002). In Heidegger's (1996b, p. 29) interpretation, migrants' search for a spiritual home can be seen as a 'journey of becoming homely' that involves the process of experiencing the unfamiliar, alien or 'unhomely'. Similarly, spiritual homing in Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) terms can be described as a process of continuous becoming that can never achieve an objective goal.

The movement towards a spiritual home continues after settlement and involves finding a metaphorical rather than a geographical place of belonging (with God) beyond the systems of the state or language. In the mid-19th century the Edinburgh Ladies' Association that took a particular interest in Cape Breton in Canada held monthly simultaneous prayer meetings on each side of the Atlantic, thereby generating expectations, spiritual impulses, memories and circulation of affects leading to a mutual becoming-home (Stanley, 1983, p. 122). In such situations, shared meditation made believers separated through migration feel connected and

attuned to the possibility of the common belonging to God's home. In the words of a modern hymn,

> There is a hope that stands the test of time,
> That lifts my eyes beyond the beckoning grave,
> To see the matchless beauty of a day divine
> When I behold His face!
> When sufferings cease and sorrows die,
> and every longing satisfied,
> Then joy unspeakable will flood my soul,
> For I am truly home. (Townend and Edwards, 2007)

Spiritual homes emerging in migration are multiplicities of seemingly impossible emotions ('unspeakable'), manifestations of faith (suffering) and spiritual links emerging in a relationship with God. Spirituality reflects the way of being 'homely' in the presence of God, a connection to the world of flux that is always developing (Motyer, 2009).

Such incompleteness questions certainty and purposefulness in the process of homing, since, as Deleuze (2006, p. 109) claims, it signals a move beyond 'intentionality through which consciousness is directed towards something and gains significance'. Spiritual homing is incomplete insofar as it escapes the capacity to describe it and promises more-to-come in terms of relationship with God. Dewsbury and Cloke (2009, p. 706) describe this continual emergence of the spiritual as 'coming that keeps coming without arriving'. For the Scottish migrants the home they inhabited was not always the one they intended, and they themselves changed during the passage.

Conclusions

Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's ideas, this paper has explored the production of fugitive and incommensurable spiritual homes by drawing on historical accounts from 18th- and 19th-century emigration from Scotland. It has highlighted simultaneous possibility of a relationship to the other-worldly during spiritual seeking for God and, at the same time, the impossibility of a relationship with God as absolutely foreign and unnameable.

First, spiritual homes emerge in a double movement of making and remaking of different constellations of elements, which makes them impossible to hold, limit or localise. While traditional homes tend to be associated with possession and ownership, spiritual homes depart from the self and self-references. This vision of home unsettles the idea of a colonial migrant subject as 'always already white' (Butler and Scott, 1992, p. xv) and instead points to the multiplicity of forces (beliefs, fleshly dispositions, spiritual guidance), creating presence without identity. Spiritual homes recreated through a combination of transnational activities, language and cultural practices are part of the intersubjective emergence of the world, beyond one particular migrant (Collins and Shubin, 2015). Through the engagement with God as a pure exteriority, spiritual homes themselves can be seen as dislocated to the 'outside of time' (Blanchot, 1982, p. 228), always at a distance as the migrant cannot come back to the original place or time of their departure.

This paper speaks to the broader definitions of spiritual landscapes in geography that are beyond individual knowledge since they bring together 'solid, present corporeal… and mysterious, elusive and ethereal' elements (Dewsbury and Cloke, 2009, p. 698). During cross-border movement a migrant is separated from herself and transformed through the relations with multiple others. As our analysis has demonstrated, many migrants felt pushed away from the ordinances of organised religion by practices of naming (ignorant, illiterate stereotypes), which contributed to their sense of drift from a spiritual home. The idea of home in this case is turned inside out, it seems to be stolen away from an individual – it is no longer a place of his/her distinct existence and initiative based on the intentional construction of meaning. Our paper therefore speaks to the idea of a spiritual home as a *dispossession*, developed in an impossible relation with the foreign and otherworldly. It offers an opportunity to explore historical and present narratives of home which are outside of power to represent – such as the migration stories of trauma and loss of one's place leading to madness (Shubin, 2020b). The analysis of migrants' encounters with alterity can reveal why homes come to matter as simultaneously happy and unfriendly, familiar and strange in migration without attempts to overcome or eliminate this contradiction and incompleteness (Gowans, 2003).

Second, spiritual homes developing in migration are excessive, emergent, affective multiplicities. We explored the process of home-*ing* as a condition of openness that a migrant cannot possibly contain through language, cognition or metrics of existing social structures. Historical accounts reveal the disclosure of homes through spiritual practices such as chanting, contagious encounters created through the opening of the world in migration and trans-boundary movement beyond oneself. In Heidegger's terms, such exposure to the foreign (God) outside of knowledge can be expressed as letting-go (*Gelassenheit),* which requires the

acceptance of excess and freedom of the other (God) without any justification, ground or 'without why' (Bruns, 2005, p. 93). In a similar fashion, the narratives of joint praying and common belonging we presented speak about the openness to being affected by God that is irreducible to the formal features of traditional home. This exposure disrupts the boundaries of the self as well as the socio-spatial order of home, being both inside and outside, metropolitan and indigenous, colonial and post-colonial (Spivak, 1990, 66). This vision of *home as an exposure* not only chimes with the recent approaches in geography that speak about homes as mobile, blurred and confused rather than sedentary places (Ahmed et al., 2003; Boccagni, 2016; Fraiman, 2017). It also puts into question the very understanding of relationality that prioritises connectivity across borders and the possibility to relate to the other (God) within the familiarity of home.

Our approach that draws on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) vision of multiplicity exposes spiritual home as disrupted and impossible to reconcile within spatial binaries such as 'first' and 'second' homes (Smith and King, 2012). It resonates with the social theories that unsettle discrete spatial separations between the subject (inside) and alterity (God, the outside). In particular, it speaks to Derrida's (1973, p. 67) spatial metaphor of a 'trace' that is neither absent nor present, goes beyond meaning and intention, and creates extreme proximity with the other while maintaining unbridgeable distance. In this context, home appears as a movement, a continuous play of difference, where openness to alterity creates internal rupture, a sense of being beyond itself. Similarly, our approach resonates with Lacan's (1992, p. 139) idea of 'extimacy', when exposure to alterity brings foreignness, *ex*terior into the *in*timacy of the subject (in our case, migrant), so that he/she can no longer manage its boundaries and exclude selected others (see excellent geographical analysis of extimacy in Kingsbury, 2007). God, in

the words of Saint Augustine, is at the same time ‘more interior than my innermost being’, and the foreign, unknown other that stirs me (Miller, 1994, p. 77). Spiritual home is open and endlessly dispersed, impossible to locate or internalise as this would involve grounding the alterity of the other. The migrant cannot ‘arrive at’ or ‘achieve’ spiritual home by making the unnameable God known, conforming and belonging to him/her.

This understanding of spiritual home as an exposure bears directly on the question of hospitality in migration, shifting the emphasis from mastery to withdrawal. Openness to the radical difference relinquishes the migrant’s mastery over the space of home and undermines the existing practices of closure and exclusion based on normative and logical rules. In this respect, Barnett (2005, p. 13), drawing on his reading of French philosopher Levinas, speaks about a shift from conditional hospitality to ‘a passive relationship of welcome, one of unconditional hospitality’ to the unanticipated other. This shift undermines the autonomised sense of home and institutionalised rules, modes of justice and discursive conditions framing spiritual homes. Instead, it points to a hospitality of home that one cannot own, opened to and interrupted by the other without fixation on its origin and the impossibility of reducing its strangeness to a common measure.

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Notes

[i] *Dùthchas* refers to a belief in the mutual trusteeship of land, and a shared heritage across the different ranks of Highland society.

[ii] A manse is the dwelling house of the minister (equivalent to the Church of England "vicarage" or "rectory" or "parsonage").

[iii] A glebe is land belonging to the church which generally surrounds the manse and/or church. In the past it often provided revenue to the church and/or minister from rents. According to the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (DSL, 2020), a glebe is "the portion of land assigned to a parish minister in addition to his stipend".