INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE NATION: HIGHLAND IDENTITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

DISSERTATION

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My dissertation investigates the condition of Scottish Highland identity in nineteenth-century British culture and suggests a rethinking of British national identity formation. Highland identity was constructed as that of a strange yet alluring people altogether outside the nation who nevertheless came to represent the very essence of the nation. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the Scottish Highlands, largely ignored before then, became the subject of intense scrutiny and fascination for metropolitan Britons in Edinburgh and London. Highlanders were thought to be Britain's own home-grown Noble Savages, and their distinct romanticized culture figured prominently in many different cultural representations. Like the "wild" Indians of North America, to whom they often were compared, Highlanders were an exotic race of people whose primitive society placed them beyond civilized British society. The very alterity of the Highlander, however, was brought into the service of articulating British national identity in several important ways. The Highlands were introduced into British consciousness by Scottish cultural authorities in Edinburgh--the foremost of these was Walter Scott--to voice Scotland's own distinctive identity within the framework of British union. Highland "tribal" customs and traditions, manner of dress, literature, music, and landscape all continued to register as strange and exotic while remaining uniquely "British." I explore the making of this contradictory identity through an investigation of its representations in a wide variety of genres, including literature, historiography, military accounts,
economic treatises, committee reports, letters, narrative painting, pageant plans, travelogues, and published and private diaries. The unique position of Highland culture and society, both inside and outside the nation, suggests new ways of thinking about British notions of alterity in the nation's imperial century.

My introduction provides an overview of my argument and explores the multiple cultural and critical locations my work occupies.

Chapter Two focuses on the cultural anxieties of Scottish literati in the face of Scottish marginalization within Great Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The anxiety of pro-Union Scots like Hugh Blair and Adam Ferguson that Scotland would become assimilated into an Anglicized Great Britain prompted them to promote a romantic Scottish Highland culture that asserted Scotland's difference from England. I explore this phenomenon through an analysis of the debates surrounding James Macpherson's "translations" of Ossian and the Scott-orchestrated pageantry attending George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. At stake in the Ossian debates were the "racial" origins of Scotland. The popularity of Ossian and Macpherson's ideas determined that Scotland would be thought of as a Celtic not a Saxon nation. Yet, by voicing Scotland's "Celtic" heart through translation, Macpherson also paradoxically reinforced Highland difference. Scott's "Celtification" of Scottish identity through his use of "Highland" symbols and rituals during the king's visit ensured that Highland identity would come to represent Scottish identity while fostering the links with Highland traditions and the British monarchy.

Chapter Three investigates the importance of Highland violence in British historiography in the early nineteenth century, exemplified by Scott's Tales of a Grandfather. Scott's long work unfolds the specific history of Scotland up to the achievement of Union and the demise of Jacobitism in the mid-eighteenth century. It also relates the universal development of "civilization" in Great
Britain. In the Tales, Scott paradoxically configures Highland savagery as the ahistorical characteristic of a primitive tribal people and as the historical agent of Jacobitism in the eighteenth century. The failure of Highland society to advance until the end of the eighteenth century and the destruction of Jacobitism reveal tensions and ruptures which destabilize the Enlightenment theory of progress upon which Scott bases his understanding of "history."

Chapter Four analyzes representations of the idealized Highland warrior. In Scott's Waverley, Evan Dhu, loyal lieutenant to his chieftain and born and raised in the Highlands, is the prototype of the Highland warrior who is hardy, intrepid, fearless and absolutely loyal to his superior. His Highland chieftain, Fergus MacIvor, reveals his non-Highland upbringing in the atypicality of his behavior. Though Waverley is set during the last Jacobite uprising in 1745, I read the novel in the context of the great national struggle of Scott's own time: Britain's long war with Napoleonic France. Scott was an ardent war "hawk" and followed closely the triumphs of Scottish Highland regiments in the Peninsula and on the continent. Waverley serves the nationalist aims of British war advocates of Scott's own time by providing a Highland model for an ideal war hero in opposition the "effeminate" French.

Chapter Five investigates the relationship between depictions of the general "martial" character of Highland society and of "martial races" of the East in British military discourse after the Indian Rebellion. Martial race theory exactly reproduces earlier descriptions of the Highland warrior-soldier. Ironically, however, Victorian narratives of the Indian Rebellion depict the exotic Highlander (whose kilted "feminine" garb was thought to incite panic on sight among native resisters) in the service of counter-insurgency. The fanaticism of the East is met with the "Gaelic fury" of the West. Juxtaposing representations of the martial race subject, which saw their earliest beginnings in military writing
after the rebellion, reveals irresolvable tensions and ruptures underlying the logic of colonial alterity in the very kind of texts where such logic needs to be reinforced aggressively.

Picturesque depictions of the Highlands emphasized their position on the margins of the British nation, both spatially and culturally. A journey to the Highlands from London or even Edinburgh was a journey to a wild, exotic, distant land; yet the popularity of Ossian's poems and Scott's fiction made many Highland places quite familiar to readers. Chapter Six explores travelogues and depictions of the strange-yet-familiar Highland landscape. The shift from travelogues which see the Highlands as alien to those which see them as simultaneously alien and familiar is also a gendered one. Early travelogues that saw the Highlands only in aesthetic terms, as a landscape, were also largely written by men. Later women travelogues like Dorothy Wordsworth's in 1803 and Anne Grant's in 1811 depict the Highlands as wild and sublime yet also as the location of ideal domestic relations. This dichotomy is highlighted by Queen Victoria's autobiography of her life in the Highlands. Victoria depicts her Highland life as one in which she is freed from the constraints of her role as sovereign and is able to fulfill ideally her roles as wife and mother. Victoria's travelogue made the wild Highlands a part of the image of the British monarchy while representing the royal family as an ideal middle-class family.
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For their patience and superb detective work in tracking down many of the hard-to-find research materials I asked for, I need to mention the Interlibrary Loan staff at OSU and particularly Jennifer Kuehn and Brenda Goodwin.

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provided invaluable criticism, suggestions, and advice along the way, and is my
first defense against my often idiosyncratic writing style. Without her
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines Scottish Highland identity as it was articulated in Britain in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. It explores an inherent paradox in the construction of the Scottish Highland identity. On the one hand, Highland traditions, Highland custom, Highland social relations, Highland dress—even the landscape itself—were thought by metropolitan Britons to be significant aspects of a fascinating primitive people. On the other hand, Highland identity often was deployed to evoke British national identity in a wide variety of cultural representations. I explore the making of this contradictory identity through an investigation of its representations in a wide variety of genres, including literature, historiography, military accounts, economic treatises, committee reports, letters, narrative painting, pageant plans, travelogues, and published and private diaries. Yet a large part of my analysis is devoted to the body of work produced by one person: Sir Walter Scott.

Any discussion of the making of Highland identity must devote a large part of its analysis to Scott simply because Scott was by far the single most influential purveyor of Highland representation in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, no chapter of my dissertation does not take up an analysis of Scott’s work at some point, and Chapter 3 is wholly devoted to an analysis of Scott’s ambitious (but relatively unknown) historical account of Scotland, Tales of a Grandfather. Although his literary predecessors included James Macpherson—whose Ossianic
poems popularized the Highlands and the Highlander in the eighteenth century—Scott's more historicized vision of the Highlands eventually predominated in British culture. It was through Scott's literary vision of the Highlands that so much of the literate British public came to understand them; the resulting "literariness" of the Highlands prompted its mass appeal after Scott. I hope to add to the understanding of Scott's "romantic" vision of the Highlands by examining not only a selection of his Waverley novels, but some of his little known nonfictional, even non-textual, representations of Highland Scotland. These include the Tales of a Grandfather, his commentary on the controversy surrounding the authenticity of Ossian, and his plans as pageant master for George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh.

Through an investigation of these and other representations, my work suggests a broader re-thinking of the formation of British national identity, specifically addressing the uses of alterity in constructing a national "Self." I examine the making of Highland identity in the light of recent postcolonial and national identity work by writers, particularly those who, like Ina Ferris, Katie Trumpener, and David Lloyd, focus on the relationship between England and its near "peripheries" within the British Isles: Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The history of Highland "difference" begins as early as the fourteenth century when John of Fordun wrote of the essential "savagery" of the people who lived in the Highlands and islands of Scotland. In Fordun's account of Highland "savagery" (which I discuss in Chapter 3) we find the primary social characteristic that distinguished the Scottish Highlander from the Scottish Lowlander. This distinction became increasingly important in the late eighteenth century as English-speaking Scots in the rapidly industrializing south of Scotland began to distance themselves, for a variety of motives, from their Gaelic-speaking "brethren" in the Highlands. For the most part, however, Highland identity had
little resonance in British culture before the eighteenth century. As Scotland became subsumed within the larger political construct of Great Britain, and after a series of failed Jacobite insurrections, which derived much of their military and political support from the Highlands, educated people in the metropolitan centers of Scotland and England began to take a keener interest in the Highlands. As many writers on the Highlands have pointed out, the mid-eighteenth century saw a profound shift in metropolitan attitudes toward the Highlander. The merely savage Highlander became the Nobly Savage Highlander, a change whose effects remain with us today. What has been often described as the romanticization of the Highlands began with the general shift in European thought on the nature of "primitive" peoples of far-off climes. Thus, one can find expressions of parallel and affinity in descriptions of the Highlands and those of "other" noble primitive peoples, such as those in Polynesia and, especially, in North America.

Hayden White, in a seminal essay in *Tropics of Discourse*, argues that the Noble Savage theme in European thought has all the attributes of a fetish. Belief in the idea of a Noble Savage, White writes:

> was magical, was extravagant, and irrational in the kind of devotion it was meant to inspire, and, in the end, displayed the kind of pathological displacement of libidinal interest that we normally associate with the forms of racism that depend on the idea of a "wild humanity" for their justification. (White 1978, 184)

The development of the Noble Savage idea speaks more to the broad psychological and cultural needs of Europeans than it speaks to the nature of "primitive" humans. For White, the introduction of the Noble Savage idea enacts a late return of the "humanity repressed in the original oxymoronic characterization of the native as a Wild Man" (White 1978, 186). Seen in these terms, the transition of the Highlander from savage to Noble Savage reproduces
a larger phenomenon in European thought. The chronology of this
transformation—only after the Highlands cease to be considered a threat to the
British political order does the Highlander become a Noble Savage—exactly
parallels what White says is true of the phenomenon in general:

It is significant, I think, that this idolization of the natives of the New
World occurs only after the conflict between the Europeans and the natives
had already been decided and when, therefore, it could no longer hamper
the exploitation of the latter by the former. (White 1978, 186)

White’s essay is suggestive for an understanding of the idealization of the
Highlander rooted in interest in the Noble Savage. Yet Highland identity
deviates from White’s framework in two key areas. First, White’s Noble Savage
is wholly an idea created by Europeans to describe non-Europeans, particularly
those who inhabit regions newly opened to European influence and control.

Second, White suggests that the idea of the Noble Savage was used not to
"elevate" the native but to critique a class-based notion of “nobility.” Defenders
of the idea of the Noble Savage—White’s examples are Diderot and Rousseau—
were not interested in “better treatment of native peoples.” Rather, they used the
idea of the nobility of primitives as a foil to reveal the ignobility of the
aristocracy. The Noble Savage idea was seized upon by the "spokesmen" of the
rising bourgeoisie to express their

simultaneous rejection of the nobility’s claims to privilege and desire for
similar privileges for themselves. The concept of the Noble Savage served
their ideological needs perfectly, for it at once undermined the nobility’s
claim to a special human status and extended that status to the whole of
humanity. But this extension was done only in principle. In fact, the claim
to nobility was meant to extend neither to the natives of the New World nor
to the lowest classes in Europe, but only to the Bourgeoisie. (White 1978, 194)

The expression of Highland difference differed from that of other Noble Savages
in that it was not deployed as an ideological tool to voice particular class notions
but national ones. If the construction of Highland identity shares with that of
other Noble Savage identities a fetishistic "pathological displacement of libidinal interest and satisfaction" and "extravagant or irrational devotion" on the part of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in Britain, then the ideological motives for this fetishization are primarily nationalist, not class-bound.

Even so, re-thinking the romanticization of the Highlands in terms of the fetishistic nature of the idea of the Noble Savage is useful because it emphasizes the links between the making of the Highland identity and that of other non-metropolitan peoples around the world and because it emphasizes the underlying psychological movements that prompted this romanticization in the first place. White's formulation points to the importance of desire and the subconscious "irrational" motives that sometime underlie national identity formation.¹

If, however, Highland identity shared the attributes of Noble Savagery that marked the identities of the American Indian and the Polynesian, it did so in a paradoxical formulation. The specific elements that demonstrated Highland alterity—the history of clanship, the martial and bardic traditions, the sublimity of the landscape, and the exotic nature of Highland dress, music, and language—were all called upon to voice the essence of British national identity, not in an antithetical construction but in a congruent one. Highland identity reveals a peculiar "domestic alterity." The Highlanders are Britain's own "home-grown" Noble Savage; they are the "they" that is also an "us." In the logic of alterity that metropolitan culture imprints, Highland identity is simultaneously beyond and within Britain's national identity.

Often, the paradoxical nature of Highland identity is found in the strange ruptures it produces in the structure of alterity in British nationalist accounts. For example, in British military accounts of the Indian Mutiny (which I examine in Chapter 5), Highland regimental soldiers are important and particularly
spectacular exemplars of British national superiority, which is expressed oppositionally in relation to the inferiority of native insurgents. Highland soldiers are exotic, highly colorful metonyms of British steadfastness, resolution and fearlessness in contrast to the cowardice, treachery, and fanaticism of Sepoy mutineers. These accounts are therefore important expressions of national identity, which depend on an antithetical relationship between colonizer and colonized to voice the essence of British identity. However, the underlying assumptions upon which Highland martial effectiveness is based are that the Highlander is a "naturally" good soldier, and that Highland society retains the martial traditions of "tribal" clan society. Further, assumptions that Highlanders are essentially a martial people is echoed in later colonial theories on the "martial races" of south Asia—Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Punjabis—whose men were often recruited en masse into the British Indian Army.

By examining the underlying ruptures, gaps, and disruptions in the construction of Highland identity, my work follows in the path of other, postcolonial, work that seeks to de-stabilize metropolitan constructions of the ethnic and national "Other." At the same time, the unique paradox of Highland identity requires at least a partial re-thinking of theoretical formulations that have focused solely on alterity in a non-European colonial setting. For example, David Lloyd's postcolonial account of the "anomalous states" of Ireland and Irish writing is suggestive for an analysis of the predicament of Highland identity. Describing the varied "theoretical circuits" in which he places his work, Lloyd writes:

I have tried not to erase the traces of this multiple location or to integrate too neatly the quite varied communities to which they are addressed. Rather, I have preferred to let the uncertainty of location stand as an allegory of a more fundamental dislocation quite familiar in a culture which is geographically of Western Europe though marginal to it, increasingly assimilated to that Europe, while in part still subject to a dissimulated colonialism, and which
continues to lose up to 30,000 people annually to emigration. With peculiar intensity, Irish culture plays out the anomalous states of a population whose most typical experience may be that of occupying multiple locations, literally and figuratively. (Lloyd 1993, 2-3)

While there are important distinctions to be made between the historical circumstances surrounding Highland culture and Irish culture as they stand at the end of the twentieth century, much of what Lloyd says of Irish culture in this passage could also be said of Highland culture. Lloyd’s emphasis on the "multiple locations" of his work forms the basis of my own work on Highland identity because Highland culture has also struggled with questions of assimilation, underdevelopment, and a continuing pattern of population loss due to emigration. I have also tried to avoid situating my work along a particular axis, critical or otherwise. This has fostered the fear that the work may seem to suffer overall from an excessive and confusing fragmentation. In following a chronological outline only sketchy at best and by emphasizing particular historic moments in some chapters and larger swaths of time in others, I fear I have risked the possibility that the work seems obsessively concerned with trivial elements while ignoring larger more critical elements. If this is indeed the case, I hope that the fragmentation of my work at least brings attention to the dislocation and fragmentation of Highland identity itself.

Because Highland identity was voiced always within the context of British national space, if not always within the context of British national identity, my dissertation takes into account recent work on British national identity formation. Linda Colley’s historical analysis in Britons, for example, is instructive in reformulating the “hegemonic” model of British identity formation. An example of this model can be found in sociologist Michael Hechter’s extensive work Internal Colonialism, in which he argues that “British” culture reflected an English hegemony. Hechter argues that the English "center" began a systematic
exploitation of its "Celtic Fringe" in the early modern period, fostering underdevelopment and assimilation of the native cultures of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. This dynamic of "internal colonialism" was a warm-up for the global English colonialism that would accelerate soon after.

Many writers have since pointed out some of the limitations of this model. Colley demonstrates that distinct regional identities remained and were fostered underneath the rubric of "Great Britain" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She sees the dynamic of British identity formation not dominated by oppressive English hegemony but as a largely voluntary—but limited—subsumption of regional identity into a unified "British" identity. This willful subsumption, she argues, was in response to the intensity of a shared feeling of threat from the great "Other" across the English Channel and, later, in response to the common feeling of superiority that all Britons shared in relation to the nation's colonial subjects. Identity differences continue to remain among Britons, Colley argues, and she, like others, is doubtful of the future viability of "Great Britain" as a national identity construct, given the processes of European economic unity and postcolonialism in the late twentieth century.

Yet if Colley's work illustrates the continuing coherence of regional identities under the umbrella identity of Britain, it is important to note that not all of the peoples in the nation's "peripheries" had an equal voice in articulating their own identity. Colley's work is dependent on metropolitan forms of cultural production for its evidence. She looks at literary works and political documents (all in English), cartoons, art works, building design, even modes of dress. Yet without access to the metropolitan modes of production which produced these artifacts, the rural, primarily Gaelic-speaking, people of the Highlands had little means to "speak" their own identity—within a framework of British identity or otherwise—in the metropolitan cultural marketplace. Highland identity was a
regional identity constructed by and for the use of a metropolitan audience that had only limited access to the actual experiences of rural Highland people. In short, Highland identity was manufactured largely outside of the Highlands.

Because so many of the representations of the Highlands came from cultural authorities in Edinburgh and London, rather than from the Highlands themselves, Edward Said’s theoretical work on Orientalism provides a useful framework for exploring the broad nature of thinking on the Highlands. Arguably as great a subject of fascination in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the “Orient” would become sometime after, the Highlands inspired a vast multi-disciplinary array of metropolitan inquiry. The Highlands and Highland society were frequent subjects of many scholarly fields: literature, sociology, economics, history, antiquarian research, and linguistics, to name some prime examples. Inquiry into the subject, especially in late Enlightenment circles in Scotland, arguably provided the methodology, the parameters, and the basic framework for later Orientalist inquiry. As Said posits for Orientalism proper, Highland “Celtism” established the Highlands as an antithetical foil in which the metropolitan can not only “know” the Highlander but also himself or herself. Celtism, like Orientalism, “depends for its strategy on a . . . flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing the upper hand” (Said 7). Yet, if the theoretical framework of Orientalism provides a useful way of understanding the construction of Highland identity, this framework cannot account fully for the paradoxical antithetical-yet-congruent structure of Highland alterity.

The schism between Highland identity and its “makers” who were not “of the Highlands’ has been the focus of much Scottish nationalist—and Highland “regionalist”—criticism, particularly in the twentieth century. For these writers,
the romanticization of the Highlands was merely an exercise in willful obfuscation in the service of veiling the "reality" of the Highland way of life, which was that it was systematically being destroyed by non-Highland invaders. In this scenario, the Jacobite defeat at Culloden signaled a military campaign of subjugation in the Highlands followed by ruthless exploitation by English or "Anglicized" Scottish landowners who cared little for their rural tenants but enormously for profit. Their ruling ideology was one of "improvement"—which I take up in Chapter 6—by which thousands of Highland families were evicted from their lands in the name of economic betterment, to be replaced by Cheviot sheep which gave a better return on investment. A culture that was loved and admired in the abstract was suppressed in practice, as subsistence agricultural practices gave way to the market demands of agrarian capitalism in the Highlands. As much of the labor force was made redundant, Highland breadwinners and their families were forced to emigrate, while others starved or died of disease en route to England, Canada, America, Australia, or other destinations in Britain's empire. Emphasizing that the military campaign of suppression and the ensuing Highland land clearances and emigrations were concomitant with the rise of Highland romanticization, nationalist and "regionalist" accounts of the Highlands often employ the powerful rhetoric of dramatic irony to structure their work. Like accounts of the oppression of the American Indian of a similar time period, these nationalist accounts seek to heighten reader outrage by juxtaposing elements of Highland "myth" with Highland "reality."  

Implicit in these accounts is the suggestion that previous romanticized depictions of the Highlands had been "false" and that the new account will provide a necessary corrective: the "truth" about the Highlands. Even recent influential accounts of Highland culture assume this stance of "uncovering,"
"uneartthing," or "unveiling" the hidden truth of the Highlands buried beneath all
the romance. Hugh Trevor-Roper's oft-cited essay on the "Highland Traditions
of Scotland," for example, fairly drips with ironic ridicule as he methodically sets
out to debunk key elements of the Highland "myth" one-by-one. A more
ambitious and expansive recent account of the romanticization of the Highlands
is Peter Womack's influential Improvement and Romance. Womack's work is
notable among recent accounts of the Highlands both for its insight and for its
thoroughness. While my own work is greatly indebted to Womack's and takes
many of the broader topics in his work as its starting point, I would argue that
Womack ultimately relies too heavily on the dichotomy between Highland
"truth" ("Improvement") and Highland "illusion" ("Romance"). Womack defines
the Highlands as a myth in Roland Barthes's understanding of the term. That is,
the Highlands is an "object which is signified within an ordinary linguistic sign,
but at the same time serves as the signifier within a second sign, having been, so
to speak, pressed into the service of a concept" (Womack 1). Womack's
understanding of "myth" remains, however, that it is a falsity which needs to be
undermined. Thus, though it is not the intention of his work to pose the
"authentic" identity of the Highlands, but rather to expose the structure of the
Highland myth, Womack does assume in his conclusion that authenticity is out
there somewhere, waiting to be discovered.

The phenomenon of Highland romanticization is certainly crucial to
understanding Highland identity, but I wish to shift the focus of my work away
from questions of "myth" versus "reality" for several reasons. For one, myth
analysis cannot account for the multiplicity of locations that Highland identity,
voiced from within the Highlands or from without, occupies. Further, the notion
of "myth" suggests, to my mind, a too totalized and de-historicized construct that
provides a too easy antithesis of the "real," which Womack implicitly locates in
the transformation of land relations in the Highlands. Also, I argue that the material effects of Highland romanticization were no less "real" than those of the ideology of improvement, though the effects of improvement in the time period were certainly much more traumatic for the people of the Highlands. Yet the Highlands were, and are, "romantic," and the nature of this romance, the powerful desire that it produced among outsiders to the Highlands, determined the material conditions of life in the Highlands as much as improvement did. Again, my dissertation, rather than seeking to uncover the "reality" by exposing the "illusion," instead focuses on the structure of notions about the Highlands and how metropolitan discourse on the Highlands in general reflects metropolitan desires, fantasies, and anxieties of alterity.

Throughout the work, however, I point out ways in which Highland identity stubbornly refused easy description and analysis. Though my focus remains throughout on metropolitan constructions of the Highlands, I also attempt to illuminate particular moments of resistance and recalcitrance, where local knowledge encounters metropolitan knowledge and brushes against the grain. By doing so, I wish to suggest an alternative understanding of Highland identity. Rather than presenting, for example, an "authentic" Highlander who works his croft as generations had done before and who spends his few leisure hours reciting before the hearth the Gaelic folk ballads of his forefathers, I wish to suggest that Highland identity is ultimately a hybrid one that resists both the metropolitan or nationalist representation. Neither simply a colonial figure nor a national one, the Highlander is somehow both at the same time, and Highland identity can be said to occupy a border space between identities. Highland identity reflects a hybridity that is, in the words of Guillermo Gomez-Peña speaking in a North American context, "cross-racial, polylinguistic, and multi-contextual" (11-12).
There are signs in popular culture at large that this understanding of the hybridity of Highland identity is already being effected. No longer obsessed with "authenticity" and maintaining or reviving a "lost" or "fading" Gaelic idiom in music, a new movement in "Celtic" music sees the genre in terms of a larger "world" music movement, in which traditional native music migrates to metropolitan centers of production and there is cross-pollinated by multi-linguistic song stylings and already hybridized musical forms. Thus, groups like Mouth Music, which takes its name from a traditional song form of the Highlands, combines traditional Gaelic ballads and lyrics with African rhythms and vocal stylings all backed up with a driving synth drum beat.7

The destabilization of Highland identity—whether it takes the form of a peculiar romantic savagery or the form of a traumatic loss and tragic decline—to which my work can only allude, perhaps suggests new possibilities for the Highlands. Given the postcolonial condition of transnational capitalism, of emigration, diaspora, ethnic rivalry, and the break-up of Britain, the peculiar anomaly of Highland identity—which is both inside and outside the nation—may not be that anomalous at all.

Notes

1 For an analysis of the relationship between nationalism and desire in historical fiction of the time period, see Dennis.

2 For another example, see Rose. Rose criticizes the assumption that the "Celtic Fringe" is uniform. One of the primary shortcomings of Hechter's analysis from the perspective of its discussion of Scotland is that Hechter equates "Celtic" with "Scottish." He therefore includes the whole of Scotland within his "Celtic fringe" model without taking into account the history of debate in Scotland concerning the ethnic identity of the nation. As I discuss in Chapter 2, the question of Scotland's racial origins centered on a bi-polar debate in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries between advocates like James Macpherson, of the nation's Celtic origins, versus scholars like John Pinkerton, who argued that Scots are a Teutonic people. Defining Scotland as a "Celtic" nation along linguistic lines is problematic, since the majority of Scots speak English as their native language. Rose's suggestion, like Colley's, that Britain is a multinational entity provides an alternative to Hechter's analysis of the Celtic periphery, which is excessively monolithic.

3 By "regionalist" criticism I mean accounts that, though they did not directly call for a Highland "state," nevertheless ground specific political demands for limited land autonomy or special governmental treatment in the Highlands on appeals to the special culture, language, traditions, and way of life of the Highland people. This kind of regionalist polemic reached its zenith in the late nineteenth century during the Highland land reform movement, which I discuss briefly in Chapter 3.

4 For particularly dramatic examples of the tragic irony turn in Highland historiography, see any of John Prebble's influential works on the Highlands: Culloden, Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743-1804, The King's Jaunt.
George IV in Scotland, and, particularly, The Highland Clearances. For a recent account of the Highland Clearances, see Richards.

5Trevor-Roper's account, though it follows in the mold of nationalist accounts, does so for anti-nationalist motives. Trevor-Roper's critique of Scottish Highland tradition can be seen in light of his political invective against Scottish devolution in the House of Lords.

6A corollary to the search for Highland "authenticity" is the critique of Highland kitsch culture whose dominion is the tourist gift shop. Tartan shortbread tins, tartan dolls, tartan golfballs, and tartan t-shirts encourage a reflexive desire to reach "for the hatchet of the demystifier" to paraphrase Womack. For an essay that argues for the importance of kitsch within "communities whose histories are determined by domination, displacement, and immigration," however, see Lloyd, "The Recovery of Kitsch." Lloyd argues that kitsch is nowhere more crucial than in these communities "to the articulation of the simultaneous desire for and impossibility of restoring and maintaining connection" (1995, 150).

7For a critique of the politics of "World Music," however, see Gomez-Peña. Gomez-Peña writes of the "official global transculture" reflected in pop music which:

numb[s] our political will and homogenize[s] our identities. The depoliticized World Beat . . . movements, and the Third World adventures of David Byrne and Paul Simon seem to be telling us that there is a gentle way out of our race, class, and nationality; that we can all be friends within the safe and neutral space of poly-ethnic music, weekend meditation seminars, and "primitive" memorabilia. (Gomez-Peña 10)
CHAPTER TWO

‘OTHERING’ THE NATION OR 'CELTIFYING' SCOTLAND: OSSIAN AND THE KING’S JAUNT

Just before the overture began to be played, two Highland officers came in. The mob in the upper gallery roared out, "No Scots! No Scots! Out with them!", hissed and pelted them with apples. My heart warmed to my countrymen, my Scotch blood boiled with indignation. I jumped on the benches, roared out, "Damn you, you rascals!" hissed and was in the greatest rage. I am very sure at that time I should have been the most distinguished of heroes. I hated the English; I wished from my soul that the Union was broke and that we might give them another battle of Bannockburn.

It's nae good blamin it oan the English fir colonising us. Ah don't hate the English. They're just wankers. We are colonised by wankers. We can't even pick a decent vibrant healthy culture to be colonised by. No. We're ruled by efeet arseholes. What does that make us? The lowest of the fuckin low, the scum of the earth. The most wretched servile, miserable, pathetic trash that was ever shat intae creation. Ah don't hate the English. They just git oan wi the shite thuv goat. Ah hate the Scots.

I

These epigraphs—one a quotation from James Boswell’s London journal of 1762, the other from Irvine Welsh’s 1993 novel Trainspotting—demonstrate the long and continuing vexed status of Scottish national feeling, since the absorption of Scotland the state into Great Britain in 1707. Since the Scots themselves voted the Scottish state out of existence in the merging of the Scottish and English parliaments under the Act of Union, the question of Scottish national identity has prompted a changing dynamic of resentment, self-loathing, frustration, and general anxiety. For over three hundred years Scots have been
asking themselves “what is the Scottish nation?” What does it mean to be “Scottish” as opposed to “English” or “British,” now or in the future? These broad questions have played out more recently in the debate over the future viability of “Great Britain.” Scots, who once held a stake in Britain’s success as a nation and who once played a significant role in voicing the nation’s identity, now ask whether it is time for Scotland to go it alone. The resentment that Boswell articulated nearly 250 years ago in his call for an end to the Union echoes even more strongly today in light of recent nationalist gains in achieving political autonomy. Yet nationalist critics, asking themselves why Scotland had never seen a strong nationalist movement before now, look to the nation’s past and find a national culture malformed at best, nonexistent at worst. Uniformly, critics of Scottish nationalism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have argued that the nation’s cultural elites willingly suppressed a strong nationalist culture for the promise of the material riches that the Union was to have provided. The coming together of "sister" nations in a united "Great Britain" meant more access to overseas and colonial markets for Scottish mercantile interests, more access to positions of patronage in the government and military for young Scottish gentlemen, and the general improvement of Scotland’s economy and industry overall. Keith Burgess neatly summarizes this phenomenon: “Scots surrendered their cultural inheritance as well as their national identity to the pursuit of economic gain in an industrial society that in Scotland, above all, was committed to the accumulation of capital” (231). E. J. Hobsbawm adds to this observation that: “The Scottish business classes, however proud of their Scottishness, would have regarded any suggestion that the Union of 1707 should be abrogated as sentimental idiocy” (117).

One of the most influential commentators on Scottish nationalism in recent years is Tom Nairn, who, in The Break-Up of Britain, looks for Scottish nationalism
between the time of Union and the present but cannot find it anywhere.

Examining the question of nationalism in a Marxist framework, Nairn asks why there was no movement for nationalism among the Scottish intelligentsia by the early nineteenth century as had been the case in so many countries in Europe. The answer, he argues, lies in the precocity of Scottish society:

Because Scotland had already advanced so far, so fast—to the watershed of development and beyond—it simply did not need the kind of cultural development [a robust nationalist movement] we are concerned with. It had overstepped what was to be (over the greater part of Europe) the next 'natural' phase of development. Its previous astonishing precocity led it, quite logically, to what appears as an equally singular 'retardation' or incompleteness in the period which followed. (116)

This "retardation" of Scottish nationalist development leads to what Nairn identifies as a Scottish "sub-nationalism": "a kind of pervasive, second-rate, sentimental slop associated with tartan, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Dr. Finlay, and so on" (114). Writing in 1977, Nairn sees a renewed Scottish "neo-nationalism" taking the place of the old. This neo-nationalism is, for Nairn, the real thing: vibrant, forward-looking, and politically active. Nairn's theory that Scotland after the Union was characterized by a strong 'national identity,' but a weak "nationalist culture," is echoed by many critics, among them, N.T. Phillipson, who coined the term "noisy inaction" to describe the conservative national ideology of cultural authorities such as Walter Scott. These authorities wished to remind themselves and the rest of the world of their national identity, yet do nothing to upset the smooth running of the money-making Union machine.1

However, David McCrone argues that Nairn's (and, I would argue, Phillipson's) critique of past Scottish nationalism is based on a concept of nationhood that is both static and organic. Nairn assumes an essentialized Scottish nation and then attacks authorities such as Walter Scott for failing to represent it adequately. McCrone argues that this idea of the nation has limited
the discussion on Scottish nationalism, and he calls for a more "radical" understanding of the idea of nation that emphasizes the fragmented and contested nature of any idea of the nation placed in its specific historical and political context:

The search for a distinctive identity is likely to degenerate into a pessimistic conclusion that none is possible because we are prevented from seeing it by the power of the regressive Scotch Myths, rather because in modern pluralistic societies no single 'national' culture is to be found. In other words, the argument has been that we cannot find it precisely because the myths are hegemonic, when the real answer should be that the search itself is illegitimate. (172)

Such a rethinking of the construction of Scottish national identity in the wake of the Act of Union would see the relative absence of strong demands for Scottish political autonomy as bound up with the political and social conflicts of the time. This rethinking would also be wary of looking for a "nationalism" defined strictly in contemporary terms, as if nationalism itself is a static transhistorical phenomenon. For example, Ernest Gellner defines "[n]ationalism" as a "political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (1). Yet he also points to Scotland as a prominent anomaly in this definition, stating that even though there has been little agitation for an independent state in Scotland since the Union, "Scottish nationalism indisputably exists" and that this fact "may indeed be held to contradict [his] model" (44).

Perhaps, however, the anomaly, in twentieth-century terms, of a rigorous voicing of national identity without demands for political autonomy is not anomalous at all, in the context of eighteenth-century Scottish enlightenment society. Few peoples have been so obsessed with defining their own national identity as Scots of this period. The discourses that we now associate with the making of nationhood—history, sociology, literature, macroeconomics, and anthropology—all achieved prominence among the literati of the Scottish enlightenment.
For the most part, the ideological requirement that Scottish national identity could only be understood or articulated within the context of Great Britain inspired a variety of national models in Scotland after the Union. Janet Adam Smith has shown that in the early part of the century following the Union, the dominant model of national identity was one of "assimilation." Scottish cultural peculiarities gradually would be eradicated as a hindrance to the social and economic development of the nation. Behind this model was a sense of Scottish inferiority in relation to her bigger English "sister." If Scotland were to keep up with England and not become a cultural and economic backwater, Scots would have to become more "English" and less "Scottish." Scots took to decrying the backwardness of the nation's legal and political systems and began referring to themselves as "North Britons." Rhetoricians lamented the rudeness of the Scots tongue and called for improvements in the teaching of English. "Scotticisms" in speech would be purged to make communication between Scotland and England more easy.

Behind this call for Anglicization was the implicit belief that Scotland would be best served in the Union by becoming more like England. No longer different, Scotland would no longer remain inferior. Yet by the mid-eighteenth century, this dominant model of Scottish identity was being replaced. Scottish successes in gaining access to positions of institutional power in London had resulted in an English backlash. Scots were lampooned and insulted (as Boswell witnessed) in London theaters and on London streets. To many Scots, it seemed that the English were not going to embrace them as equals after all. Scotland would defend and assert its essential difference to compete with England in the Union. References to "North Britain" declined and the term "Scotland" returned, as anxious Scots felt the need to articulate to themselves and to the English that Scotland was different, that it had its own way of doing things.
Along with this reaction to English recalcitrance came a simultaneous feeling among Scots that the Union had worked too well. Industrialization and urbanization were transforming the landscape and social fabric of the nation, particularly in the urban centers of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Indeed, T.M. Devine writes that Scotland between 1750 and 1800 went from seventh to fourth in the "league table of 'urbanised societies'" (Devine 9). England remained a more urbanized society than Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but "the Scottish rate of urban growth was significantly higher" (Devine 9). The possibility that Scotland really was becoming a northern province of an Anglicized Great Britain, merely a northern extension of Northumbria, intensified the anxious desire to express the distinctiveness of Scottish identity. In the words of Sir John Sinclair, this was needed before Scots became "totally assimilated to the English" (3). In place then of the assimilationist model, a model of Great Britain that emphasized its identity-in-difference was envisioned, in which Scotland was a constituent of the whole yet maintained its distinctiveness on equal terms with England. Thus, as Linda Colley and Robert Crawford have recently demonstrated, it was Scots, not the English, who felt they had the greatest investment in creating and fostering a workable Great Britain.\(^2\) Rather than an entity whereby the English secured its hegemony over the rest of the island, "Great Britain" was invented largely by Scots who were anxious to safeguard their own identity while prospering under Union. Crawford writes that the late eighteenth century saw the gradual shift in Scotland from efforts to institute English literature study as an academic practice to the involvement of Scottish literature in "a continuing examination of, and response to, the strains and possibilities of Britishness" (46). Further, Crawford argues:

It is this Britishness which, more than anything else, distinguishes Scottish from English literature in the eighteenth century. The Scots concern with identity, discrimination, and the possibilities of 'improvement' or
advancement makes prejudice one of the main themes of Scottish books in this period. If we wish to see how a society may attempt to articulate a non-English cultural identity while using a (sometimes modified) form of the English language, it is to eighteenth-century Scotland that we must turn... (46)

The issue of language points to a key question surrounding Scotland’s Britishness: how different was Scotland? How different should it remain? It is in the context of this debate on Scottish identity that Scottish Highland identity was brought to the forefront of culture in both Scotland and England. Highland culture became a key subject through which Scottish cultural authorities structured their ideas on national identity.

The most prominent of these purveyors of Highland identity were James Macpherson in the late eighteenth century and Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century. Though the Highland identity that each man articulated differed in many respects, both Macpherson and Scott seized upon particular aspects of Highland culture to further their own visions of Scottish national identity. Macpherson, as his comments and notes to the poems of Ossian reveal, envisioned a Scotland that was at its heart a Celtic nation, whose ethnic wellspring could only be found in the Highlands. Scott, though he devoted much of his work to exploring the multiple competing identities in Scotland, nonetheless could not help but also “Celtify” the nation in his role as pageant-master for George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822.

II

The shift to a more active cultural, if not political, assertion of national identity brought a figure that had been uniformly despised—but largely ignored—to the center of an increasingly insistent debate on the nature of Scottish difference. Peter Womack has shown that the Highlander was converted around mid-century from an “uncouth savage,” who was only depicted in the literature of the times as a “fool,” “rogue,” or “beggar,” to an idealized figure of great
noblity. Perhaps the most prominent example of this change was the publication and rise to popularity of James Macpherson’s Ossian poems, which first began to appear in Scotland and England in 1760. Purporting to be only the “translator” of the heroic stories of a Scottish prince who lived in the Highlands in the third century A.D., Macpherson gave Scotland its own (Highland) national epic and drew a model for Romantic sensibility and Romantic greatness. As I have discussed in my introduction, the general European primitivist movement, and particularly its notion of the Noble Savage was largely the catalyst for this change. Because they lived far to the north and cut off from the progress of the rest of Britain by their impressive mountains, Highlanders were suddenly thought to be the nation’s own home-grown Noble Savage, living as their ancestors had done centuries before. This conversion of the wild Highlander to Noble Savage prompted a sudden explosion of discourse on all things Highland. The Highlander in general became the subject of inquiries in a variety of fields: linguistic, sociological, and legal, as well as literary. However, if the general European phenomenon of exalting the Noble Savage prompted the Highlander’s entry into the discourse on Scottish national identity, it also reinforced the schism between the “civilized” Scottish Lowlander and “primitive” Highlander. As I have stated in my introduction, the prodigious outpouring of analysis of the Highland subject emanating from Edinburgh and London in the mid-eighteenth century can be described as “Orientalist,” both because of the fascination the Highlands engendered and because this fascination reflected more the desires and interests of its producers rather than of its subject, who, without access to metropolitan modes of production, had almost no role in the creation of its “own” identity.

The quick rise to prominence and popularity of Ossian’s poems only seems to affirm Womack’s argument that the conversion of the Highlander from uncouth
to Noble Savage simply "happened" following the publication of Macpherson's first collection of Ossian's poems, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* in 1760. This first publication was encouraged by Hugh Blair, who wrote its preface and prompted Macpherson to publish more poems. Macpherson immediately set off for the Highlands to gather more material for his most ambitious collections, *Fingal* (1762) and *Temora* (1763). In each work, Macpherson presented an ancient Celtic warrior of the Highlands who wears his passions on his shield arm. Ossian lives by a tribal warrior's code of honor, and much of his poetry describes battle, preparations for battle, and the sad aftermath of battle. Ossian is also the bard of his people, and, as such, he embodies their traditions and transmits them to future generations.4

If indeed the Noble Savage became the dominant idea of the Highlander well into the nineteenth century, Womack's model for the dynamic of this change is oversimplified. Implicit in his argument is a teleology which sees a text such as Ossian as marking the formation of an organic Highland "myth" that is complete and "finished" by around the 1820s. Far from being a settled concern by the early nineteenth century, however, the essence of the Highlander and Highland society continued to be the subject of often heated debate well into that century and it (arguably) continues today. One might evoke Raymond Williams's terms and suggest that, although the concept of the Highlander-as-noble-savage was not total by 1820, it was certainly "dominant." Any voicing of the Highlander-as-uncouth-savage merely reflected the dying remnants of an oppositional "residual" cultural form. However, I wish to focus on the continuing debate on the essential nature of the Highlander, of which the controversy surrounding Ossian is the nexus. If the Noble Savage Highlander articulated in the poems of Ossian indeed triumphed over the uncouth savage Highlander, it did so only after a long debate which seemed to allow no middle ground between them.
Those on the "Noble Savage side" of the debate (arguably the eventual "winners" of the debate) sought to "maximise," in Womack's word, Scottish difference within the context of Great Britain, by trumpeting Scotland's unique Noble Savage in the Highlands (145). Susan Manning echoes and extends Womack's idea:

As the "assimilationist" ideology of the eighteenth century gave way to the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth, Ossian achieved symbolic value as yet another index of Scottishness, a key to the country's cultural independence and unique traditions following the loss of its political independence . . . (44-45)

Bound up with the question of Scottish national identity and Scottish national difference, the controversy surrounding the authenticity of Macpherson's translation of Ossian became such an overdetermined focus of debate that almost every major cultural authority in Scotland for the next fifty years felt obliged to take a position on it. John Home, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Hugh Blair, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, James Boswell, Anne Grant, and Walter Scott (as well as non-Scots like William Wordsworth, Thomas Grey, and Samuel Johnson) all opined as to whether Macpherson's work was truly a translation of ancient Gaelic tales or merely a modern forgery. Thus it is not the text of the poems themselves that is the focus of my discussion, but the "text" of the debate surrounding the authenticity of the poems, as the Highlander entered dialectically onto the stage of national identity.

Underpinning this dialectic of the Highlander, however, was a uniform conceit. Both sides of the debate grounded their arguments on an assumption of Highland difference from the Lowland Scots and the Anglo-Saxon English. Nobly savage or just plain savage, the Highlander, was, like other primitives around the world, an uncivilized "other." It was of course this "otherness" of the Highlander which made him attractive to so many cultural nationalists in

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Scotland in the first place, but Highland difference was not simply one of degree but of kind. The Highlander in the eighteenth century were more often compared to the "savage" American Indian than to any of the "civilized" people of Europe.5 Highland difference was radical difference, and as we shall see, Macpherson and his sympathizers, by inserting Highland identity into the center of Scottish identity, brought a profound uncertainty, an inscrutability, into the very heart of the nation.

III

Though scholarship on Ossian in the last twenty years has largely focused on ferreting out the true sources of Macpherson's "forgery," recent work has focused on the importance of Ossian to this issue of Scottish national identity. As much of the work has demonstrated, the question of Ossian's authenticity quickly became a matter of Scottish national pride and honor.6 The closely knit circle of Edinburgh literati (Richard B. Sher describes the group as a "cabal") who actively supported and encouraged Macpherson and his claims against his detractors all had their own special motivations for doing so.7 Behind the peculiarities of their own agendas, however, lay a common motivation of asserting Scotland's unique national traditions. For example, Adam Ferguson, who was the author of An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767) and who has been called "the father of modern sociology," was a strong advocate for an independent Scottish militia. Ossian was for him an example of Scotland's ancient martial tradition. Its hero, Fingal, was an example of a great Scottish warrior, who could rally contemporary Scots to the militia cause.8 Hugh Blair, the influential professor of Rhetoric at Edinburgh University and the author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1784), believed that Ossian was proof and demonstration of his theories on the development of language and literature through time. For Blair, Ossian was the ideal example of unaffected unadorned pure poetry. In his critical
dissertation to the poems of Ossian, included in several editions of the poetry, Blair writes that Ossian's poetry is "Poetry of the Heart," the natural product of a primitive society, which lacked the sophistication of the poetry of civilized society. Ossian's was:

a heart penetrated with noble sentiments, and with sublime and tender passions; a heart that glows, and kindles the fancy; a heart that is full, and pours itself forth. Ossian did not write, like modern poets, to please readers and critics. He sung from the love of poetry and song. (Poems I, 70-71)

If Macpherson needed the authority of Blair to grant his translations legitimacy, "Macpherson's stuff was," as Blair's biographer puts it, "meat for Blair's theories" (Schmitz 45). But Blair's interest in Ossian was not simply academic. Like Ferguson and others, Blair promoted the poetry because, in Ossian's tales of great battles and great heroes, Scotland seemed to have found for itself the ancient epic of Britain. No other of the nations of Britain could make that claim, certainly not the English. Blair devotes a large section of his critical dissertation on establishing the epic quality of Ossian, and although he argues that it is impossible to compare two epics separated by culture and a time span of a thousand years, he nevertheless points out what he considers to be the obvious similarities between Ossian and Homer.

If many Scots felt it was their patriotic duty to promote Ossian, they assumed that its non-Scottish detractors, particularly the English, were hopelessly biased by their own national prejudices. This assumption was only verified in the opinions of writers like the Welshman Svan Evans, who dismissed Ossian because "The Scots have made it a national affair, and therefore what they say in its plea ought to count the less" (qtd. in Manning 44). Blair, in a letter to David Hume, comments on the national character of the doubters of Ossian's authenticity: "For my own part it is impossible for me to entertain the smallest
doubt of their being real productions, and ancient ones too, of the Highlands. . . .
Who but John Bull could entertain belief in an imposture so incredible as this?"
(qtd. in Schmitz 57). In a letter to Blair, John Macpherson, (no relation to James),
locates the motive for Ossian criticism in South British jealousy:

I am not at all surprised that, at a time when the spirit of party, and
national quarrels, are risen to such a height, the authenticity of Ossian’s
poems should be called into question. The glory arising to our country and
ancestors, from these noble monuments of genius, cannot miss to give pain to
the malevolent in the southern division of the isle . . . . (app. of Report 6)

It did not help the controversy that the foremost man of letters in England,
Samuel Johnson, had loudly and repeatedly called the poems complete fakes and
directly questioned the integrity of Macpherson. Johnson’s primary argument
against Macpherson’s claims was his failure to provide the Gaelic manuscripts
upon which his translation was based. Though this question of textuality of the
poems will be discussed in a later section of my argument, Johnson also attacked
the “Caledonian bigotry” of Ossian’s Scottish supporters. With scathing irony,
Johnson wrote in a Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland (1775):

The Scots have something to plead for their easy reception of an
improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed
ancestors. A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love
Scotland better than truth: he will always love it better than inquiry; and if
falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither
ought the English to be much influenced by Scotch authority; for the past and
present state of the whole Erse nation, the lowlanders are at least as ignorant
as ourselves. (119)

Johnson’s attack on pro-Ossians reflects the level of national pride that was at
stake in the Ossian debate. He also in this passage points to a key aspect to the
debate. What was at issue for Ossian’s Scottish supporters was not Scotland’s
contemporary national character (except where Ossian reflected, as we shall see,
on the contemporary Highlander) but on the character of its ancestors. Ossian
and the heroic subjects of his poetry were not just ancient noble Scots, they were

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ancient noble Celtic Scots. In emphasizing the Celtic identity of Ossian, Macpherson was making specific claims about the essential racial makeup of Scottish identity past and present.

Indeed, looking at Macpherson's output as a whole, it is arguable that Macpherson's long-term project was not literary but historiographical. The translation of Ossian's poetry is only one small piece of a body of historical and antiquarian work in which Macpherson articulates the idea that Scotland was at its roots a Celtic nation. Thus, the debate surrounding Ossian's authenticity is part of a larger one within Scotland as to the racial "origins" of the nation. To many of Ossian's detractors in Scotland, it was not simply the text of the poems that was false; rather, it was Macpherson's whole project of "Celtifying" Scotland's racial identity that was in itself inauthentic.

IV

The underlying rhetoric concerning "racial origins" in the Ossian debate must be seen in light of what Gerald Newman calls the "rampant racialism" of the late eighteenth century. This search for the nation's ethnic beginnings achieved perhaps its greatest prominence in the theories of Johann Gottfried Herder. For him, all true nations were self-contained "organic" entities composed of a single "volk" unified by a common language. "Volk" and nation are inextricably bound and formed the ultimate basis for a state's political survival. No nation could expect to prosper subsumed within a state; all states that attempted to subsume other nations would ultimately fail. Much of eighteenth-century antiquarianism in Britain and Europe was devoted to tracing the "true" racial origins of the nation. In doing so they sought to provide both a narrative of the nation that gave it a seemingly profound historical coherence and a heightened sense of collective identity.
In Britain as elsewhere in Europe, the search for racial origins was complicated by the universal agreement among antiquarians that the nation was one of a "mixed" people. Nevertheless, with exhaustive and careful research into the earliest tracings of recorded history, it was thought that the changing migrations, settlements, and invasions of time could be disentangled to uncover the originary race of the nation. In Scotland the debate was a bi-polar one, split between those, like Macpherson, who argued that the original Scots were a Celtic people, and those like John Pinkerton, who argued that they were a Gaullic or Gothic people. Largely because of the popularity of Ossian, Macpherson was one of the most prominent of pro-Celt antiquarians. John Pinkerton was perhaps his strongest critic, both for the extensiveness of his research and the intensity with which he refuted Macpherson's claims. Nothing better illustrates the polarity of the debate on Scottish identity than the often personal antithetical argumentation of these two men. The polarity of the debate is significant for a discussion of Scottish identity for two reasons. The first is because the present-day discussion of the Scottish identity debate seems to retain its polarization: many scholars seem to favor one writer while rejecting the other. 10 Secondly, both Macpherson's and Pinkerton's tracing of the original race of Scotland is topographical: it follows the Highland line, distinguishing between Highland "Celts" and Lowland "Goths" (or non-Celts, at least). By "racializing" this split, both men sought to give their claims a deterministic certainty. Each man seeks to overcome the problem of the Lowland/Highland schism by championing one race at the expense of the other. Because only one race can be the source of the nation, each man seeks to make the nation "whole" by figuratively "expelling" the alternative.

Macpherson first developed his ideas on the origins of ancient Scotland in fragments, in his scholarly notes to the several editions of Ossian's poetry. These
ideas are extended and systematized in An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland (1771), where he attempts an authoritative several-hundred-page description of the origins of Scotland and the rest of Great Britain.

Pinkerton had the luxury of publishing his major treatise after Macpherson, developing his ideas on the origins of Scotland in the larger An Enquiry into the History of Scotland, which includes his Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths (1794). Pinkerton’s two-volume work often makes its case in direct reference to Macpherson’s work. Both men, however, describe themselves as “enemies to fiction” in the area of antiquarian research. While claiming to have no agenda but the search for Truth, they attack the arguments of their detractors as the product of blind “ignorance,” motivated only by racial prejudice.

Both men begin their histories in Europe during the Roman era and trace the earliest migration to Britain of the various peoples of northwest Europe. Dividing these early Europeans into four races, Macpherson claims that it was the Cellic race, the “Celtae” that first migrated to Britain some time before the Roman invasion.11 Thus, the original ancestors of all of Britain were Celts. At some point, the Celtae of Britain split into three peoples living in three distinct geographical areas: the Gael of the north, the Cimbri of the west, and the Belgae of the south and east. It was the Gael who settled in the region of modern Scotland. It was they who called themselves “Caledonians” and who were the original Scots. The other two races of Britain, the Welsh and ancient Britons, respectively, lost much of their distinctiveness through the process which Macpherson describes as the constant “admixture” of races caused by trade, migration, and invasion.

Although Macpherson’s concept of race is monogenetic—that is, he assumes that the various races of man were genetically the same and that what would later be called “miscegenation” is both inevitable and natural—he nevertheless
implicitly seems to valorize race purity in his assumptions about the ancient Scottish race. Though he argues that race mixing is part of the natural order of the development of nations, he makes a dramatic exception for Scotland. Deploying a common trope of racial determinism in eighteenth-century theory, he argues that geographical hindrances maintained the racial purity of some of the ancient Caledonians. The mountainous terrain of the Highlands both molded the character of the people who settled there and effectively cut them off from the usual forces that promoted race mixing. The Caledonians to the south of the Highland line in the Lowlands gradually lost their racial distinctiveness, mixing with Romans and, later, Anglo-Saxons. Therefore it is only among the Celtic Highlands where one can find the ancient traces of the authentic Scots people. In Macpherson’s racial teleology, Highland identity is not simply one component of bi-cultural Scottish identity. Rather, the Highlander is the one original true Scot, the “real McCoy.” In his introductory dissertation to Temora, Macpherson makes this point succinctly:

[T]he inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland . . . differ materially from those who possess the low and more fertile part of the kingdom. Their language is pure and original, and their manners are those of an ancient and unmixed race of men. Conscious of their own antiquity, they long despised others, as a new and mixed people. It is no wonder, therefore, that there are more remains of antiquity among them, than among any other people in Europe. (ii)

This passage points out Macpherson’s preoccupation with racial purity, with emphasis on terms such as “pure,” “original,” and “unmixed.” It also suggests that the Highlands act as a kind of racial and cultural cordon sanitaire, behind which the cultural artifacts of Scotland’s origins lay untarnished for any right-minded antiquarian to discover.

The poems of Ossian, of course, were that artifact. It was both proof and demonstration of Macpherson’s racial theories. Much as Blair had done in a
different context, Macpherson uses Ossian as evidence that the ancient 
Caledonians were indeed the originary, Celtic, race of Scotland and deploys his 
race theories to argue for the authenticity of the poetry. Written in the third 
century, before the Roman invasion, Ossian is an artifact of Scotland’s own 
"Golden Age," when pure Scots lauded their achievements, uncorrupted, 
unfettered, and unmixed. Though Macpherson makes no explicit claims that the 
Caledonians were inherently superior to Gothic races such as the Anglo-Saxons, 
he figuratively banishes all non-Celts from the Scottish nation. Though it may be 
true that present-day Lowlanders may carry some remnant of ancient 
Caledonian blood, mixed Gothic Lowland race identity and Lowland culture 
could make no claims to being truly Scottish. For Macpherson, Scottish 
difference within Great Britain can only register as Celtic difference.

John Pinkerton quite pointedly rejects Macpherson’s Celtifying of Scotland on 
every level. In his *Enquiry*, it is not the Lowland Goth who is ejected from the 
nation but the Highland Celt. Pinkerton reasserts an argument that Macpherson 
refutes in a large section of his *Introduction*—that the Celtic Highlanders were not 
the original Scots at all, but came later from Ireland. Though both men see 
obvious racial affinities between the Irish and Highlanders, Macpherson argues 
that Ireland was first inhabited by Caledonians from Scotland. For Pinkerton, it 
is the other way round: Highlanders were "Dalriadic Scots," a migrating tribe 
from Ireland who would later misrepresent their status as latecomers to the 
nation by naming the region after themselves: "Scotland." The original settlers to 
Scotland were not Celtic "Scots," according to Pinkerton, but Gothic "Piks," who 
had migrated to Britain long before the Roman invasion, about 200 B.C.13 
Having pushed out the scattered Celts of Britain, who, Pinkerton argues, left no 
mark on the island, the Piks quickly established themselves in the region of 
Scotland, where their Lowland ancestors live to the present-day. True Scottish
racial affinity lies not with the Irish and the Welsh, but with the Scandinavians, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons.

While replicating many of Macpherson’s race tropes, Pinkerton reverses their substance. For example, Macpherson argues that skin pigmentation is both a sign of race difference and a method for hierarchizing that difference. His noble Celts are distinguished from "squat and swarthy" Tartars by their tall stature, "ruddy complexion," and "yellow hair and "large blue eyes" (Introduction 203-204). While adopting Macpherson’s assumption that fairer races are more attractive than darker ones, Pinkerton argues that the few people among the Celts in Ireland and Scotland who have "fair faces, and red, or light hair"—rather than the majority who have "black curled hair, and brown faces"—must be of "Gothic extract" (Enquiry I, n. 26). In reproducing Macpherson’s binary of Celtic/Highland vs. Gothic/Lowland, Pinkerton argues that it is the Celts of Scotland that are the impure race. They were, and remain, the savage remnants of a colony of Ireland, incapable of maintaining their own distinctive culture in the wake of the invasions of other, superior, races.

While Macpherson argues that Highland Gaelic is the purest example of the language, Pinkerton argues that it is its most corrupted. In direct response to Macpherson’s linguistic claims, Pinkerton writes:

> Not a fragment of the Gaelic has been found in Scotland older than the Fourteenth age; and it is perfectly known that the present Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland is quite full of Norwegian words. Hence this speech must be much more corrupt than any other Celtic dialect . . . . The Celts being natural savages, and regarded as such by writers of all ages, their tongue was simple and poor, whence they were always borrowing of others; while hardly in modern European language can one derived from the Celtic be found. (Enquiry I,137)

The inherent savagery of the Celtic race, and its failure to achieve an adequate language, a priori disproves the authenticity of Ossian. Pinkerton even questions Macpherson’s sanity in making claims of Celtic greatness:
For that the most civilized and benevolent manners should belong to a savage society, as represented in Ossian, is not so absurd as that such a delusion could impose on any, in a country advanced beyond a savage state. National prejudice is also a species of madness, and consumes all reasoning and common sense; so that people, rather acute on other points, will on this betray a credulity beneath childhood, and an obsturacy beyond the pitch of confirmed frenzy. (Enquiry II, 77)

Pinkerton's anti-Celticism is the thrust of his overall description of the early history of Europe, a history of the relentless expansion and dominance of the Goths over formerly Celtic domains. The pre-Christian "Pikish" establishment in Scotland is just one example of Gothic racial superiority, Gothic inevitability.

Insistent and often redundant illustrations of Celtic depravity color all of Pinkerton's ideas and at times border on the obsessive. A large section of Pinkerton's Enquiry is devoted to demonstrating how the non-indigenous Dalriadic Scots gave their name to the nation as a whole. Pinkerton offers an analogy to bolster his evidence, suggesting:

We ourselves speak of Americans without specifying whether we mean the first savages, or European settlers; and of Britons, without specifying English, or Welch, Scottish, or Irish of the highlands; yet we use Britons also specially for Welch, and the British for the Welch tongue. These inaccuracies are understood at the time; but in the course of ages cause great confusion. (Enquiry I, 105)

While acknowledging many examples of Celtic refinement, he dismisses such refinement as non-indigenous, merely the product of race mixture. For example, as the "Gael" in the Highlands "are mostly slavish and poor, as their savage indolence must necessarily make them . . . [t]he better ranks in the Highlands and Western Isles are almost all of Norwegian race, which is the very same with the Pikish" (Enquiry I, 351). He further suggests that the arguments of antiquarian "Celts" reveal the inferiority of the Celtic mind. The errors of one seventeenth-century Welsh antiquarian are "so childish and truly Celtic, that they confute
themselves..." (Enquiry I, 99). Pinkerton argues that even the arguments of a contemporary Celt, like Macpherson, reveal the transcendent failures of Celtic society and Celtic reasoning powers:

The author of that strange and truly Celtic work [the Introduction], having, with that overheated rashness, which genius colliding with perfect ignorance can alone inspire, attempted to introduce the most diseased dreams into the history of Scotland, thought he could, behind his Celtic mist, use equal freedoms with the history of Europe! Rash man, and ill-advised! The mist of Celtic nonsense he may gild with the beams of real genius; but, with the ignorance of a school-boy, to write on the antiquities of the Germans... was deplorable indeed. (Dissertation, 92).

The Celtic mind is not only inferior; it seems incapable of understanding an enlightenment epistemology based on objective reasoning.

If Macpherson's and Pinkerton's construction of the Celt seem diametrically irreconcilable, both men argue that the racial traits of Scotland's ancient Celts carry through to their present day. Indeed, Macpherson relies on the social behavior of Highlanders of his time as evidence of his ideas about their ancient ancestors. As substitute for the authoritative claims of the ancient writers on the Scottish Celts, Macpherson argues that one need only to journey to the Highlands:

To any man acquainted with the nature and genius of the unmixed part of the posterity of the Celtae, in the northern division of the island, the authorities at the bottom of the page are superfluous. He will be convinced of the justness of the description, by the observations he himself has made; and he will be, at the same time, surprised to see the accurate exactness, with which the writers of Rome have drawn the portrait of our ancestors. (Introduction 192)

Pinkerton, on the other hand, suggests that his readers need only observe the Highland Celts firsthand to confirm their utter savagery:

[Here in Britain... the Celts [are] mere radical savages, not yet advanced even to a state of barbarism; and if any foreigner doubts this, the [sic] has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic... (Dissertation 69)
In a familiar eighteenth- (and nineteenth-) century trope affirming the incivility of a society through its treatment of women, Pinkerton also affirms the stasis of Celtic society:

[He who travels] among the Scottish [sic?] Highlanders, the old Welch, or Wild Irish, may see at once the ancient and modern state of women among the Celts, when he beholds these savages stretched at their ease in their huts, and their poor women toiling, like beasts of burden, for their unmanly husbands. (Enquiry I, 268)15

Pinkerton’s proto-racist construction of the Celt suggests not only a rejection of the Highland Noble Savage, but a general rejection of Rousseau’s primitivism. Yet Pinkerton’s idea of the Scottish Celt is even more extreme than those who argued that, even though Highland society was barbaric, it, like newly accessed native societies, was capable of “improvement.” Pinkerton instead asserts that Highland society is utterly irredeemable, and centuries of static barbarity only emphasize this. In place of improvement, Pinkerton hints darkly at a more ambitious program for the Highlands: “In vain would we excite industry among savages; the point is to colonize the country afresh” (Enquiry II, 140). Far from being the one and only contemporary representative of authentic Scots identity, Pinkerton’s Highlander just barely represents an example of humankind. Instead of a repository of ancient Scottish tradition, Pinkerton’s Highlands are an ugly cultural slag heap that blights the landscape.

Macpherson’s expulsion of the Gothic Lowlander from the nation’s origins is met, on the part of Pinkerton, with an even more insistent expulsion of the Celtic Highlander. If Pinkerton’s racial theories seem much more shrill in comparison to Macpherson’s (but even so, no more “racist”), it is perhaps because by the turn of the century Macpherson’s were clearly “winning.” The conventional assumption of Scotland’s true racial identity, certainly outside of Scotland, was that it was a Celtic nation, though this idea, as I have said, remained a contested
one inside Scotland. Although the oppositionality of the debate between pro-
Celts and anti-Celts seems to provide no common ground, the remarkable
underlying similarities between Macpherson’s and Pinkerton’s construction of
the Scottish Highlander/Celt give it a powerful uniformity of character.
Whether Noble Savage or wild savage, the Highland subject is always
constructed as the other: uncivilized, static, and radically different. It is this
construction of the Highlander as “other,” irrespective of the substance of that
otherness, that dominated discourse on the subject for years after.

V

Both in his notes to the poems of Ossian and his antiquarian writing,
Macpherson attempted to smooth out the ruptures, anomalies and
contradictions, that were created as the Highland subject was inserted into the
heart of the nation’s identity, all the while maintaining the distinctiveness that
had set the Highland subject outside of the nation before. The popularity and
resilience of Macpherson’s Celtic vision suggests that for the most part the
smoothing work was successful. Yet ultimately the contradictions of adopting
what may be called, for want of better term, a “colonialist” logic to articulate
national identity is bound to reveal the tensions that lie beneath its surface. The
debate surrounding Ossian reveals its tensions in the controversy surrounding
the published text’s status as a “translation” of an ancient Gaelic manuscript.
Though I have delved into some of the larger question of national origins that
surrounded Macpherson’s historiographical ideas, I wish now to return to the
question of the uncertainty surrounding the text behind the text, the Gaelic
“source(s)” of Ossian. Having traced the development of the Ossianic Highlander
as the authentic Scot, we must now circle back to the beginnings of the Ossian
debate to trace the conflicting grounds on which rested the claims and counter-
claims for the poetry’s authenticity. As I have pointed out, Macpherson relied
heavily on the poetry to prove his racial theories and vice-versa. Yet, the uncertainty that followed Ossian’s status as a translated text, suggests that at the heart of nation, where the Highland Celt lives, lives also a recalcitrant cultural identity that cannot be apprehended by metropolitan translation. Because of this the Celtic “soul” of the nation is ultimately indecipherable to the majority of its inhabitants.

The controversy surrounding Ossian was immediate. Upon the release of Macpherson’s first publication of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, antiquarians from Great Britain and Ireland began to challenge Ossian’s authenticity. These challenges continued to build in intensity, yet the attacks on the textual integrity of the work were not so much centered on the issue of Macpherson’s abilities as a translator. Samuel Johnson, Macpherson’s most authoritative opponent, pointed out that few except Irish scholars had enough knowledge of Gaelic in the first place to make any comment on Macpherson’s rendering of the Gaelic. Instead, Johnson doubts the poems’s authenticity on the basis of their suspicious source material. Johnson asked rhetorically: if the poems of Ossian were authentic then where were its original manuscripts? This question remained a serious sticking point. Though Macpherson later claimed that the originals of Ossian were on display at the office of his publisher, a later investigation by the Highland Society of London could find no evidence of this. Without proof of manuscripts, Johnson argued, there could be no question that the poems of Ossian were an elaborate forgery:

I suppose my opinion of the poems of Ossian is already discovered. I believe they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen. The editor, or author, never could shew the original; nor can it be shewn by any other; to revenge reasonable incredulity, by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt. It would be easy to shew it if he had; but whence could it be had? *(Journey 118)*

39
Macpherson’s failure to produce the poem’s “originals” only confirmed what he believed about Gaelic-speaking Scotland, that it was an illiterate (but nonetheless fascinating) society:

Of the Erse language, as I understand nothing, I cannot say more than I have been told. It is the rude speech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to express, and were content, as they conceived grossly, to be grossly understood. After what has been lately talked of Highland bards, and Highland genius, many will startle when they are told, that the Erse never was a written language, that there is not in the world an Erse manuscript a hundred years ago; and that the sounds of the highlanders were never expressed by letters, till some little books of piety were translated, and a metrical version of the Psalms were made by the Synod of Argyle. (Journey 116)

Highland illiteracy is a sign of the primitiveness of the society. Only with literacy is a society capable of producing a refined language, producing poetry. Thus any of the truly ancient stories that existed in the Highlands could only have been transmitted orally. In turn, the orality of Highland culture is further proof that the Ossianic tales could not have been ancient. Without access to writing, no society could have passed down, uncorrupted and complete from memory, an ancient epic, regardless whether one had ever once existed in the Highlands. Though Johnson was perhaps willing to accept Macpherson’s claims that the poems of Ossian were not just literature but also a history of the actual deeds of the ancient Celtic king Fingal, Macpherson’s failure to provide manuscripts proved an insurmountable obstacle. Macpherson’s work was a “translation” without an original, and thus not a translation at all, but an eighteenth-century forgery.

Though Macpherson later on did begin to speak of producing the Gaelic originals of Ossian in the wake of Johnson’s attacks, there is ample evidence to suggest that it was never Macpherson’s original intention to insist on the existence of specific manuscripts as the basis of his translation. Rather, from the start he (and Hugh Blair) argued that Gaelic-speaking Highland society had
always been an oral society. Using a comparison to support his idea in an introductory dissertation to the poems, Macpherson describes the oral traditions of other societies:

The ancient laws of the Greeks were couched in verse, and handed down by tradition. The Spartans . . . became so fond of this custom, that they would never allow their laws to be committed to writing. All the historical monuments of the old Germans were comprehended in their ancient songs! . . . . This species of composition was not omitted to writing, but delivered by oral tradition. (Poems I, 12-13)

An oral society like that of the ancient Scots would have little problem in handing down its traditions through time, no matter how extensive or complex:

The care they took to have the poems taught to their children, the uninterrupted custom of repeating them upon certain occasions, and the happy measure of the verse, served to preserve them for a long time uncorrupted. (Poems I, 13)

For Macpherson, it is not orality that leads to the corruption of tradition but literacy. Again citing the example of the traditions of the "old Germans," he writes:

This oral chronicle [collection of ancient songs] of the Germans was not forgot in the eighth century, and it probably would have remained to this day, had not learning, which thinks everything not committed to writing fabulous, been introduced. (Poems I, 13)

In direct contrast to Johnson, Macpherson argues that the very orality of ancient Scottish society guarantees the authenticity of Ossian's poetry. Only the oral traditions of Scotland can make any claims to purity:

As they [the Highland chiefs] had little communication with strangers, the customs of their ancestors remained among them, and their language retained its original purity. Naturally fond of military fame, and remarkably attached to the memory of their ancestors, they delighted in traditions and songs, concerning the exploits of their nation, and especially of their own particular families. (Poems I, 29)
Macpherson argues in the *Introduction* that modern Scots may lament the "want of letters" of ancient Scottish society, "which has involved in obscurity and fable the origin and history of their ancestors." However, he adds:

[They ought to consider that it was, perhaps, from this circumstance arose that national independence which they transmitted to their posterity. Had the Romans established themselves in Caledonia, we might indeed have known more of the ancient inhabitants of that country . . . . The Romans, it is true, introduced the arts of civil life into the countries which they subdued; but with those arts came in slavery, and a consequent imbecility of mind, which, in the end, abandoned the vassals, as well as their lords, to conquest, and even to extirpation. (43-44)]

He emphasizes the corrupting power of the introduction of letters later in the *Introduction* in his critique of antiquarian claims in Ireland that the Celtic Scots came originally from Ireland. A flourishing of "monkish learning" in the Middle Ages had allowed a spurious textual tradition to take hold, which later became the substitute for the indigenous traditions in Scotland:

[The Scots of Britain, by an uninterrupted series of hostilities with the Britons, Picts, and Saxons, were diverted from cultivating letters, which alone could enable them to look back into their antiquities, or to transmit any memory of their actions to posterity. The monks of Ireland, as it was manifest to the whole world that both the Scottish nations were originally the same people, made an easy acquisition of an illiterate, though brave people, and obtruded upon the world that system of the origin of the Caledonian Scots, which has been, for many ages, almost universally received. (140-141)]

Just as orality functions as the sign of inauthenticity in Johnson's critique of Ossian, it is literacy that functions as this sign for Macpherson in making claims that Ossian is the true voice of ancient Scotland. In place of the nation-as-text, Macpherson and his Scottish nationalist supporters advocated the nation-as-spoken word, paving the way for the romantic nationalist emphasis on folklore as the true expression of a nation's identity. As Katie Trumpener writes:

Scottish . . . nationalists conceive a new literary history under the sign of the bard, a figure who represents the resistance of vernacular oral traditions to
the historical pressures of English imperialism and whose performance brings
the voices of the past into the sites of the present. (Trumpener 33)

By valorizing the Gaelic oral sources of the nation’s past in opposition to the
textual ones, Macpherson, and the popularity of Ossian, played an important role
in what Nicholas Hudson has described as the increasing acceptance of oral
sources and oral culture in the eighteenth century. Even the great Homer,
whose work had long been considered the greatest example of epic writing, had
been claimed by "oralists." In 1769, Robert Wood published An Essay on the
Original Genius and Writings of Homer, which claimed that not only was Homer
illiterate, but that he "had even derived some advantage from being part of a pre-
literate world" [emphasis in orig.] (Hudson 174). Such arguments only made
easier Blair’s claims that Ossian was the Celtic Homer and that the poetry of each
were epic products of oral tradition.

Yet for all Macpherson’s claims for the purity of oral tradition, there are
examples in his work where he seems unsure of its reliability. He is often critical
of the influence of the bards, who he believes may have been unfaithful to
Ossian’s original tales throughout the generations. Later bards seemed to have
corrupted the tales with the introduction of giants and fairies and supernatural
phenomenan, all reflecting the character of a superstitious, post-Ossianic society.
Dismissing a collection of poems from Ireland claiming to be Ossianic, he writes
in the introduction to Temora:

Every stanza, nay almost every line, affords striking proofs, that they
cannot be three centuries old. Their allusions to the manners and customs of
the fifteenth century, are so many, that it is a matter of wonder to me, how
any one could dream of their antiquity. They are entirely writ in that
romantic taste which prevailed two ages ago—Giants, enchanted castles,
dwarfs, palfreys, witches and magicians, form the whole circle of the poet’s
invention. The celebrated Fion could scarcely move from one hillock to
another, without encountering a giant, or being entangled in the circles of a
magician. Witches, on broomsticks, were continually hovering around him
like crows; and he had freed enchanted virgins in every valley in Ireland.
(xxiii)

The bardic tradition was both ancient Scotland’s greatest asset for preserving its oral traditions over the years but also its greatest hindrance. Macpherson’s assistant recalled his irritation at discovering in manuscript form, a fragment of Ossian’s poetry he considered obviously corrupted by Bardic influence:

I remember Mr Macpherson reading the MSS. found in Clanronald’s, execrating the bard who dictated to the amanuensis, saying ‘D____n the scoundrel, it is he himself that now speaks, and not Ossian.’ This took place in my house, in two or three instances . . . . It was, and I believe still is well known, that the broken poems of Ossian, handed down from one generation to another, got corrupted. In the state of the Highlands, and its language, this evil, I apprehend, could not be avoided; and I think great credit is due, in such a case, to him who restores a work of merit to its original purity. (Report 44)

It is perhaps the uncertainty of the oral tradition that prompted Macpherson himself to talk of manuscripts. Yet as Nick Groom writes: "The introduction of manuscripts was not simply incongruous: it was lethal to the culture Macpherson and Blair had laboured to realize—because it dramatically increased the demand to see manuscript sources" (292).

Even so, it was the limitations of the oral tradition that determined Macpherson’s role as translator in his own mind. If the poetry of Ossian had been corrupted through the ages, in both their textual and oral forms, then it was Macpherson’s task to purify them by restoring the original intent of their author. Thus, what his critics of the time saw as outright forgery, and what modern critics may judge as creative adaptation, Macpherson saw as simple restoration. This restoration nevertheless was born of his racial and sociological ideas concerning the character of the primitive Highland society and of its timeless purity, ideas that Ossian’s poetry only confirmed. In short, the collection is a simulacrum, a copy of a nonexistent “original.” Macpherson only invented what
he earnestly desired to have existed: a romantic Noble Savage who reflected the values of his own age rather than that of an ancient Celtic bard.

VI

Yet if Macpherson was attempting to restore the purity of Scotland's traditional oral culture in the Highlands, he was also "rendering" that culture for his metropolitan audience. By converting Gaelic into English and orality into text, by translating both language and mode, Macpherson highlighted Highland difference in the very act of making it familiar. The publication of Ossian signaled a new and admiring interest in the Highlands, but it also ensured that "Highlandness" would enter into the metropolitan consciousness under metropolitan terms. The Highlander becomes the "other" the moment it is inscribed into the heart of national identity.

With this understanding I wish to shift the focus of my discussion of Macpherson's "translation" and take into account recent studies on translation in an ethnographic context. Tejaswini Niranjana argues in a colonial context:

The idea of translation . . . is a metonymy for the desire to achieve transparent knowledge and provide for a Western audience immediacy of access to "primitive thought." The desire to translate is a desire to construct the primitive world, to represent it and to speak on its behalf. (emphasis in orig.) (70)

Macpherson's translation acts as, in Michel de Certeau's terms, an "ethno-graphy," which transforms the voice of the "other." De Certeau describes the writings of a sixteenth-century missionary, Jean De Lery, who traveled to the coast of Brazil to record the oral culture of the Tupinambous. Like Macpherson, who traveled to the Highlands in search of Ossianic tales and then returned to Edinburgh, Lery returned to France to write a narrative of his experience among the natives, to transform their spoken words into text. By converting the orality of the native into textuality, Lery's "ethno-graphy" transforms them:
From festive, poetic, ephemeral speech are delineated the tasks of conserving, of verifying, and of conquering. A will to power is invested in its form. [Writing] discreetly transforms the Christian categories which provide it with a language. Ecclesial election is turned into a Western privilege; originary revelation into scientific concern for upholding the truth of things; evangelization into an enterprise of expansion and return to one's self. (217)

Though the position of the translator and the translated vis-a-vis the Western colonizer and the colonized native is obviously different between the translator of the Scottish Gael and his subject, nevertheless, an understanding of Macpherson's translation must take into account, in Niranjan's words, the "asymmetrical relations of power" that operate between the metropolis and its margins (2).

For example, William Jones, the renowned translator of ancient Sanskrit texts and Macpherson's exact contemporary, who (unlike Macpherson) is condescending toward his subject culture, (like Macpherson) believed his job as translator was to purify a tradition which had been corrupted by native influence through time. Jones believed that contemporary native translations of their own traditions could not be relied on. "Pure Integrity" of Hindu law codes, he wrote from India in 1786, "is hardly to be found among the Pandits [Hindu learned men] and Maulavis [Muslim learned men], few of whom give opinions without a culpable bias" (quoted in Niranjana 16).19 Translation for Jones was a matter of control. As Edward Said writes, Jones's task in India was "to gather in, to rope off, to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning." Jones wanted no less than "to know the Orient more and better than anyone else" (78). Through his own knowledge of native language, the Orientalist penetrates native culture and makes it accessible to colonialist domination.

Sympathetic to the plight of Highlanders in the wake of radical contemporary changes to their way of life, Macpherson seemed to have some understanding of
the negative transformative power of translation. Fiona Stafford surmises that Macpherson may have had early misgivings about his great Ossianic project:

Macpherson had his native loyalties to consider. [T]he idea of translating Gaelic verse into the language that threatened its [Highland culture's] destruction was something of a breach of trust. Highland poetry was handed down orally, forming a living link from generation to generation, so any written translation might turn it into inanimate, public property. Should the heroic traditions of the Highlanders be made accessible to outsiders? (80)

It thus was never Macpherson's intention to aid the transformation of Highland society through his translation of Ossian. Even so, Macpherson's translation, "by employing certain modes of representing the other . . . thereby also brings it into being" (Niranjana 3).

VII

Ossian paradoxically has much in common with Orientalist translation projects while maintaining its centrality in the debates surrounding the search for the authentic Scot. So important was it for Scots to end the longstanding uncertainty surrounding Macpherson's work once and for all, that the full force of what awkwardly may be termed "Celtist" inquiry was brought to bear on it at the end of the eighteenth century. As early as 1797, the Highland Society of Scotland formed a committee to begin an investigation to determine definitively the truth or falsity of the poetry of Ossian, to fix the meaning of the text forever, and thus provide a key to solving the larger question of Scotland's true identity. In 1805, the Highland Society published its final Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian. The Report is a voluminous work that incorporates a variety of original documents. The Report includes correspondence between the original members of the "cabal," the opinion of an independent Gaelic scholar, a side-by-side comparison of Macpherson's translations with other Ossianic manuscript
fragments in the Highland Society's collection, the various published opinions of past authorities on the subject, and, most importantly for my discussion, the oral "testimony" of Gaelic speakers living in the Highlands.

So persuasive was the Report's pronouncement on the poems that many Scots, on both sides of the debate—although Macpherson himself had died nine years before the Report was published—considered the matter closed. Walter Scott in the Edinburgh Review wrote: "This [celebrated controversy is] not likely to be again argued, at least by writers of candour and respectability now in the field" (433). Though the Report is often cited in modern scholarship on Ossian, it is usually done so as an objective historical source that sheds light on the issues at stake in the debate. This situating of the Report as a text that stands outside of the debate as it comments on the debate is exactly the position that the Report sought for itself. Passing final judgment on the debate, the report hoped to render it null and void. To do this authoritatively, the Report spread its omniscient gaze far and wide to leave nothing concerning Ossian in the darkness. Its author is not a single individual but a disparate "Committee." Although its chair was the prominent Edinburgh lawyer and author Henry Mackenzie, the committee was thought to be free from the limitations of individual perspective and individual bias. Through its legalistic discourse, the Report in effect seeks to put the poems "on trial": they stand in the dock while the Report delineates its evidence and then pronounces its verdict. Yet the Report is not simply a powerful example of late Enlightenment inquiry. It also represents the zenith of metropolitan desire to know the Highlander. By subjecting the question of Scotland's Celtic identity to the full range of Orientalist structures of knowledge, the Report seeks to render that identity both coherent and transparent.

Chief among its efforts to do this was a search of the Highlands for any evidence of the existence of the stories of Ossian among "native" Gaels. The
committee circulated a list of "queries" throughout the Highlands "among such persons resident there, as seemed most likely to afford the information required" (2-3). These "persons" were, for the most part, bi-lingual church ministers, part of the movement by various institutions to promote literacy and to spread Christianity (and the English language) throughout the Highlands. The ministers were thought most likely to know of native Highlanders who could attest to the authenticity of Ossian. Looking for both evidence of the specific tales published by Macpherson and "any other ancient poems of the same kind, and relating to the same traditionary persons or stories with those in Mr Macpherson's collection" (2), the queries form the largest component of the committee’s investigation. By asking for the oral testimony of actual Highlanders as to the authenticity of the poems, the committee did what no other previous authority had thought to do: ask the natives as to the authenticity of traditions claimed to be their own. The Highlander would be called on by the committee to "verify" an aspect of Highland culture and speak on a matter of great importance to the nation as a whole. Yet in doing so, the committee encountered the unique paradox of Highland identity. In order to render and make available this identity to a metropolitan audience, by conferring authority on the "Gaelic speaker," the committee (and the Report) is forced to rely on translation to make Highland testimony intelligible. But by translating the Gaelic speech of the Highland native, the Report already transforms it, creating a gap between the original and the translation. In de Certeau's words, speech is "that part of the other that cannot be retrieved—it is an evanescent act that writing cannot convey" (213). The spoken words of the Highlander cannot be retrieved and are left behind in the Highlands. Rather than removing the doubts surrounding Ossian once and for all, the testimonial-based Report only reinforces its uncertainty,
doubling it as it must resort to translation itself to fix the meaning of Macpherson's translation.

The Report seems to reflect the committee's own anxiety over its ability to render the Highlander transparent, in its presentation of the testimony of one "Hugh M'Donald, tacksmen of Kilpheder, in the island of Uist" in the Hebrides (14). M'Donald seems an ideal representative of the authentic pure native Highlander "uninstructed in the literature, and even ignorant of the language of any other country" who was unlikely to have any previous exposure to Macpherson's published version of the poems. The Report's task, in finding such a credible witness, is then to record his testimony as faithfully as possible. The text of his statement as to the authenticity of Ossian is surrounded by a legal/scholarly apparatus to ensure its exact and literal rendering. Besides including a Gaelic text version of M'Donald's affidavit, the translated English version follows with a statement of the exact place and date of the testimony. Like most of the Highland affidavits of the Report, M'Donald's was taken down and translated by a local church authority, "Mr Edmund Mac Queen, Minister of the Gospel at Barra" in the Hebrides (app. 51). Further, the writing down was attended in the presence of several witnesses: "Mr Mac Lean of Boreray . . . Major Alexander Macdonald of Valy; of Captain Ewen Macdonald of Gruminish; of Mr James Mac Queen, Missionary Minister in Harris; and of Mr Roderick Mac Neil, younger of St Kilda" (app. 51). All of these witnesses declare that "what was spoken by Hugh Macdonald, and thus written by Mr Mac Queen, is perfectly just and satisfactory, with regard to the authenticity of Ossian's poems . . ." (emphasis added) (app. 51). The Report thus acknowledges the slippery gap between the meaning of the original and its translation even as it tries to bridge that gap with multiple witnesses at the scene of translation "in the field."

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M'Donald, in the translation, indeed affirms the existence and prevalence of Ossianic tales in the Highlands:

Let the opponents of Ossian then point out to us the poetry of equal merit with his, composed in any language, not an original one, and in a fictitious one, and referring to a nation and a history altogether fabulous. I suspect they would expose themselves to ridicule by the attempt. Many poets after Ossian endeavored to copy or imitate him; but there is no man that understands our tongue, or the nature of our poetry, but will, on the first hearing of the first verses, easily distinguish their poems from his. (app. 45)

M'Donald’s translated voice rings much like the grandiloquent tones of the translated American Indian, to whom he might have been compared. In recalling the names of the bards of the family Macdonald back through several generations, M'Donald is prompted to make a sharp critique of contemporary Highland society. His contempt is not so much directed at modernization of the Highlands but at the failures of the modern clan chiefs:

Before . . . our chiefs cherished humanity. They were warm-hearted, determined and immovable, in supporting their friends, and always proved the shield and shelter of the feeble. They possessed elevation of sentiment, and independent spirit, and unshaken fortitude, which were the defence of their friends, and the destruction of their enemies of their country. [Now] the noblest virtues have been ruined, or driven into exile, since the love of money has crept in amongst us; and since deceit and hypocrisy have carried mercenary policy and slavish, sordid avarice into our land. (app. 47)

M'Donald’s acrimony toward the modern clan chiefs reflects the changing status of his own class position in the economic transformations that were taking place in the Highlands.21 His testimony also demonstrates that for the “native” Gaelic-speaking Highlander, the poems of Ossian were not simply relics of the past greatness of the modern nation of Scotland, as they were to cosmopolitan Edinburghers.

Through its legal/scholarly rhetoric the Report attempts to present itself as completely impartial and authoritative; however, it seems to acknowledge that the concept of “giving evidence” may not mean the same to a native like

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M'Donald as it does to the committee and its audience. Again, the Report acknowledges such limitation even as it tries to overcome it. "Persons" like M'Donald, the Report admits:

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\text{do not easily comprehend the nature of evidence, particularly on matters which themselves have always implicitly believed. [T]he traditional histories and poetry of their fathers were, in their belief, of such indisputable authenticity as it was needless to inquire into, and it rather offended them to doubt. Such of them as this idea did not prevent from answering the Committee's inquiries, frequently answered them in a manner which a man naturally adopts who is unused to discussion or dispute, and who does not think it necessary to suit his information to a skepticism of which he never dreamed himself, and which he hardly conceives it possible for others to entertain. (app. 14)}
\]

Caged within the limits of literal translation, the testimony of the native Highlander, rather than fixing the the tales of Ossian in the light of inquiry, only pushes them further beyond the horizon. Scotland's Celtic soul remains untranslatable, inaccessible. Rather than arriving at an incontrovertible conclusion to the mystery of Ossian's origins, unable to find "any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by [Macpherson]," and faced with the limits of translation, the committee can declare finally only that:

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\text{it is inclined to believe that he [Macpherson] was in use to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language . . . . (152)}
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The extent to which Macpherson may have done this, however, "is impossible for the Committee to determine." The committee can only hedge its final statement, presenting an "inclination toward a belief." This is perhaps not quite the definitive judgment that it had sought for itself several years before.

Given the designs of the Highland Society to fix forever the status of Macpherson's translations, the uncertainty and ambiguity that enshrouded the work suggest that the Highland Society's endeavor was ultimately an abject
failure. The limits of translation emphasize that the culture that produced the poems of Ossian could never be rendered completely transparent. In tracing out the difficulty in inserting the "Celtic other" into the nation, perhaps we are left then not with a binary colonial model of translation/translated, but with what Ina Ferris calls "the triangularity that makes central the intercultural figure of the translator, who operates . . . in the liminal space between the other terms" (206). If no actual "text" by Ossian existed, Macpherson still can be said to be its "translator," and, as such, perhaps he is not so much an agent of metropolitan domination but a liminal figure that must negotiate between the English-speaking reader and the peripheral culture that the reader seeks to understand.

The vexed cultural position from which Macpherson produced his Ossianic translations emphasizes the border space between cultures that the poems seem to occupy. Macpherson himself was born and raised in the Highlands and is characterized by Stafford as a "native Gaelic speaker [who] continued to use a colloquial form of Gaelic in correspondence with fellow Highlanders long after he left Inverness-shire [his birthplace] for London" (3). As a child, Macpherson witnessed the military campaigns of suppression in the Highlands. The castle of his close relation and clan "chief," Ewan Macpherson, was razed by the army in 1746, an incident which probably fueled young James's resentment toward English-speaking society. Yet Macpherson's aesthetic and historiographical ideas were largely influenced by his studies at the University of Aberdeen, where he came under the influence of the teachings of Thomas Blackwell—one of the foremost Greek scholars in Scotland—who argued that the greatness of Homer's epic derived from the primitiveness of his society. Also, although his future livelihood was founded on his devotion to Highland culture, Macpherson rarely returned to the Highlands after his education. Only in Edinburgh and London could he find the financing and patronage that allowed for his writing career.
Macpherson was dependent on the very culture he resented, and this tension structured much of his thinking. In Stafford's words, "Macpherson's own life shows a constant struggle to reconcile the conflicting loyalties to North and South" (7).

The Highland scene of translation is thus a point of intersection and interaction, of cultural hybridity. Ossian's uncertain entry into the complex of Scottish national identity signals not its end. Rather it reveals, again in Ferris's words, the "recalcitrance" of the translated text:

Never far from its surface is the sense of another language that cannot quite be incorporated, and this sense draws attention to the fact that the matrix of translation includes both the untranslatable and the untranslated. These are complex motifs, but one of their primary functions is as signs of a certain autonomy: the other language keeps something in reserve, marking a limit to the reach of the translator's tongue. (212)

The limits of translation and the elements of a culture that remain in reserve in the Highlands are signs of the ambiguity at the heart of Scottish national identity. If Scotland soon will be independent again, if the Scots cease to be "British" and become simply "Scots," then the shifting ground of translation—which is the border space of Scottish bifurcation—may once again return to the forefront of Scottish national consciousness.

Part Two

Macpherson's sympathies have often been described as Jacobite, most recently by G. H. Murray Pittock. Pittock finds the roots of Macpherson's "sentimentalism" in the "post-Culloden experience of Jacobite culture, while his use of landscape derived from the fertility images (and their opposite) associated with the fate of the Stuart kings. Jacobite suffering paved the way for Romantic art " (1991, 78). According to Pittock, sublime Ossianic landscape not only looked forward to an emerging Romantic aesthetic but also looked backward to the ideology of Jacobitism: "in the Jacobite song, landscape reflects the spiritual
health of the nation. The pathetic fallacy was a feature of pro-Stuart literature long before Fingal . . . and Temora . . . Macpherson's major works " (1991, 78). Read as Jacobite, Macpherson's work seems to be an expression of Scottish identity that is counter to the prevailing order of the Hanoverian Union.

Yet the popularity and eventual triumphant acceptance of Ossian and its voicing of Scotland's Celtic identity among the pro-Union literati of Edinburgh suggests that it was not such an expression. If, in Pittock's words, the language of Ossian was coded language that expressed an "alienated, revolutionary, nationalist . . . daring and dangerous" Jacobitism, then clearly most of its Union supporters were not paying close enough attention. More convincing is Leith Davis's recent argument that the ideology of Ossian is, if anything, pro-Union. He writes that Macpherson's work "present[s] an account of Britain's history which conflates the Lowlands Scots and the English with the Highlanders . . . by drawing for them a common origin" (139). Davis argues that in the Introduction specifically, Macpherson establishes a history in which all the peoples of Britain--Cimbri, Belgae, Gael, and, later, Anglo-Saxon--can trace their lineage to a common Celtic ancestor in Europe. Macpherson's historiography, for all its claims of Highland distinction, presents an ultimately "assimilationist" vision of Britain. Davis writes "for all intents and purposes, then, Macpherson erases the cultural differences between the Highlanders, the Lowlanders, and the English, even while he claims to represent the uniqueness of the Highlanders" (139).

Though I would agree with Davis's reading of Macpherson's work as ultimately pro-Union I would disagree with his assertion that it is therefore part of "the hegemonic process, with English dominating over Scottish interests" in an Anglicized Great Britain. Common racial origins of Britons do not simply erase modern cultural differences in Macpherson's work, as I have suggested. Also, if Macpherson's work does suggest some kind of assimilation, it is not the
hegemonic assimilation of Scottish identity into an English one. Rather, it is the assimilation of all of the various identities of the peoples of Great Britain into a Highland one. As Davis points out, the racial common denominator of Britain for Macpherson is the Celt.

It is in the last section of the Introduction that Macpherson leaves his discussion of the racial origins of the Scots to address those of the relative latecomers to the island: the Anglo Saxons. Though they are "the most unmixed of the posterity of the Sarmatae who first settled on the southern shore of the Baltic," the portion of their blood that is not Sarmatic is Celtic (15). Yet if Celtic blood is the common factor that racially unites the people of Great Britain, in Macpherson's race purity hierarchy it is the Highlander who is, as the purist Celt, the purist "Briton." At the bottom of Macpherson's race hierarchy sits the Anglo-Saxon, the least pure Briton. Though the main thrust of Macpherson's work is to assert the central importance of the Celtic Highlander to Scottish identity, the implications of his claims for a common Celtic ancestor that unites all the races of Great Britain suggests the Highlander is not simply the true Scot but the truest Briton as well.

These broader race implications lay largely unnoticed amid the debate over Ossian's role in Scottish identity. Yet Macpherson's pro-Unionist gesture of folding the racial component of British identity into a Highland identity, rather than the other way around (which is arguably the implicit impetus of the ideology of Highland "improvement"), would be enacted on a much larger scale with much more dramatic results in the early part of the nineteenth century. Macpherson only hints at the possibility that, if they trace their lineage far enough into the past, all Britons could call themselves kin to the Highlander. Walter Scott, however, would bring this to fruition in his grand stage-managing of King George IV's two-week visit to Edinburgh in August 1822.22
The importance of the Scott-orchestrated pageantry of the King's visit (the "King's Jaunt," as Scott once referred to it) in the process of "Celtifying" Scotland's national identity has long been remarked on by critics. Scott's son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, who witnessed the events of the King's visit, was perhaps the first to coin the term "Celtification" in his biography of Scott to describe Scott's construction of Scottish national identity during the King's Jaunt. More recently, John Prebble's book-length history of the visit, *The King's Jaunt*, emphasizes the strategic uses of deploying the symbolism of "Highland" traditions, costumes, and rituals to show the essence of Scotland to its London-based monarch. Prebble summarizes the overall effect of the visit: "[Walter Scott's Celtification] gave [his countrymen] a picturesque national identity where none had been wholly satisfying since the Union, and reminded them, as Scott had hoped, of 'all those peculiarities' which distinguish them as Scots" (364). Prebble even identifies the precise moment when Celtification is completed, during the grand "Highland Ball," when all male attendees wore Highland dress (as mandated by Scott): "if a single occasion can be said to have determined the kilt as the national dress of all Scotsmen, should they so desire, this Ball may perhaps have been that moment" (103).

Most Scottish critics of the visit at the time accepted the Highlander as an idealized figure. However, what many like Lockhart could not accept was the national "metonymic misrepresentation" (in the words of anthropologist James W. Fernandez) that Scott's pageantry enacted. In place of a national identity actually of two "parts," Highland and Lowland, Scott had foisted on the world the idea that the whole of Scottish identity was "Highland." Scott substituted the Highland "part" for the Scottish "whole." In Lockhart's words:

With all respect and admiration for the noble and generous qualities which our countrymen of the Highland clans have so often exhibited, it was difficult to forget that they had always constituted a small, and almost
always an unimportant part of the Scottish population; and when one reflected how miserable their numbers had of late years been reduced in consequence of the selfish and hard-hearted policy of their landlords, it almost seemed as if there was cruel mockery in giving so much prominence to their pretensions. (VII, 35)

For Lockhart, what Scott had done was to push the margin of the nation to the center and vice versa. The identity of the nation's vast majority, the Lowland Scots of the metropolis, all but disappeared in Scott's celebration of the traditions of, for Lockhart, a scraggly handful of hill people.24

Although I hope to show that this "metonymic misrepresentation" was not consciously Scott's purpose, he certainly wanted to highlight Scotland's Celtic Highland identity for several reasons. In the substance and spectacle of all things "Highland," Scott found a perfect sign system in which to articulate his vision of the importance of ritual and ceremony in making the past live in the present, Scotland's national identity under Union, and the role of the British monarchy in cementing that union.

1

King George's visit was considered by many Scots to be of profound historical importance in several ways, most of which are presented in contemporary narratives of the visit in a succession of rhetorical "firsts" and "lasts." As Lockhart himself mentions, it was the first visit of a royal member of the House of Hanover to Edinburgh since 1746, when the last member, "Butcher Cumberland," came at the head of a brutal army of Jacobite suppression. It was the first visit of a reigning monarch to Scotland since Charles II arrived during the Civil War; the last royal sovereign to visit the city had been the outcast "Young Pretender" Prince Charles. It was also the first event that brought a large gathering of Highlanders to the city since the last gathering came with Prince Charles to occupy the city. The Jaunt was perhaps the most extravagant leg in an overall journey that brought the King to two of his potentially troublesome realms:

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Ireland and Scotland. George had visited Ireland a month after his coronation, only a year before his visit to Scotland. The most immediate motivation for the King to go to Scotland was to escape the acrimony of a London populace in the wake of the Queen Caroline scandal, but the symbolic purpose of the Jaunt was to reinforce the ideology of Union. As the king of a united kingdom, George IV was the embodiment of the unification of the disparate nations of Great Britain. By ceremoniously progressing to the peripheries, the king was "ritualizing" the Union.

Determined to demonstrate that Scotland was not peripheral but an equal partner in the Union, especially with England, Walter Scott was given only two weeks to prepare the pageantry necessary to demonstrate Scottish distinction to its monarch and accompanying dignitaries. As the most well-known and popular authority in Scotland in 1822 (his disavowal of the authorship of the Waverley novels notwithstanding), Scott was the obvious choice to lead the organizing committee. With no precedence for a modern visit of a monarch to Edinburgh, Scot was free to manage it any way he chose, and he was determined to do it his way or not at all. When Scott began to receive unsolicited advice in London on how the King’s visit to Ireland had been orchestrated and thus how it should be orchestrated in Scotland, Scott was indignant:

Ireland [Scott said] was not Scotland, not a kingdom but a lordship, and he wished to hear no more about that country, and no more about England. ‘When His Majesty comes amongst us, he comes to his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and must be received according to ancient usages. If you persist in bringing in English customs, we turn about, one and all, and leave you. You take the responsibility on yourself.’ (Prebble 91)

After this show of determination, Scott and his committee were given carte blanche to design the ceremonies of the visit.

Scott’s immediate influences as pageant-master were his antiquarian research of the pageantry of Elizabethan England for Kenilworth and his recent role in the
discovery of the Scottish regalia. The regalia had been locked away untouched in Edinburgh Castle since 1709 when they were placed there for safekeeping after the Treaty of Union. The century-old Scottish suspicion that the regalia had been secretly ferreled out of the country by anti-Scottish English zealots, and the dramatic reopening in 1818, (by Scott himself and others), of the dusty old chest in which the regalia had been kept, had inspired plans for a novel centered around the history of the regalia. Scott never wrote that novel, but the importance of fiction in influencing real events and vice-versa serves as a useful guide to understanding Scott's work as pageant-master for the King's Jaunt. Many of the rituals of the visit reflected Scott's own literary vision of Scotland, more than any previously extant "ancient usages." For example, it was Scott's idea alone to present the "ancient Company of Archers" as the "traditional" bodyguard of the Kings of Scotland. As Prebble points out, the company had been founded only in the late seventeenth century, "long after the last king of Scotland had left Edinburgh." and the company had since devolved into little more than a shooting "club for gentlemen" (91-92). Scott granted this body an authority and mystique that it never had. He would then further fictionalize this already fictionalized "reality" of Scottish history in his next novel, Quentin Durward, the story of a royal Scottish Archer in the bodyguard of the king of France. The king's visit gave Scott a chance to exercise on a grand scale his lifelong fascination with the theater, as well as with history. (Scott's patronage of Edinburgh theaters and his willingness to see his novels adapted for the stage helped credit him with single-handedly reviving the Edinburgh stage in the early nineteenth century.) The Jaunt would allow Scott an unequaled chance both to realize his fictions and to fictionalize Scottish reality.

Lockhart's description of the visit emphasizes this phenomenon, which allowed Scott to live out his own historical imaginings. The Lowland gentry
Scott playing host to his monarch reminded Lockhart of "the Holyrood chapters of Waverley; --George IV., anno actatis 60, being well contented to enact 'Prince Charlie,' with the Great Unknown himself for his Baron Bradwardine . . . ." (VII, 35). The royal performance of the play adaptation of Rob Roy (which I will take up last in this chapter) was the "play within the play" (VII, 47), and, in reference to the royal procession from the Leith docks to Holyrood Palace, Lockhart writes that "no one could well believe . . . the extent to which the Waverley and Rob Roy animus was allowed to pervade the whole affair" (VII, 42). Scott's most prominent part in his historical drama, however, was to be the stage-manager of the entire performance, and as such, his was a cast of thousands. All of Edinburgh would be on display before the monarch, and if this performance were to come off successfully for its audience of one, then it was up to Scott the stage-manager to ensure that everyone knew their parts. Scott's primary instrument of stage direction was a pamphlet he published (anonymously, of course) before the King's visit, Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and Others in Prospect of his Majesty's Visit by an Old Citizen. Scott's chapbook not only provided the cues for his giant cast, but stressed also the basis for, and importance of, royal ritual in demonstrating the links between the monarchy and the people, thereby insuring its survival. Much of the Hints is devoted to stage and costume direction, as Scott outlines in minute detail the unfolding of the performance, from the line of march during the king's procession to the appropriate costume "that Magistrates expect all gentlemen to wear . . . viz. Blue Coat, White Waistcoat, and White or Nankeen Pantaloons" (12). The short Hints is crammed with color and action, as Scott attempts to ensure control of the visuality of his performance and its uniformity. The intended effect, as Scott makes clear, is to render a spectacle such as no monarch had ever seen before in Scotland.
The Jaunt's overall effect would be as important as its ritual substance. Scott knew well the impression that royal ritual, if done correctly, could leave on a receptive viewer. Only one year before, Scott had described George's coronation in London for the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*. In this, Scott emphasizes not the substance of the ritual but the effect of its spectacle, and in doing so formulates his own priorities as pageant-master. Scott prefaces his description of the coronation by saying that "[i]t is, indeed, impossible to conceive a ceremony more august and imposing in all its parts, and more calculated to make the deepest impression both on the eye and on the feelings" (Lett. 6. 494). Scott here relates the importance of spectacle in producing emotion. Also, that the ceremony is *calculated* to produce its effect suggests Scott's understanding that, behind the curtain of the spectacle, there must be someone diligently working to bring it off, someone with an artist's eye for composition but a novelist's eye for detail:

The most minute attention must have been bestowed to arrange all the subordinate parts in harmony with the rest; so that, amongst so much antiquated ceremonial, imposing singular dresses, duties, and characters, upon persons accustomed to move in the ordinary routine of society, nothing occurred either awkward or ludicrous which could mar the general affect of the solemnity. (Lett. 6. 494).

Yet the royal pageant-master must be ever wary to keep a tight reign on his spectacle because "it is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous . . ." (Lett. 6. 494). When it came time for Scott to play pageant-master, he worked himself to exhaustion, sweating every detail. Scott's anxiety that the wrong kind of spectacle would destroy the effect of his pageant is reflected in the *Hints* in his direction to the "people," the great undifferentiated masses, who would come to view the king. Though he is quoting from "an Edinburgh Newspaper," Scott is clearly speaking his own aesthetic and political sentiments when he writes:
If the crowd [during the royal procession] become for a moment unsteady or tumultuous—if once they break their front rank, that is, the line of the constituted bodies—if ever they begin to shoulder, and press, and squeeze, and riot—the whole goodly display will sink at once into disorganization and confusion; and even the very object of the unseemly tumult will be lost, for it is clear, that the most blackguard and insolent would engross the spectacle to themselves, while the great body of the community would be thrown into the rear of this rabble, unseeing and unseen. (emphasis in orig.) (20-21)

This spectacle is: clearly the wrong kind of spectacle—the spectacle of the "mob," of disharmony and chaos—that Scott locates in political agitation. Scott's spectacle, in contrast, is one of social hierarchy, uniformity, and control, a spectacle that reinforces an ideology of Tory monarchy.

David Kertzer, in *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, has argued for the importance of modern, secular ritual in response to those who argue that in "advancec"

Western society its role is politically insignificant. Kertzer argues that political ritual is important, even in Western societies because it serves several key functions: it renew and builds social solidarity; it mystifies power relations; and grants stability, standardization, and legitimacy to a given system of power relations. Kertzer further argues that, though political ritual has a "conservative bias" because it connects past, present, and future, political ritual also has an "innovatory potential" that allows it to play a critical role in revolutionary politics (12 and in passim 5-12).

More recently, Takashi Fujitani, in his analysis of power and pageantry in modern Japan, adopts a Foucaultian approach and stresses the importance of the gaze in the ceremonies of the emperor. Visuality is the critical component that allows a monarchical pageantry to function in Fujitani's analysis. "Imperial pageantry," Fujitani writes, "was part of a cultural apparatus that helped fashion Japan's modern emperor into a transcendent subject, one who could be imagined as casting a single and centralizing gaze across all the nation and into

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the soul of the people" (24). Yet Fujitani also poses a reversal of the position of
the emperor as subject of the gaze and suggests that:

Public ceremonials made the emperor and his spectacles visible to all the
people of the nation. In this relation the crowds viewing the pageantry
(that is, the people) were the subjects of sight and the emperor and his
ceremonials the objects of their observation. (24)

In addition to describing this "inverted ocular relationship," Fujitani stresses the
importance of historicizing ritual, in contrast to anthropologists like Clifford
Geertz, whose work on ritual suggests that rulers use ritual because it places
them in a cultural framework that is always extant, already accepted by all the
people. Instead Fujitani calls for an understanding of ritual which emphasizes
that "elements in the symbolic dimension of politics can be as much invented as
inherited" (23).

Scott seems to have understood these two fundamentals of Fujitani's account
of royal pageantry and ritual. In the Hints, he describes the power of the
monarch's gaze which seems to take the whole of the nation in its sight, and the
concomitant necessity of displaying oneself before the monarch:

Scotland and Scotchmen are all together a new subject for his observation.
We have not the hardy though boisterous bearing of John Bull, nor any
portion of the wild eccentricity of Ireland's loyalty. But we have our own
firm, bold, manly character; and displaying this as it is our duty, and
should be our pride to display it . . . . [N]o man ever appeared to the
disadvantage by unaffectedly displaying his own genuine character; and we
desire no more than that the Scottish community should exhibit to the
eyes of their monarch the real features of theirs. (21-22)

Yet Scott also seems to understand the dynamic of the double-gaze: "[L]et it be
observed this is not an ordinary show--it is not all on one side. It is not enough
that we should see the King; but the King must also see us " (emphasis in orig.)
(22). The King's Jaunt is thus a ritualized performance where audience becomes
performer and performer becomes audience simultaneously.

II

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The importance of visuality to successful ritualization was undoubtedly a key motivation for Scott's calculated use of Highlanders and Highland trappings during the royal visit. So powerful was the effect of a hoard of Highlanders in the full "Highland" costume--tartan, sporran, bonnet, skene-dhu and claymore--and with bagpipers in tow, that even Lockhart was forced to admit that the effect was "picturesque" and that "even the coolest-headed sassenach felt his heart... 'warm to the tartan'" (VII, 35). By summarizing the Jaunt as a "plaided panorama," Lockhart unconsciously reinforces not only the metonymic transformation of Highland identity into Scottish identity but also the importance of its visual aspects.

In a letter to a Highland clan "chieftain," Scott himself acknowledges that "Highlanders are what [the king] likes best to see" (my emphasis) (Lett. 7. 213). That the king wanted most to gaze upon his Highland subjects and not, for instance, the arguably equally spectacular Esquires of the Lord High Constable--dressed in "Spanish cloaks, deep purple edged with gold... white and gold breeches and... gold-looped Spanish caps dripp[ing] white plumes to the shoulder" (Prebble 243)--is testament to the special condition of Highland spectactority. Highland spectacle registers as strange and exotic, uncanny, as well as visually stimulating. In wanting to see the Highlander, the king, like perhaps many visitors to Edinburgh during the Jaunt, was expressing the desire to see something profoundly different within the realm, the Noble Savage come down from the wilderness to walk among them in the city. Scott, in a letter, later described with self-satisfaction how the "wild and picturesque" spectacle of his Highlanders "added prodigiously to the effect of the various processions" (Lett. 7. 242).

Just how different the spectacle of Highlanders in the city proved to be is demonstrated in an oft-repeated anecdote of the encounter of the English poet
George Crabbe with a group of Highlanders. Through a combination of poor timing and miscommunication, the aging Crabbe was the house guest of Walter Scott amid the busy preparations for the king's visit. The poet found himself alone one morning in Scott's parlor with "two High Chiefs of the West Highlands" speaking together in Gaelic. Lockhart, in a letter to Crabbe's son, surmises that the poet "had, I presume, read very little about Scotland before the excursion. I believed he really never had known until then that a language radically distinct from the English, was still actually spoken within the island" (Crabbe 283). Crabbe's encounter then becomes a farce of misrecognition, a scene of first encounter with the natives that, in Scott's parlor in the middle of Edinburgh, is ludicrous rather than portentous. Lockhart writes:

These [Highland] gentlemen arrayed in a costume so novel, were talking in a language he did not understand; so he never doubted they were foreigners. The Celts, on their part, conceived Mr. Crabbe, dressed as he was in rather an old fashioned style of clerical propriety ... to be some learned abbe, who had come on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Waverley ... .

(Crabbe 283)

Crabbe's impulse was to address the Highlander in French (though he did not speak that language either) "which he thought must be more germane to their comprehension than English" (Lett. 7. 231). Though it sometimes produced a sense of dislocation to the untutored, Highland visuality was effectively calculated to provide a largely benign spectacle of difference during the King's Jaunt.

III

Crabbe, the ignorant yet open-minded and receptive consumer of Scott's spectacle, may have been the English audience that Scott ideally had in mind for his pageantry, for he was not only interested in impressing his audience. He also wanted to instruct them, especially those from "South Britain," about the nature of Scottish identity. In addition to its powerful spectacle, the substance and
structure of Scott’s royal pageantry demonstrated his vision of Scottish national identity in the age of Union. Scott’s full embrace of the trappings of the monarchy, especially when taking into account the unpopularity of George IV, seems to suggest a Scottish Toryism content with the political status quo, content with a quietest approach to the issues of Scottish nationalism. Hugh MacDiarmid, writing in 1943, fully embraces this idea. He describes Scott’s novels as:

the great source of the paralysing ideology of defeatism in Scotland, the spread of which is responsible at once for the acceptance of the Union and the low standard of nineteenth-century Scots literature . . . a defeatism as profitable financially to its exponents . . . as it is welcome to English interests. (202)

In Scott’s most sustained discussion of Scottish nationalism, however, the succession of Letters he wrote to the Edinburgh Weekly Journal early in 1826, he specifically attacked parliamentary plans to forbid the issuing of Scottish banknotes in amounts less than £5 as an illegal intrusion upon the political autonomy of the Scottish nation. The angry political tone of the Letters, which were written under the pseudonym of “Malachi Malagrowther” and immediately re-issued in pamphlet form, was dismissed later by Lockhart as providing an "escape-valve" for an only temporary fit of chauvinistic ranting on the part of Scott. However, in his introduction to a recent edition of the Letters, Paul Henderson Scott declares that “it would be no exaggeration to describe [the Letters] as the first manifesto of modern Scottish Nationalism” (xviii). The Letters provides, in Paul Scott’s words, “a coherent statement of the philosophy of Scottish nationalism, a set of ideas which had been gaining ground in Scotland during the last hundred years or so” (Letters xvii). Thus, rather than placing Scott on a continuum of Scottish cultural acquiescence to Anglo-centered rule in London, Paul Scott places him at the very threshold of a modern national
movement in Scotland: "there is only a very short logical step between the arguments of Malachi against London 'management of affairs, entirely and exclusively proper to Scotland' and the demand for Home Rule" (Letters xx).

The "coherent statement" of the Letters is not simply, as Lockhart describes, a meaningless bit of blowing-off steam, but neither is it the case that Scott calls for a recovery of Scottish political autonomy at the cost of Union. As even the hint of dissolution of the Union was anathema to Scott, he writes in the Letters:

We had better remain in union with England, even at the risk of becoming a subordinate species of Northumberland, as far as national consequence is concerned, than remedy ourselves by even hinting at the possibility of a rupture. (17)

Scott's vision for Scotland, even in the face of intolerable English parliamentary meddling in Scottish affairs, lies ever with the continuation of the Union, yet after establishing this limit to his nationalism, he attempts to rally Scots dramatically to his cause. His speaking out on the issue and his call for a united Scottish political front which would transcend party divisions signals that, for Scott, Scotland the nation must retain some political independence.

Scott emphasizes Scottish national distinction within Great Britain in a variation of the identity-in-difference model which ascended in Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In his use of tropes and analogies in the Letters, Scott articulates a Scotland that is culturally unique and therefore must be treated as such, all the while making the case for continuation of the Union. In fact, the underlying basis for Scott's critique of the banknote policy is a strict reading of the Treaty of Union. He points to an article of the treaty which states:

"[T]he laws in use within the kingdom of Scotland, do, after the Union, remain in the same force as before, but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain, with this difference between the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, and those which concern private right, that the former may be made the same through the whole United Kingdom; but

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that no alteration be made on laws which concern private right, excepting for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland." (emphasis in orig.) (40)

Scott thus links the unimpeded printing of banknotes in Scotland with the securing of "private right" guaranteed in the Treaty of Union and asks rhetorically:

[H]ow can it be possible, that it should be for the "evident utility" of Scotland to alter her laws of private right, to the total subversion of a system under which she is admitted to have flourished for a century and which had never within North Britain been attended with the inconveniences charged against it in the sister country, where, by the way, it never existed? (42-43)

Scott argues for the special rights of Scotland by reading the Treaty of Union not as a document of self-willed political assimilation, but as a document that binds disparate nations together by mutual agreement and for mutual, communal, interest.

Though the Letters seem well-versed in the intricacies of parliamentary action and the economics of currency circulation in both Scotland and England, they represent much more an impassioned appeal to the nation than a cool treatise on proper monetary policy. It is not so much in their legalistic discourse but in their figurative language that the Letters emphasized the uniqueness of the nation. Scott adopts a commonly used metaphorical conceit, that England and Scotland are "Sister" nations, to emphasize that the relationship between the two nations is one between distinct yet equal entities. The language of kinship (which in other forms is central to Scott's understanding of the monarchy as we shall see) stresses the closeness and naturalness of the ties of nations that nevertheless retain their self-autonomy. At one point, Scott scolds England for its emotional pettiness: "I do complain of . . . the general spirit of slight and dislike manifested to our national establishments, by those of the sister country who are so very zealous in defending their own . . ." (13). As sisters are wont, England has succumbed to
jealousy, but with prompting by Scott, she might find the maturity to love her sister Scotland with affection once again.

Scott's contribution to the circulating cache of metaphors for Union identity-in-difference is his analogy of the rope. In a response to assimilationists who would argue that total centralized London control would enhance Britain's imperial power, he argues that a Britain "annul[led] and dissolve[d] [of] all the distinctions and peculiarities, which, flowing out of circumstances, historical events, and differences of customs and climates, make its relative parts still, in some respects, three separate nations" would be weaker not stronger (142).

Rather, Britain is like a thick ship's rope, and

As every rope-maker knows . . . three distinct strands, as they are called, incorporated and twisted together, will make a cable ten times stronger than the same quantity of hemp, however artificially combined into a single twist of cord. The reason is obvious to the meanest capacity. If one of the strands happen to fail a little, there is a threefold chance that no imperfection will occur in the others at the same place, so that the infirm strand may give way a little, yet the whole cord remain trustworthy. If the single twist fail at any point, all is over. (143)

On the level of metaphor, this is probably Scott's most succinct voicing of an identity-in-difference model of Great Britain, in which Scotland retains some political as well as cultural autonomy.

Scott's nautical metaphor in support of Scottish difference ironically may give credence to the idea that Scott's nationalism was ultimately without teeth. The rope-maker cares nothing for the unique differences of each strand of the rope, but only that they work together. Yet in the Letters Scott often makes direct appeals to fellow Scots both in the political arena and at home, to rise up, if not in arms at least in indignation, against the attack on Scottish sovereignty. Scott does so by using particularly "Scottish" tropes that evoke the maintenance of the peculiarities of the nation above all other concerns. Rather than demonstrating "a
noisy inaction" Scott sounds an alarm for the nation to defend itself against a vicious English sneak attack:

[Int]o whatsoever deep and passive slumber our native country may have been lulled from habits of peaceful acquiescence, the Government have now found a way to awaken her. The knife has gone to the very quick, and the comatose patient is roused to most acute possession of his feeling and his intellect. The heather is on fire far and wide; and every man, woman, and child in the country, are bound by the duty they owe to their native land, to spread the alarm and increase the blaze. (64)

Scott's abrupt use of metaphors of violence and national trauma is calculated to rouse Scots to do something by appealing to familiar nationalist codes. Perhaps nothing could better serve this function of signaling Scottish distinction and articulating the need for a quasi-military mobilization of the nation than the "fiery cross" of the Highland clans. Already popularized by Scott in *The Lady of the Lake*, the fiery cross was thought to be a signal of the highest emergency in the clan community. Used mostly in times of war, the cross (which was more like a torch) was carried throughout a clan's territory to summon the far-flung clansmen to fulfill their obligation to their chief and to serve him in battle. Though *The Lady of the Lake* was set in an unspecified year sometime in the middle ages, Scott updates the image of the fiery cross in the *Letters* while maintaining its sense of urgency:

[The last time the celebrated Fiery Cross was circulated in the Highlands, (it was in the country of the Grants) the clansmen were called forth not to fight an enemy, but to stop the process of a dreadful conflagration which had been kindled in the woods. To my countrymen I speak in the language of many recollections, certain they are not likely to be excited beyond the bounds of temperate and constitutional remonstrance, but desirous, by every effort in my power, to awaken them to a sense of their national danger. (90)

The Highland fiery cross is that peculiar national sign that can arouse the whole nation to the tyranny of monetary imperialism, a sign volatile enough that it required the assurance of Scott that it is not a call to actual renewed violence.
It is this strident Scottish nationalism that is not quite a strident nationalism and insistence on the identity-in-difference of a nation composed of different nations, that Scott voices in the Letters and that he sought to enact during the King's Jaunt, which came only a few years before their publication. Scott sought for ways of performing Scottish peculiarities and pride of distinction while at the same time demonstrating the strength of the British union whose embodiment was George IV. The King's Jaunt, like Scott's Scottish novels, articulated a vision of political reconciliation. As in Waverley, for example, Jacobite would be reconciled with Hanoverian, Scotland with England, and Highlander with Lowlander during the King's Jaunt. Reconciliation does not mean the dissolution of disparity, however, and the strange spectacular Highland would be trotted out to play a critical role in Scott's theater. For the King's Jaunt, Scott realized the "summoning of the clans" that he only imagined in writing The Lady of the Lake and that was largely figurative in the Letters. Once it became clear that the king was indeed coming to Edinburgh, Scott sent a letter to the Highlands, inviting all the Highland chiefs he thought might arrive in Edinburgh in time to march before their king. To Macleod of Macleod of the Isle of Skye, Scott wrote:

The King is coming after all. Arms and men are the best thing we have to show him. Do come and bring a half-dozen or half-score of Clansmen, so as to look like an Island Chief as you are. [T]he masquerade of the Celtic Society will not do without some of the real stuff, to bear it out. Pray come out and do not forget to bring the Bodyguard for the credit of Old Scotland and your own old house. (Lett. 7. 213-214)

"Sending his fiery cross," Prebble writes, "must have been one of the most satisfying moments of [Scott's] life" (104). The clans were coming, this time not to do battle or to put out a conflagration, but to meet their sovereign, George IV.

IV

George IV is thus transformed into the legitimate "heir to the chevalier"

Bonnie Prince Charlie—into a Stuart as well as a Hanoverian. In his presence,
Scotland receives its own king, who, in Scott's words, "comes hither as the
descendant of a long line of Scottish kings. The blood of the heroic Robert Bruce-
the blood of the noble, the enlightened, the generous James I is in his veins"
(Hints 6). Yet George is not simply Scotland's monarch in Scott's typology, he is
also transformed into a Highland "Chieftain," or more precisely, the chieftain of
all chieftains, and all of Scotland is his "clan." Scott articulates this idea both in
the Hints ("we are THE CLAN, and our king is THE CHIEF") and in a toast to the
king on his last day in Edinburgh. As Highlanders reeled and strathspeyed
around them, Scott raised his glass and pronounced George IV in English and
Gaelic (which Scott did not speak), "the chief of the clans . . . the king" (Prebble
342). In voicing the links between Scotland and the monarch through Highland
tropes of patriarchal kingship, Scott was both highlighting Scottish identity and
evoking his particular conservative ideology. In making George IV a Highland
chieftain, Scott suggests that his is a monarchical rule granted not by consent of
its subjects nor by constitutional legitimacy but by a more primitive (and thus
more "natural") allegiance based on blood and kinship. The king's rule then
becomes, symbolically at least, a benign paternal autocracy. Thus, Scott writes of
the king's direct blood links with the Scottish people, in addition to his links with
Scottish royalty:

[The King] is our kinsman. While our Douglases, our Stewarts, our
Hamiltons, our Bruces, all our high nobility, are his acknowledged
relations--it is not too much to say, that their is scarcely a gentleman of any
of the old Scottish families who cannot, in some way or other, "count kin"
with the royal house from which our Sovereign is descended. Nay, in this
small country, blood has been so much mingled, that it is not to be doubted
by far the greater part of our burgesses and yeomen are entitled to entertain
similar pretensions. Let us, on this happy occasion, remember that it is so;
and not only behave towards him as a father, but to each other, as if we were,
in the words of the old song, "ae mans bairns." (Hints 67)

In this passage, Scott tribalizes Scotland and, by extension, all of Britain. By
"Highlandizing" the foundations of monarchical rule, Scott also presents a
profoundly conservative ideology that stresses the ancientness and thus naturalness of social hierarchy in modern British polity. Scott’s vision therefore can be said to be Burkean in its desire to establish a deep-seated basis for monarchical rule. In _Reflections of the Revolution in France_ (1790) Burke writes:

[W]e have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars. (46)

In Burke’s schema, biological ties are the basis for political ties, and allegiance to both the state and family are inextricably intertwined.

Scott’s (and Burke’s) naturalizing of monarchical rule of course brings with it the implicit suggestion that resistance to such rule is “unnatural.” For Burke, such resistance produces in revolutionary France the monstrosity of regicide and the Terror. For Scott it produces equally monstrous Radical Reform agitation in the streets of England and Scotland.25 Radical unrest peaked in Scotland in 1819-1820, as it had in England and with an equal violence. Armed risings in the west of Scotland, particularly in areas in and around Glasgow, had resulted in the trials and execution of several Scottish Radicals for treason.26 In Scotland, Radical polemic had early on co-opted a rhetoric of Scottish nationalism, a rhetoric that was both anti-monarchy _and_ specifically anti-Unionist. In a public call for immediate action in response to the Peterloo Massacre, for example, one A. Mitchell asked his audience to

always bear in mind that we are the lineal descendants of those who fought under the banners of Wallace, when unfurled in the cause of liberty, and of those who bled at Bannockburn, and never so far forget the ashes of our brave and noble progenitors as tamely to submit to slavery. No my countrymen, the patient and brave sons of Caledonia shall never suffer those rights to be torn from them which they inherited from their ancestors, obtained by their courage and sealed with their blood.27
These nationalist appeals to the memory of Scottish heroes were of course exactly what Scott was attempting to use during the King’s Jaunt. Scott’s anxiety that Radical agitation might spoil his celebration of the monarchy during the Jaunt, however, is hinted at in his description of the event in his Letters. Two weeks after the Jaunt, Scott writes:

It was a very curious thing to see the whole roads and streets lined with so many thousands of people who were (even the very meanest) in something like decent attire and each considering himself . . . as having the national reputation dependent to a certain degree on his own behaviour. I thought I knew my countrymen well and recommended the absence of all military except the guard of honour but to be sure they went far beyond my idea for I have seen far more rudeness and crowding in the drawing-room at St James’s than I saw amongst an immense mob of all descriptions of people. But I will say for Saunders [a term meaning the Scot in general] that no one knows better how to behave well and that when he is riotous and contumacious it is really from malice prepense. (my emphasis) (Lett. 7. 241)

This suggestion that Scott might have considered requesting the use of troops to police a populace that supposedly only wished to show its heartfelt loyalty to their king, his fear that an unruly crowd might present the “wrong” kind of spectacle, and other references to the “Mob” in his descriptions of the Jaunt, all attest to Scott’s anxiety about Radical subversion. George IV’s transformation, à la Scott, into a Highland chieftain whose clan is all of Scotland thus enacts a conservative ideology meant specifically to counter a Radical one that was anti-monarchy and the only real sustained threat to Scottish Unionism.

Yet by emphasizing bloodlines as the basis for allegiance between a people and their sovereign, Scott grants to kingship a power over the ruled that is felt more in the heart than in the head. The king as chief becomes immanent in the lives of his people; his rule is unmediated, and neither institution nor abstract notion of legal contract stands between him and his subjects. In this way, Scott’s vision of the monarchy is more than anti-Radical, it is also anti-Whig. Even Burke, a Whig, though he emphasized the national ties which were the basis of
British polity, located these natural ties within the legalistic parliamentary foundations of the monarchy that were established after the Glorious Revolution. The relationship between the chief and his clan in the Highlands, however, pre-dated their written history. Thus the links of clanship are pre-historic, part of a profoundly ancient "tribal" tradition. They arise out of the mists beyond history and thus beyond modern understanding.

If Scott transformed the constitutional monarch George IV into a Highland chief of all chiefs, then he also transformed the king into a Highlander. Not content simply with gazing on his Highland subjects, George IV would become one of them, and he would emphasize this himself quite spectacularly at the grand levee at Holyroodhouse on August 24, when the long line of gentlemen waiting to be presented to their sovereign were met finally with the image of their king sitting before them in full "Highland" costume. The king's London tailor described his costume in detail:

fine gold chased head ornament for Bonnet, consisting of Royal Scots Crown in miniature, set with Diamonds, Pearls, and Rubies and emeralds, supported on a wreath of chased gold Thistles surrounding a sea-green emerald, large sized. His Goat-skin Highland Purse had a massive gold top and nine rich gold bullion tassels, whilst his powder horn was gold-mounted and attached to a massive gold chain. His dirk was inlaid with gold and encased in a crimson velvet scabbard richly ornamented with chased gold mountings with the Royal Arms of St. Andrew, Thistle, etc. He had a fine basket-hilted sword and a pair of Highland pistols. His costume included 61 yards of Royal Sattin Plaid, 31 yards of Royal Plaid Velvet, and 17 1/2 of Royal Plaid Casemere.

In keeping with Scott's vision of the reconciliation of past conflict in the very person of the monarch, the king's tartan was Royal Stuart, symbolizing his claim to be both Stuart and Hanoverian.

The king's appearance in Highland dress was loudly ridiculed by many Scots at the levee and later by the London newspapers. Instead of baring his knees, as was prescribed for the "authentic" Highland man, the king had substituted flesh-
colored silk hose over which he wore tartan knee-socks. The effect was considered ludicrous by many present at the levee. Lockhart had no harsh words for the king who, he wrote, "did look a most stately and imposing person in that beautiful dress" (46). Instead he unleashed his criticism on the king's close friend and confidant, Sir William Curtis, the Lord Mayor of London. Curtis, also present at the levee, was also "equipped, from a sudden impulse of loyal ardor, in an equally complete set of the self-same conspicuous Stuart tartans . . . ." (Lockhart VII, 46). Lockhart writes that it was this "portentous apparition," not the king's, which "cast an air of ridicule and caricature over the whole of Sir Walter's Celtified pageantry" (VII, 46).

For Lockhart, Curtis's (and perhaps implicitly, the king's) implausible appearance as a Highlander was all part of the Scott-induced "hallucination" that had cast a dreamy unreality over the whole of the king's visit. The outlandish Highland costumes were just an example of the theatricality that had overtaken the city. Sir William Curtis was simply playing at something he was not: a Scottish Highlander. Yet Scott's ritualized emphasis on blood ties and kinship that he enacted in making the king a Highland chieftain suggests that the king's Highland costume, fittingly extravagant for the chief of all chiefs, was entirely appropriate. Though the rhetoric that made him a chieftain was largely figurative, the rhetoric that made him a Highlander did so in a literal sense. As we have seen, Scott had made the king a Scot by implicitly adopting the monogenetic idea of the inevitability of race-mixing, particularly in "so small a nation" as Scotland. It is only matter of extrapolation to suggest that if the great-great grandson of a German Elector can count kin with a simple Lowland yeoman, he can also do so with a Highland clansman.

V

77
Scott makes clear the biological and racial links between Highland and Lowland Scot in Rob Roy, a novel whose wildly popular stage adaptation was fittingly performed before the king during his visit to Edinburgh. Prebble writes that, even more than Waverley, Rob Roy "presented a persuasive view of the Highlands and the Highland man, an image that fitted firmly in [Scott's] Celtification of Scotland . . ." (336). Rob Roy itself is structured much like George IV's visit to Edinburgh. A stranger from London journeys north to Scotland and there is given a detailed tour of the peculiarities of the country, particularly of its Highland people. The host is a provincial yet patriotic pro-Union Lowlander who delights in presenting the distinctive of his native country. Beyond articulating the attractive strangeness of Highland identity, Rob Roy articulates the powerful links of literal kinship that, at least partially, transcend the bi-polarity of Scottish identity. Rob Roy, though he gives his name to the novel's title, is only one of the primary Scottish characters in the novel. Though it is with Rob that the novel's English protagonist, Frank Osbaldistone, is taken into the Highlands, it is through the character Bailie Nicol Jarvie that Osbaldistone (and we, the reader) see both aspects of the Scottish bi-polarity. We see a Scotland that looks forward and backward at the same time.

Indeed Jarvie, a minor public official from Glasgow, is considered by some critics to be the exemplary mouthpiece for Scott's pro-Union ideology in general. When Jarvie overhears Andrew Fairservice blaming the Union for the poor state of Scottish roads, he rebukes him in long utterance on the economic benefits of the Union:

"Whisht, sir!--whisht! it's ill-scraped tongues like yours, that make mischief atween neighbourhoods and nations. There's naething sae gude on this die o' time but it might hae been, and that may be said o' the Union. Nane were keener against it than the Glasgow folk, wi' their rabblings and their risings, and their mobs, as they ca' them now-a-days. But it's an ill wind that blows naebody gude--Let ilka ane roose the ford as they find it--I
say, Let Glasgow flourish! whilk is judiciously and elegantly putten round the town’s arms, by way of by-word.--now, since St Mungo caught herrings in the Clyde, what was ever like to gar us to flourish like the sugar and tobacco-trade? Will any body tell me that, and grumble at the treaty that opened us a road west-awa’ yonder?” (246)

David Daiches argues that “[t]he whole rhetorical rhythm of the novel at this point makes it clear that the Bailie is here speaking for Scott” (40). Speaking in 1715, only a few years after the signing of the Treaty of Union, Jarvie is granted a prescient wisdom by Scott, who indirectly attacks the anti-Union Radicals of his time: the "Glasgow folk wi’ their rabbings and their risings, and their mobs."

Jarvie here is mouthing familiar mercantilist pro-Union arguments, that the Union would open up British colonial markets across the Atlantic, "the road west-awa’ yonder," for Glasgow merchants who had been unable to gain footholds in the European markets dominated by Edinburghers. Osbaldistone is made to understand this great Union promise for Glasgow capital:

An extensive and increasing trade with the West Indies and American colonies, has, if I am rightly informed, laid the foundation of wealth and prosperity [in Glasgow], which if carefully strengthened and built upon, may one day support an immense fabric of commercial property . . . . (172)

Jarvie’s Scotland is thus a nation of expansion, growth, progress, and modernity all under the benevolent cover of Union.

If Glasgow is a model for Union success, however, it is also a city on the very edge of civilized society, a frontier city whose economy is dependent on Highland commodities and Highland labor. In addition to being the site of modern capitalist ventures into western colonial markets, Glasgow is the terminus of the Highland cattle drives, where Highland drovers sell off their "[h]ordes of wild, shaggy, dwarfish cattle," fattened in the Highlands (173). The visitor to Glasgow during cattle market days would be presented with the image, not of bankers and merchants scurrying through the streets, but of:
Highlanders as wild, as shaggy, and sometimes as dwarfish, as the animals they had in charge . . . . Strangers gazed with surprise on the antique and fantastic dress, and listened to the unknown and dissonant sounds of their language, while the mountaineers, armed even while engaged in this peaceful occupation with musket and pistol, sword, dagger, and target stared with astonishment on the articles of luxury of which they knew not the use, and with an avidity which seemed somewhat alarming on the articles which they knew and valued. (173)

Like a nineteenth-century travelogue of the East, this passage evokes the strange hybridity of the frontier city, the faint menace of the exotic amid the familiar. In addition to providing the beef for Glasgow’s table, Highlanders, suffering from the economic hardships that Scott attributes to overpopulation, migrate to the city to look for menial work in the factories, thereby “furnish[ing] the means of carrying out the few manufactures which the town already boasted” (173).

Primitive Highland Scotland often ventures into the metropolitan space itself.

When Osbaldistone suggests to Jarvie that Rob Roy is a mere desperado and therefore not to be trusted, Jarvie replies that the Highland society from which Rob Roy comes is so different from the civilized society of England and Lowland Scotland that it cannot be judged by civilized standards:

"Ah! but ye judge Rob hardly," said the Bailie,—"ye judge him hardly, puir chield; and the truth is, that ye ken naething about our hill country, or hielands, as we ca’ them. They are clean anither set frae the like o’ huz; there’s nae bailie-courts amang them—nae magistrates that dinna bear the sword in vain, like the worthy deacon that’s awa’—and, I may say’t, like mysell and other present magistrates in this city—But it’s just the laird’s command, and the loon may loup; and the never anither law hae they but the length o’ their dirks—the broadsword’s pursuer, or plaintiff, as you Englishers ca’ it, and the target is the defender; the stoutest head bears langest out—and there’s a Hieland plea for yea." (232)

By juxtaposing these two Scottish characters, Rob Roy and Nicol Jarvie, Scott lays out the familiar bi-polarity of Scottish identity: Lowlander vs. Highlander, civilized vs. primitive, atavism vs. progress, rule of law vs. rule of the sword—all
while granting the civilized Lowlander a proprietary claim over "our hill country" and a vision that can encapsulate them both.

Yet as Scott does this, he links the poles of Scottish identity by emphasizing that, although Jarvie and Rob Roy are Scots from completely different worlds, they are also related by blood. When Jarvie first encounters Rob, who has been up to this point, Osbaldistone's mysterious unknown guide, Jarvie threatens the outlaw, saying that he (Jarvie) would only have to say the word and Rob would be apprehended. Yet Rob declares that Jarvie would never give that word "for three sufficient reasons":

"First, for auld langsyne;--second, for the sake of the auld wife ayon the fire at Stuckav rallachan, that made some mixture of our bluid, to my own proper shame be it spoken! that has a cousin wi' accounts, and yarn winnles, and looms, and shuttles, like a mere mechanical person;--and lastly Bailie, because if I saw a sign o' your betraying me, I could plaster that wa' with your harns ere the hand of man could rescue you!" (205)

Though the uneasy tension of the clash of cultures between Jarvie and the outlaw simmers in this encounter, Rob's second "reason" speaks of the links of kinship that transcend the oppositions of culture and society that separate the two men. Jarvie, the Lowland law officer, and Rob Roy, the Highland outlaw, are cousins, and, as Jarvie acknowledges:

"bluid's thicker than water; and it liesna in kith, kin, and ally, to see motes in ilk other's een if other een see them no. It wad be sair news to the auld wife below the Ben of Stukav rallachan, that you, ye Hieland limmer, had knockit out my harns, or that I had kilted you up in a tow." (205)

For the most part, the profound cultural differences of these two cousins are maintained in the novel, however, there are moments when Scott subverts their polarity. The faint traces of Highland race traits in Jarvie's "blood" can assert themselves, as in one example in the novel where he finds himself thinking and acting "Highland." Jarvie admits of his admiration of tales of violence and adventure that he hears concerning his Highland cousin:
"It's a queer thing o' me, gentlemen, that am a man o' peace myself, and a peacefu' man's son, for the deacon of my father quarreled wi' nane out o' the town-council—'tis a queer thing I say, but I think the Hieland blade o' me warms at thae daft tales, and whiles I like better to hear them than a word o' profit, gude forgie me!—But they are vanities—sinfu' vanities—and, moreover, again the statue law—again the statue law and gospel law." (238)

The Highland will to violence is coded here both as an essential race trait (which we shall see in the next chapter, is a central aspect of Highland identity for Scott) and the dark unconscious desire of the "civilized" Lowlander. Highland identity is both "queer" to Jarvie and yet a product of his kinship with the Highlander Rob Roy. Scott here, perhaps paradoxically, points to the existence of racial miscegenation in Scotland while at the same time suggesting that distinctive race traits may, at least at times, "breed true." In Rob Roy, it is not the case that Scott, in this trope of miscegenation, completely dissolves the bi-polar differences of Scottish identity. Scott does not wish to suggest that, underneath their profound cultural differences, Highlanders and Lowlanders "are all the same inside."

Rather, he suggests that the border between these quite different cultural and racial poles is a membrane that can allow for some migration back and forth in the accumulation of time.

In vastly different formats, but ultimately with the same design, Scott, like Macpherson, suggests that all Scots can, at least with some biological extrapolation, proclaim themselves as authentic Highlanders. During the King's Jaunt, Scott himself played the role of cousin-to-the-Highlander by wearing the tartan of the clan Campbell, to which he was distantly related through his great-grandmother.29 It was arguably never Scott's intention to "Celtify" all of Scotland through his pageantry, but only to emphasize what was both powerfully spectacular and uniquely Scottish. Yet through the ceremonies of the King's Jaunt, Scott secured the image of Scotland-as-Highland in the minds of
Great Britons below the Tweed and in the minds of the people of nations around the world. Scott, like Macpherson before him, voiced a model Scottish, and, by implication British, national identity that could lay special claim to Highland identity while at the same time making that identity fascinatingly different.

The Celtic/Highland vs. Gothic/Lowland debate over the true racial origins of the nation would continue in Scotland, indeed even in the immediate aftermath of the King's Jaunt. In a letter to the editor of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, which devoted its entire September 1822 issue to the subject of the King's Jaunt, a writer signing himself "A Goth,"—after a prefatory discussion dismantling the "so-called" authenticity of the tartan as a traditional Highland dress—asks indignantly:

Who, after all, are the Highlanders? Are they the Scottish nation? Is their country Scotland? Is their language the Scottish language? Is their literature (forgive the absurdity) the Scottish literature? Is their history the Scottish history? No such thing. (356)

The writer then goes on to rehearse, in a lengthy antiquarian argument, the ideas of Pinkerton (whom he cites) concerning the true Gothic origins of Scotland and the Irish origins of the Highlander. After the King's Jaunt, however, complaints of the Highland part inappropriately or inauthentically representing the Scottish whole were largely drowned out by the overwhelming spectacularity of Highland "traditions." By reinforcing, perhaps unintentionally, the complete Celtification of Scotland, the Scott-mastered rituals of the King's Jaunt also effectively "Britainized" Highland identity by bringing it under the interested gaze of the embodiment of the idea of Union, the British monarch, and by emphasizing the links of blood and kinship that united the monarch and his subjects in Scotland, Highlander and Lowlander both.

At this end point, we have seen the deployment of Highland identity in articulating the uniqueness of Scottish identity come full circle, back to its
"origins" in Macpherson and Ossian. Scott enacted through the ceremony of the King's Jaunt what Macpherson could only theorize: a Scotland where the marginalized Celt takes center stage, where the home-grown "other" comes to stand for the very essence of the nation, and where the Scottish Highlander is introduced to Britain as a true Briton. Scott thus makes the Highland subject available to express the essence of that nation as well.
Notes

1Phillipson makes this argument in "Nationalism and Ideology."

2See Colley, especially 117-132, and Crawford, chapters 1-2. For a recent historical analysis that refutes many of Colley's claims, see Pittock, Inventing and Resisting Britain. Pittock argues in the eighteenth century there was much more resistance to Union in Scotland than Colley suggests, and that "Great Britain" was largely an entity developed in London. For a discussion of the shifting identity allegiances in Scottish writing in the eighteenth century and the multiplicity of voices in Scottish literature, see Simpson. For a discussion of the importance of Scottish academics in institutionalizing "English" literature, see Court.

3In Improvement and Romance. See especially chapter 2.

4For a recent discussion of Macpherson's life and work see Stafford.

5For example, Johann Gottfried Herder described the society of Ossianic Scotland thus:

In all their themes they [the poems of Ossian] resemble those of another people that yet lives, sings, and does deeds upon the earth, in whose history, without prepossession or illusion, I have more than once recognised that of Ossian and his forefathers. It is the Five Nations of North America. Dirge and war-song, lay of battle and of burial, the praise of their ancestors,-everything is common to the bards of Ossian and the North American savages. I except the songs of torture and revenge peculiar to the latter, in whose stead the mild Caledonians tinged their songs with the tragedy of love . . . . Travelers who knew the Scots, and who had long dwelt with the American Indians, acknowledged the manifest likeness in the songs of both nations . . . . (qtd. in Smart, 7)

6For recent discussions of Ossian in a national context, see Trumpener, Weinbrot, Sher, Manning, and Groom. See also discussions on Ossian in Pittock, The Invention of Scotland, and Kidd. For an analysis of Macpherson's use of Gaelic ballad sources, see Thomson and Meek.

7See Sher's discussion in "Those Scotch Impostors and Their Cabal: Ossian and the Scottish Enlightenment."
8 For an analysis of the militia issue and Ossian’s role, see John Robertson.

9 For Newman’s discussion of this phenomenon, see The Rise of English Nationalism, 115-118.

10 For example, Trevor-Roper, in ”The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” calls Macpherson “an insolent pretender,” while commending Pinkerton for being the “implacable enemy of the historical and literary falsifications of . . . Macpherson” (27). Trevor-Roper, who reiterates much of Pinkerton’s ideas, calls him “the greatest Scottish antiquary since Thomas Innes” (27). In ”Celts, Greeks, and Germans: Macpherson’s Ossian and the Celtic Epic,” Weinbrot is sympathetic to Pinkerton’s pro-Goth assertions in the face of what he calls the “ugliness” of James Macpherson’s work, which was ”a popular but intellectually dishonest, occasionally plagiarized, and morally corrupt version of British and European history” (11). Kidd, in Subverting Scotland’s Past, declares an end to the ”legend” that Macpherson was ”a complete charlatan,” while describing Pinkerton as ”more outrageous in his racial prejudices” than any other of the anti-Celt antiquarians of the time.

11 Macpherson’s work, in contrast to Pinkerton’s, is often unclear as to dates.

12 Any discussion of the use of the term ”race” in the eighteenth century is fraught with difficulties. Neither Pinkerton’s nor Macpherson’s notion of race implied rigid biological divisions based primarily on skin color. For a discussion of “scientific racism,” and its development in the nineteenth century, see Stepan. Both men’s theories, however, might be called ”proto-racist” because of their clear attempts to hierarchize racial characteristics. In his Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, Pinkerton, while emphasizing that differences among humans are obvious, points to the need for a more ”scientific” approach to race classification. He writes:
It is a self-evident proposition, that the author of nature, as he formed great varieties in the same species of plants, and of animals, so he also gave various races of men as inhabitants of several countries. A Tartar, a Negro, an American, &c. &c. differ as much from a German, as a bulldog, or lapdog, or shepherd’s cur from a pointer. The differences are radical; and such as no climate or chance could produce: and it may be expected that as science advances, able writers will give us a complete system of the many different races of men. (33-34)

For a recent discussion of race theory in the nineteenth century and after, see Young. For a discussion of how a specific race label became erased as skin color became the determining criteria for racial difference, see Ignatiev.

13Though the standard spelling of the name given to these people was, in Pinkerton’s time and in the present, Picts, Pinkerton uses Piks to denote what he describes as the “indigenal” name of the people. Piks, he argues is the proper Gothic term, whereas Picts is merely the "Latin epithet, from their painting themselves" (Enquiry I, xli-xl ii).

14In his “Advertisement” to the Enquiry, Pinkerton even apologizes for the repetitiveness of his anti-Celticism, if not its intensity:

[M]any late authors, by applauding their [the Celts’s] savage life, and contempt of every civilized art, seemed to allow the dreams of Rousseau, which would restore mankind to a state of nature, that is, to lawless rapine and slaughter.

The author regrets not that the Celtic prejudices were attacked, but that the attack was too often unnecessarily repeated; and no argument, or fact, has hitherto arisen, which in the least affects the documents, and deductions, displayed in this Enquiry, or in the dissertations annexed. (Enquiry I, 10)

15In keeping with the dialectic of their debate, Macpherson argues exactly the opposite. The ancient Celtic people, Macpherson argues in his Introduction, were marked by the special political power that women had in their society:

[T]he high spirit of the Celtic women gave them more influence over our ancestors than our modern beauties derive from their elegant timidity and delicacy of manners. The most unpolished Germans, according to Tacitus, thought that something divine dwelt in female minds: Women were admitted to their public deliberations, and they did not despise the opinions or neglect to follow their advice. To such a pitch had some branches of the
Celtae carried their veneration of the fairer sex, that, even in their life-time, a kind of divine honours was paid to women. The ancient Britons were particularly fond of the government of women. Succession, where it was established at all, went in the female as well as the male line . . . . (207-208)

16Certainly most of Europe embraced wholeheartedly the idea that Scotland was the land of Celtic Ossianic heroes. J. S. Smart, in his biography of Macpherson describes the excitement of Herder himself as he anticipated a planned trip to Britain:

When I still cherished in my mind the thought of a journey to England, you little know how I counted on these Scots! One glance, I thought, at the public life, the stage, the whole lively spectacle of the English people . . . . Then the great change of scene,—to the Scots!—to Macpherson! There I would fain hear the living songs of a living nation, witness all their influence, see the places that the poems tell of, study in their customs the relics of this ancient world, become for a time an ancient Caledonian . . . . (7-8)

On the other hand, Lord Macaulay, whose father was himself born in the Highlands, as late as the 1850s described a hypothetical seventeenth-century "dinner party" in the Highlands from the perspective of a "civilized" outside observer:

At supper grain fit only for horses would have been set before him, accompanied by a cake of blood drawn from living cows. Some of the company with which he would have feasted would have been covered with cutaneous eruptions, and others would have been smeared with tar like sheep. His couch would have been the bare earth, dry or wet as the weather might be; and from that couch he would have risen half poisoned with stench, half blind with the reek of turf, and half mad with the itch. (363)

17See Gaskill's discussion of the "Manuscript Myth," 6-16.

18In "Oral Tradition: The Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Concept."

19The idea that the non-native translator is improving native cultural life by "purifying" native traditions corrupted by the natives themselves was adopted by promoters of Ossian. John Reid's Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica lists a "copy of the Gaelic contained in Sir John Sinclair's splendid edition of Ossian" which was:

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printed at the expense of Sir J. Macgregor Murray and other gentlemen, for the purpose of being distributed among the Highlanders to preserve as much as possible their ancient chivalric spirit, by giving them an opportunity of reading the valorous exploits of their ancestors, as the reciting of them had then nearly ceased. Accordingly there was a copy sent for the use of every parish school in the Highlands. These copies were addressed to the care of the parish ministers . . . . (emphasis in orig.)

However, the natives, it seems, proved resistant to the preservation of their own "chivalric" values:

[Whether from a curiosity to have a copy of Ossian themselves in the original, or from a supposition that the book would be useless to most of the raw disciples of a rustic school, many of these copies were never given up to their destined purpose, and we yet occasionally meet with the identical copies thus meant for general use, and for promoting a laudable object, lying dormant on the dusty shelves of a manse library, with the donatory ticket still fresh upon some, and taken off others! (99)

20The most prominent of these was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK). This institution was so influential in the Highlands that Withers writes that "the history of education in the eighteenth-century Highlands is the history of the [SSPCK]" (120). Its professed aims were "propagating Christian knowledge especially in the Highlands and Islands where Error, Idolatry, Superstition and Ignorance do most abound" (qtd. in Withers 120). The SSPCK's motives were not wholly theological. By spreading the Protestant gospel, it was hoped that the SSPCK could help break the backbone of Catholic Highland Jacobitism and to "civilize" Highland savagery in general. Chief among the SSPCK's methods in its initial work in the early part of the century was to forbid the use of Gaelic in the charity schools that it established in Gaelic areas in the Highlands. However, English-only instruction was deemed ineffectual in practice in disseminating "Christian knowledge" to young people (mostly male) who spoke only Gaelic, and the SSPCK began to allow some use of Gaelic, at least until student proficiency in English was sufficient to allow a basic understanding of instruction. Thus, much of the SSPCK's instruction in the latter
half of the century was bilingual. Though the SSPCK had "given the Gaelic
speaker the idea that Gaelic was not suited for educational usage," ironically by
1825 the SSPCK was "more in favour of Gaelic education than were the
Highlanders themselves" (Withers 135).

21Tacksmen, or fir-tacs, were a class of lower gentry in traditional Highland
society. In practice they acted as middlemen between tenants and landowners:
they owned leases on land that they managed and supervised, collecting rents
from clansmen who worked for them. However, by the mid-eighteenth century,
the economic transformation of the Highlands was gradually eliminating this
class and as T. M. Devine writes in Clanship to Crofters’ War, "the deliberate
destruction of subtenure became a central theme of landlord policy from the
1770s" (34). Because of this, tacksmen and other lower gentry represented the
majority of Highland emigrants to North America in the mid 1770s.

22Scott's own opinion concerning the controversy surrounding Ossian is one
of confirmed skepticism but with an overall sympathy to Macpherson's work. As
he wrote in his review of the Report in the Edinburgh Review in 1805:

we believe no well-informed person will now pretend that Ossian is to be
quoted as historical authority, or that a collection of Gaelic poems does any
where exist, of which Macpherson's version can be regarded as faithful, or
even a loose translation . . . . (429)

Kidd suggests that Scott was in large part critical of Ossian and Macpherson's
historiographical project. Scott, Kidd writes, "ridiculed those highlanders who
'adopted the poems of Ossian as an article of national faith'. Old and new forms
of national mythology were in varying degrees absurd and obnoxious" (258).
However, Kidd admits that "Scott was an admirer of Macpherson as a poet . . .
and that strong Ossianic influences are apparent in Scott's own poetry, notably
The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border . . . and The Lay of the Last Minstrel" (258 n.).
Indeed, in his review of the Report, Scott seems to acknowledge both the intense
cultural need of many Scots to believe in the authenticity of Ossian's poetry while
at the same time knowing that it is not so:

[W]e are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea, 'that Fingal lived, and
that Ossian sung, [but] our nationally vanity may yet be flattered by the
fact, that a remote, and almost a barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in
the 18th century, a bard capable not only of making an enthusiastic
impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new
tone to poetry throughout all Europe. (462)

Scott sets the tone for the later critical understanding of Macpherson's work in
this strange backhanded praising of Macpherson as himself a Noble Savage bard.

Fernandez uses the term "metonymic misrepresentation to describe the
tendency of non-Spaniards to confuse the cultural characteristics of Andalusia
with those of all of Spain. Fernandez writes:

I have trouble convincing people, surely people with tourist or other
fashionable interests in Spain, that the part of Spain I work in, in contrast to
the Andalusian part, doesn't fight bulls, enact "machismo," dance the
Flamenco, cook with olive oil . . . and so forth. While the European and
American public thinks of Spain it is usually Andalusia that is on their
minds. (22)

Fernandez places this phenomenon in a larger global dialectic "of ethnocentric
identity formation with a comparable set of contrasting stereotypic values
attached to the two poles and with some tendency toward reversal of these two
values in the southern hemisphere" (23). Thus Spain would be seen by foreigners
from northern Europe and North America as a "southern" nation and therefore
tak[ing] a northern part of a southern place, say Catalonia or Galicia, to
stand for the whole would be to confuse the clear and simple identity-
confirming sense of difference that stereotyping achieves. It would be to
create cognitive dissonance. (23)

The substitution of the Highland part for the Scottish part would seem to
conform to Fernandez's model: for non-Scots in Great Britain and for most
Europeans, Scotland would be seen as a "northern" place. However, Fernandez's
account does not take the local historic context in which this misrepresentation
takes place. Rather, he universalizes the processes and suggests that such misrepresentation occurs everywhere in the same way at the same time. As I hope to show, while this misrepresentation of Scotland may have been unintentional, there were calculated motives within Scotland itself to emphasize one part in place of other parts to express the whole. Furthermore, this emphasis is situated within a particular historical and cultural context.

24 Lockhart's marginalization of Highland culture within Scotland is further reflected in Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk. Ostensibly the letters of a Welsh traveler to Scotland, Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk bows to Scott's own Paul's Letters to His Kinsfolk while presenting its author's own vision of contemporary Scotland. Full of character descriptions of Scots literati of the time (including Walker Scott) the work makes almost no mention of Highlanders, save of Scott's piper and of an anonymous Edinburgh "caddie," one "D--d M'N--," whose only function in the city is to "perform all little offices [a stranger] may require during the continuance of his visit" (241). The Highlander is thus a kind of itinerant footman, an insignificant comical figure who counts for nothing in the cultural doings of the nation's capital city. The narrator describes "D--d" as "broad of Back, and stout of limb, and has, I think, not a little of the barbarian kind of pride about the top of his forehead" (241). This mocking description pokes fun both at the pseudo-science of phrenology, the unsuitability of Highlanders for anything but manual labor, and also the commonness of Highland names. The concealment of the caddie's true name is not a concealment at all, since "Donald McDonald" was thought to be stereotypically a name so common in the Highlands that it could be used to connote all Highlanders, much like the name "Mughal Pandy" would come to connote any and all natives in colonial India.

25 Scott himself felt compelled offer his services to lead a company of Volunteers against the Radicals, if needed. At the height of the Radical Wars in
late 1819, he wrote to his son: "I little thought to need my sword again but the peasantry are clamorous to have me as a leader so I shall look out for a steady horse that will stand me fire and sword . . ." (Lett. 6. 78). Military action was the only proper answer to Radical agitation:

The Radical scoundrels had forgot that there were any men in the country but their own rascally adherents but have been woefully chop-fallen since the rising took place. I am sure the dogs will not fight and I am sorry for it—One days good kepping [fighting] would cure them most radically of their radical malady & if I had any thing to say in the matter they should remember the day for a half century to come. (Lett. 6. 79)

Scott even suggested that "a regiment or two" of Highland clans might be sent to aid the suppression of the Radicals.

In "The Gathering of the West" John Galt attempts to recuperate the reputation of the Glasgow working class by bringing them into the fold of the loyal populace. First published in the special issue of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine devoted to the king's visit, "The Gathering of the West" is a humorous examination of a cross-section of Glasgow's population. The section on 'Paisley Bodies' depicts the deliberations of a group of weavers with Radical sympathies--several of the main instigators of riots in the city at the height of the Radical agitation had been weavers--deciding whether to go to Edinburgh to see the king. When one of them suggests that a "revision" of Radical principles seems necessary and that times have changed, another replies "Isna the House of Commons the rotten carcase o' British Liberty? Its corruption has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished" (311). His compatriot agrees, but suggests that the way to encourage reform in parliament is to allow the king to come before the Scottish people:

I'm no denying that . . . a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament is very necessary; but dinna ye think, if ony way could be devised to persuade the King to bide in Scotland, there would be a better chance o' bringing it to a bearing; for ye ken he would be mair amang honester folk than he is in
Lonon. Indeed it's my notion, that this jaunting to Ireland, and Handover, and syne to Embro', looks as he had himself some thought o' flitting; and I dinna wonder at it, for the Lononers hae been made sae het and fou by the lang residenting o' the Court amang them, that they hae forgotten themselves, and acted as if the Crown was na a moveable . . . (311)

Galt co-opts working-class Radical sympathies, suggesting that a truly effective reform, one born of reasoned deliberation, can only be achieved by keeping allegiance to the monarchy.

27 Quoted in P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac A' Ghobhainn, 127.
28 Quoted in John Telfer Dunbar, 79.
29 Although he did wear tartan, Scott wore trews not a kilt, perhaps because of the severe rash, which covered his arms and legs, that he suffered throughout the king's visit.
CHAPTER THREE

HIGHLAND VIOLENCE IN WALTER SCOTT'S

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER

I

Long before writers commented on the colorful exotic spectacle of Highland
dress, they remarked on the peculiar savagery of Highland society. Savagery
defined and separated Highlanders from the rest of "civil" society beyond their
mountain strongholds. As early as 1380, John of Fordun, one of the first
historians to identify a distinctive Highland identity described the figure of
menace who did not share "the domestic and civilised habits" of "the people
who occupy the seaboard and the plains . . . ." Highlanders were "a savage and
untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine . . . and exceedingly
cruel" (Brown 11-12). Fordun articulated essential differences between
"Lowland" and "Highland" Scottish society. In his account, Highland "violence"
is the mark of the anarchic state of Highland society which is opposed to the
ordered state of Lowland society. Violence is the almost instinctive inclination of
a primitive people who form themselves into tribal groups, whose members are
fanatically loyal to their male chieftains, and who are in a constant state of petty
feuding and endless martial enterprise against their Lowland neighbors.

This idea that Highland society was inherently violent and that this violence
placed them beyond the boundaries of civilization continued until the eighteenth
century, as the trope of Highland violence served to legitimate periodic forays by
the forces of the state at least to control, if not to eliminate, Highland acts of rapine and plunder. Even as late as 1773, Boswell reports that Johnson, before embarking on their journey to the Highlands "had provided a pair of pistols, some gun-powder, and a quantity of bullets," so certain was he that they were bound to encounter ruthless Highland brigands on their travels (184). Boswell assured him that his "apprehension of violence" was "erroneous," and Johnson left his pistols and ammunition in an open drawer at Boswell's house in Edinburgh (Boswell 184).

For Johnson, arming oneself against possible Highland violence was simply the price to pay to fulfill an urgent desire to witness firsthand a profoundly fascinating, alien culture. By the middle half of the century, accounts of Highland society had undergone a dramatic transformation, and the Highlander had become a subject of intense fascination and scrutiny. Highland society became a useful case-in-point for Enlightenment discourse in Edinburgh and elsewhere on the nature of the progress of human civilization. As the primitive in metropolitan Scotland's own backyard, the Highlander was a peculiar anomaly in the civil society of the nation. This anthropological reading understood all acts of Highland savagery as a sign of essential Highland primitiveness. Highland violence, however, served a crucial yet altogether different function in the development of a Scottish historiography that sought to legitimate the union of Scotland with "sister" nations in a single "Great Britain."

In pro-British Scottish historiography of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Highland violence is understood as a sign of the primitiveness of Highland society, yet it also plays in integral role in the historical narrative of the development of the nation.

In the representative text that will be the focus of this chapter, Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* (1827)—a text both popular and influential—Highland violence is
represented simultaneously as atavistically savage and as a crucial agent of Jacobitism in the final development of the political union of Great Britain. Highland violence is paradoxically configured as ahistorical (as the essential aspect of a "rude," "uncivilized," "tribal" people) and thus not part of the history of the nation, and constitutive of that history (as the heart and soul of Jacobitism). Yoked to the history of the nation through Jacobitism, Highland violence abruptly meets its end along with Jacobitism, on the field of Culloden. Highland savagery suddenly ceases and the Highland subject is suddenly brought into the modern world as it is brought into "history." The aporetic demise of Highland violence seems to radically disrupt the idea of progress that Scott had carefully laid out early in his text: Highland civility is achieved neither gradually nor organically but abruptly and at the end of bayonet. The conflicting imperatives of Scott's text, one sociological the other more precisely historiographical, reveal the underlying tensions and ruptures in his elaboration of the theory of progress. Because the Highlander stands both inside and outside British history, the figure threatens to undermine Scott's historical project altogether.

The closest parallel to the description of Highland violence in British historiography is that of the "wild" Irish, who continued to be depicted as atavistically and violently anarchic into the nineteenth century. Recent analysis has called for a reexamination of representations of Irish violence within the context of colonialism. For example, David Lloyd shows how the will to a violent disruption of the civil order was coded as an essential aspect of Irish identity as it became configured in narratives of the nation. Lloyd writes that, in both Irish nationalist and imperialist historiographies:

[v]iolence is understood as an atavistic and disruptive principle counter to the rationality of legal constitution as barbarity is to an emerging civility, anarchy to culture. From such a perspective, violence is radically counter-historical,
even against narrative, always represented as an outburst, an ‘outrage,’ spasmodic and without a legitimating teleology. (Lloyd 1993, 126)

Work such as Lloyd’s also helps to frame a new understanding of the significant role that the Highlander has played in the construction of British identity. In Scott’s *Tales*, Highland violence is defined, like Irish violence, as essentially atavistic, as an “outburst,” an “outrage,” against the civility of the nation-state. Yet, as I have suggested, Highland violence differs from Irish violence in that—rather than represented in Lloyd’s sense as counter-historical, or even “against” narrative altogether—it serves the contradictory impulses of Scott’s pro-British enlightenment historiography. Before examining the anomalous role that Highland violence plays in the *Teles*, I want to briefly outline the basic elements of the two impulses in Scott’s work.

Although Scott entitled his work a plural compilation of *Tales of a Grandfather*, a collection of anecdotes taken from “Scottish History,” the preface makes it clear that the work is to be taken not as a discontinuous collection of anecdotes but as a single coherent narrative of the history of the nation:

The compilation, though professing to be only a collection of Tales, or Narratives from the Scottish Chronicles, will nevertheless be found to contain a general view of the History of that country, from the period when it begins to possess general interest. (no page number)¹

The narrative voice begins with a description of the geography of Great Britain and never wavers in its authority nor loses the relentless train of its story (except in an isolated chapter on the “Progress of Civilization” which I will examine presently) to its conclusion describing the years immediately following the Jacobite defeat in 1745. The theme of the *Tales* is always the progress of society and the relentless movement of the nation toward the achievement of the Union of the Scottish and English parliaments, signaled by the establishment of the Hanoverian Succession. This theme of progress both legitimates and naturalizes
the end-product of Union, and, as Scott states in the preface, determines the history's conclusion:

It is the Author's purpose to carry this little work down to the period of 1748, when the two sister nations became blended together in manners as well as by political ties. The task will afford an opportunity to show the slow and interrupted progress by which England and Scotland . . . gradually approximated to each other, until the last shades of national difference may be almost said to have disappeared. (no page number)

The idea of the political progress of the nation, predicated on the Hanoverian Succession, is often associated with Whig historiography of the period and thus would seem antithetical to Scott's Tory allegiances. Recent critics, however, have shown that Scott's historical ideas are indebted to a Whig theory of progress.² The historical narrative of the *Tales* affirms for the most part the idea that the movement of the nation is ever progressive and ultimately for the better.

The theme of progress toward Union gives meaning to all of the elements in the history and “emplots” the separate events in the historical narrative as a whole. Thus, Jacobitism, or the idea that the crown of the nation belongs to the direct male heirs of the Catholic James II rather than to the distant German cousins of Protestant James I, can be read as the last “antagonist” in the story of the Union, the last opposition to be defeated before the achievement of the nation that is an “amalgamation” of nations, Great Britain.

Scott's history also configures Jacobitism as an ideology that serves a specific political movement. Though its adherents may change through the course of the history, the idea itself remains consistent. Jacobitism is not embodied in any single individual or, for the most part, in any single group. Jacobitism is not, in and of itself, simply "Catholic," "Scottish," "Irish," or "Highland." Yet Jacobitism does seem to be linked inextricably with "Highlandness" in a way that suggests the Highlander has little choice but to be Jacobite. Highlanders are uniformly the agents of violence that give force to the Jacobite cause. Although the landing of
Bonnie Prince Charlie in Scotland in 1745 and the summoning of the clans do not initiate the idea of Jacobitism itself, they do initiate the necessary Highland machinery of force that makes Jacobitism a real threat to the Union and to the Hanoverian succession. Scott implies that without this force of violence, without the Highland clan armies, Jacobitism would have played only a trivial role in the development of Britain. In Scott's historiography, Highland violence is configured as the agent of a specific political movement that saw its rise and fall in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The history of the progress of humanity that Scott also lays out in the Tales, however, unlink[s] Highland violence from specific historical events. For his broad theories of social progress, Scott was indebted to Scottish theorists of mid-eighteenth century enlightenment Edinburgh, such as Adam Smith, Lord Kames, John Millar, and, especially, Adam Ferguson. Scott interrupts his narrative at the end of the first series of the Tales (at the point of James VI of Scotland's assumption to the English throne) to devote an entire chapter to explaining the mechanisms of the "Progress of Civilization." The ideas on progress in this chapter are largely modeled on the ideas in Ferguson’s Essay on the History of Civil Society, and they outline several of his key ideas: human civilization always advances toward ever more sophisticated forms of social organization structured by ever more complicated systems of law and convention, and this advancement is organized in a succession of "stages." Scott asserts, as does Ferguson, that progress is desirable in general in that it reflects an "accumulation of knowledge" and thus allows for the perfection of "Reason" in human affairs. He also writes, however, that "the progress of society, or of civilisation ... is attended, like all things humain, with much of evil as well as good" (375). Scott argues, as does Ferguson, that progress is not unequivocally benevolent, which later Whig historians would argue. This distinction allows Scott both to find virtue in
“primitive” societies and to critique the “evil” of his own “advanced” society, all the while affirming the overall inevitability of progress. Even so, civil progress for Scott and Ferguson always carries with it an element of loss.\(^5\)

For the most part, these two discourses of progress in the narrative of the Tales—one political and specific to Great Britain, the other sociological, describing a universal dynamic of human existence—are knitted together in the text. The general progression toward more sophisticated (and benevolent) civil society is the movement of the people of Great Britain, from their feudal roots to their position as the most advanced people in the world. Both ideas of progress maintain a symbiotic relationship in the text: Scott’s sociological ideas provide the theoretical support for his historiography, which, in turn, provides historical evidence for his sociological ideas.

Scott’s account of Highland society, however, seems radically to violate his own ideas of the progress of society. While the other peoples of Britain are shown to gradually evolve from their ruder origins in the Tales, Highlanders seem stuck in the first stage of the progress of civilization, in the primitive “infancy” of humankind. For most of the Tales, Highland society exists in its own unique time as well as space. As Johannes Fabian writes in his analysis of the uses of “time” in anthropological discourse:

> Savagery is a marker of the past, and if ethnographic evidence compels the anthropologist to state that savagery exists in contemporary societies then it will be located, by dint of some sort of horizontal stratigraphy, in their Time, not ours. (75)

The savagery of Highland society is represented as a violence without motivation, grounded neither in a specific time nor a political situation. Thus, when the Highland subject finally enters the history of the nation as the agent of Jacobitism, it does so simultaneously under the sign of history and of anthropology.
II

Jacobitism has been so consistently and overwhelmingly equated with the Highlands since the early nineteenth century that the conflation of the two is now almost universally taken (certainly in popular culture, but even among literary critics) as self-evident. The lithe figure of Bonnie Prince Charlie in his Highland plaid graces the packaging of everything from shortbread tins to the deluxe gift boxes provided during the holidays by the makers of single-malt Scotch whisky. This commodified conflation of Jacobitism with the Highlands has tended to trivialize our understanding of both. Twentieth-century Scottish nationalists have long dismissed the memory of Jacobitism as irrelevant to the modern struggles of the nation. Only recently have scholars like Murray G. H. Pittock re-emphasized the central role that Jacobitism and the Stuart myth have played in the making of Scottish identity.

The popularity of the Jacobite Highland figure is indebted to Scott’s imagination, particularly as it is revealed in Waverley and the other “Scottish” novels that allude to the nation’s Jacobite period. Yet it is clear that as Scott shifted from novelist to historian, he envisioned himself as following a much different set of literary principles.

The Tales is Scott’s most extensive and ambitious account of the history of Scotland. Ostensibly a narrative of the nation’s history intended for Scott’s young grandson–John Hugh Lockhart (“Master Hugh Littlejohn”), to whom the book is dedicated—the final product is rhetorically quite sophisticated (and, at times, quite verbose). In a period when Scott was struggling to stay out of bankruptcy, the Tales was a huge financial and critical success, and even before the first edition had run its course, Scott’s publisher was encouraging him to produce a second edition. The 10,000 printed copies of the second edition quickly sold out and earned their author £800. In his late nineteenth-century
biography of Scott, Andrew Lang affirms the success of the *Tales*, writing that “of
the little that the world used to know about Scottish history, three-quarters were
learned from *Tales of a Grandfather*” (qtd. in Sutherland 318).

Perhaps the greatest acclaim for the *Tales* in the eyes of its author came from
the anonymous review (probably by Andrew Bisset) of the first two sections of
the *Tales* in the *Westminster Review*. Though the reviewer argued at length
against the politics of its author, he praised the ultimate “truthfulness” of the
history. Scott later recorded this comment in the Preface to the last series of his
*Tales*:

[This reviewer] has paid me the great compliment, (which I may boast of
having to my utmost ability deserved,) that my little work contains no fault of
commission; that is to say, he admits that I have not either concealed or
falsified the truth of history in controverted points, which, in my opinion . . .
would have been a most unpardonable crime. (ix-x)³

Grasping at a single comment from a review that was for the most part critical
suggests Scott’s anxiety in having his work judged as “truthful” in the eyes of his
readers. For the *Tales*, Scott seemed anxious to re-establish the dialectic between
fact and fiction that he had so thoroughly dissolved in his historical novels. If it
ultimately proved impossible for Scott to purge his work of all the novelistic
devices that had made him such a success, he would at least attempt to tilt at the
pole of fact in the *Tales*. His desire that his narrative “entertain” and “amuse”
with fascinating anecdotes of Scottish history does not override his desire for
“truthfulness.” Scott’s final allegiance is always to the “Real” of historical events.
At times, Scott reveals his anxiety in grounding the historical narrative too much
in the realm of the imaginary and seems self-consciously to re-assert its place in
the domain of the actual. For example, when he relates the massacre of one
Highland clan by the chieftain of another (during a typical Highland “feud”), he

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affirms its certainty through the authority of a sort of archeological “eyewitness account”:

There is no doubt of the truth of this story, dreadful as it is. The cavern is often visited by strangers; and I have myself seen the place where the bones of the murdered MacDonalds still remain, lying as thick on the floor of the cave as in the charnel-house of a church. (412)

Thus, it is the “Real” that the text alone narrates, a reality based on “reason” and not on “fancy.”

Nowhere is this distinction made more clear than in the passage that immediately follows the final defeat of the Highland armies in the Battle of Culloden. Here, Scott seems to acknowledge his own role in romanticizing Jacobitism:

[The Jacobite Rebellion] has much that is splendid to the imagination. nor is it possible to regard without admiration the little band of determined men by whom such actions were achieved, or the interesting young Prince by whom their energies were directed. It is therefore natural that the civil strife of 1745 should have been long the chosen theme of the poet, the musician, and the novelist, and each has in turn found it possessed of an interest highly suitable to his purpose. (1172)

Yet the text introduces the possibility of a “romantic” Jacobite Rebellion only to establish its own generic difference. As history, the Tales must serve a different master:

In a work founded on history, we must look more closely into the circumstances of the rebellion, and deprive it of some part of the show which pleases the fancy, in order to judge of it by the sound rules of reason. The best mode of doing this is to suppose that Charles had accomplished his romantic adventure, and seated himself in temporary security in the palace of St. James’s; when common sense must admit that nothing could have been expected from such a counter-revolution excepting new strife and fiercer civil wars. (1172)

This suggests that Scott sought to eliminate any of the tensions between romance and reason that inform so much of his discussion of Highland society and Jacobitism in his novels, although much of the scholarship on Scott’s historical
ideas has ignored the *Tales*. In a work proclaiming itself as “history,” the romance of Jacobitism is jettisoned in keeping with the fundamental influence of Scottish Whig historiography, which Colin Kidd argues underlies Scott’s work in general. Kidd writes: “Scott’s romantic . . . patriotism was qualified by his sociological whiggism . . .” (261). Further, this Whig qualification in Scott’s work is crucial to “creating the mental and emotional space for a ‘scientific’ allegiance to Anglo-British modernity” (259). Scott therefore rejects Jacobitism as an ideology of the past, an alluring yet antiquated ideal that is counter to the eventual triumph of the British Union and of progress.

Although it is in the last third of the *Tales* where Highland violence achieves its preeminence—in the story of Jacobitism’s rise and final defeat at Culloden—Highlanders and Highland violence make their first appearances much earlier, after the first hundred pages or so of the history. Highland violence is not linked to the political progress of the nation but serves a comparative function that emphasizes the distinctiveness of Highland society:

The inhabitants of the Highlands spoke, and still speak, a language totally different from the Lowland Scots. The dress of these mountaineers was also different from that of the Lowlanders. They wore a plaid, or mantle of frieze, or of a striped stuff called tartan . . . . This part of the Scottish nation was divided into clans, that is, tribes. Each tribe lived in a valley, or district of the mountains, separated from the others; and they often made war upon, and fought desperately with each other. But with the Lowlanders they were always at war. They had many virtues, being a kind, brave, and hospitable people, and remarkable for their fidelity to their chiefs; but they were restless, revengeful, fond of plunder, and delighting rather in war than in peace, in disorder than in repose. (118-120)

This brief first appearance of Highland society ropes off the Highlands from the rest of the nation, establishes the structure of ethnic comparison, in this case between Lowland and Highland Scots, and establishes the pattern by which Highland society will be described throughout the narrative. The fact of Highland difference—illustrated by language, dress, tribal society, and especially,
warlike behavior—is consistently restated and emphasized throughout the Tales. Yet Highlanders and Lowlanders are not the only peoples who are included in Scott's sociological schema: Borderers and the English also play roles. The Tales occupies itself with a comparative analysis of the different peoples that have existed on the island of Great Britain through time, all of whom can be seen to be moving along the track of social progress at varying rates of development. Early on, the English achieve the comparative status of "most civilized" and never retreat from their civilized state. At one point, the Borderers of Scotland seem to occupy almost (but not quite) the same low position on the civilized scale as the Highlanders:

[T]he Borderers resembled the Highlanders in their mode of government and habits of plundering, and, as it may be truly added, in their disobedience to the general government of Scotland, yet they differed in many particulars. (120)

At successive points, however, both Lowland Scots and Borderers achieve parity with English. Differentiated groups therefore do not simply become progressively more "civil"; they more precisely "catch up" to a leader. By the beginning of the eighteenth century and the achievement of the Union (two-thirds of the way through the Tales as a whole), English and Border and Lowland Scottish societies achieve a static polarity: "Men [of Britain] used the same language, possessed in considerable degree the same habits of society, and lived under the same forms of government, which have existed in Britain down to the present day" (772). In sociological terms, the past merges with the present at this point; ethnic peoples that were once different in relation to each other become the same. The achievement of Union signals a partial end to social progress—as it concerns the English, Lowland Scots, and Borderers—by signaling the end of "difference" among these three societies of the nation.
Highlanders do not, however, achieve parity at the Act of Union; Highland society remains "primitive" and is therefore excluded from this triumphant merging. Indeed, Highland society almost seems to be excluded from the mechanisms of social progress altogether. Throughout the Tales, until the narrative of their crushing defeat at Culloden (which I will take up last), Highland society make little or no progress.

At the point of his history that relates the union of the Scottish and English crowns under James I (and VI) in 1603, Scott again remarks on the social state of the Highlands:

The Highland tribes . . . remained in the same state as before, using the same dress, wielding the same arms, divided into the same clans, each governed by its own patriarch, and living in all respects as their ancestors had lived for many centuries before them. (410)

Scott restates this description of Highland atavism again and again in the history. Four hundred pages and 150 years later, on the eve of the '45, Scott remarks:

The Highlands were in a very different state [from the Lowlands], and from the tenacity with which the inhabitants retained the dress, language, manners and customs of their fathers more nearly resembled their predecessors of centuries long past than any other nation in Europe. (979)

Scott does qualify this last description of Highland atavism, suggesting that by this time "[c]ivilisation had approached their mountains" and that young Highlanders "of fortune," especially (who "received their education in English and Lowland schools") had "gradually adopt[ed] the ideas of those with whom they were brought up" (980). Yet even at this point in the history, descriptions of Highland society retain their full comparative effect. It is continuously marked as "different." Furthermore, all the descriptions of the primitiveness of Highland society are nearly interchangeable.

Stories of the tribal Highlanders seem to grant a historicity to Highland society by placing it in the "first stage" of human development. Yet without
momentum, without the eventual working toward the achievement of the last stage of human development, of "civilization," Highland "history" is no history at all. The Highlander is positioned in the Tales much like the Oriental in other metropolitan descriptions. Scott's Highlander is like "the "Arab" who, Edward Said writes, "as a collective entity accumulates no existential or semantic thickness. He remains the same. [His] experiences are necessarily subordinate to the sheer, unadorned, and persistent fact of being an Arab" (230). Indeed, the Highlander seems more an ethnographic subject than a historical one in most of the Tales. History eludes the Highland subject; weighed down by its failure to progress or even change it yet retains the lightness of a feather that makes no mark on the edifice of history, until the last third of the Tales.

Of course Highlanders (or their society) are not simply subjects in the workings of social progress alone in the Tales. As I have suggested, what makes the figure of the Highlander so interesting in Scott's account is that, although the sociological imperatives of the work seem to grant the Highlander little historicity, the figure is simultaneously an important agent in the history of the political progress of the nation. As a story of a single specific nation, grounded in a particular epoch or milieu, the political history is the focus of the Tales. Again, at times, the Highlander seems to enter the specific history of the life of the nation even before the introduction of Jacobitism. Individual Highlanders engage in specific acts with specific political consequences throughout the unfolding historical narrative before and up to Jacobitism. Although this aura of historical precision may seem to suggest that Highlanders, either individually or collectively, are indeed subjects of British history proper, the text always places them outside the political progress of the nation in a way that affirms their historical irrelevance, rather than suggesting any possibility of Highland agency in the history of the nation.
More accurately, Highlanders intrude into the narratives of other people’s history in the *Tales*. One of the earliest instances of this is the foray of the clan Donnachy, or “Sons of Duncan,” into the Lowlands:

In 1392, a large body of these Highlanders broke down from the Grampian mountains. A party of the Ogilvies and Lindsays, under Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, marched hastily against them, and charged them with their lances. (149)

This passage seems to grant its Highlanders some agency by positioning them within the context of a certain time and place. Yet typically, immediately after this description, Scott shifts his narrative stance subtly but significantly:

To give some idea of their ferocity, it is told that Sir David Lindsay, having in the first encounter run his lance through the body of one of the Highlanders, bore him down and pinned him to the earth. In this condition, and in his dying agonies, the Highlander writhed himself upwards on the spear, and exerted his last strength fetching a sweeping blow at the armed knight with his two-handed sword. The stroke, made with all the last energies of a dying man, cut through Lindsay’s stirrup and steel boot, and though it did not sever his leg from his body, yet wounded him . . . severely. (149)

The narrative shifts from one that unfolds a specific chronological event to one that illustrates an essential character of the Highlander: their ferocity in battle. A specific group of Highlanders serves to exemplify Highland behavior in general. The shift is small but consistent with almost all of the descriptions of Highlanders who enter the unfolding story of specific events before the introduction of Jacobitism. This ethnographic illustration occupies half the passage, and the reader is left with its graphic depiction of Highland ferocity. Illustrative anecdotes such as this one provide the most memorable portrayal of the Highland way of life, a portrayal that also affirms the violent nature of Highland society.
Scott suggests at one point that even if the names and dates of specific intra-
Highland conflicts could be known and narrated, their only use would be to 
emphasize further the essential character of the Highlander:

And here I may give you an account of one individual chieftain of great 
celebrity at that time [the 1650s], since you will learn better the character of 
that primitive race of men from personal anecdote than from the details of 
obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronounceable names 
(539)

In short, a representation that gave some historical "meaning" to the Highland 
past is simply impossible. The Tales envisions a Highland past that is merely, in 
Peter Womack's words, "a zone of pure violence," a prehistoric world (35). A 
dramatic example of this is the story of Evan Dhu Lochiel, chief of the clan 
Cameron. That Lochiel led his clan into battle in the Highlands on the Royalist 
side during the English Civil War and later "supported the cause of the Stewart 
family . . . with distinguished heroism, in the Battle of Killiecrankie" (543) are not 
as significant in the text as the ferocity with which he defends his cause. The text 
provides a description of hand-to-hand combat during the Civil War between 
Lochiel and an English officer "of great personal strength." In what can only be 
described as "typical" Highland ferocity, Lochiel defeats his opponent:

Lochiel was dexterous enough to disarm the Englishman; but his gigantic 
adversary suddenly closed on him, and in the struggle which ensued both fell 
to the ground, the officer uppermost . . . . [T]he Highland chief, making a 
desperate effort, grasped his enemy by the collar, and snatching with his teeth 
at the bare and outstretched throat, he seized it as a wild-cat might have done, 
and kept his hold so fast as to tear out the windpipe. The officer died in this 
singular manner. Lochiel was so far from disowning, or being ashamed of 
this extraordinary mode of defense, that he was afterwards heard to say, it 
was the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted. (541)

Here, Lochiel's act and final utterance alludes to the primitive taboos that link 
Highlanders with other tribal peoples around the world. It also illustrates the 
shrew unmitigated animal ferocity of the Highlander in war.

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The anecdote of Lochiel and his "sweetest morsel" is perhaps only the most extreme example of an oft-repeated trope. At many other points in the narrative leading up to the Jacobite rebellion, Scott treats his reader to anecdotes that illustrate the essential savagery of Highland life. There is, for example, the story of the Highlanders who trap their enemies in a cave and wait for them to starve to death; and of the Highland maid, who holds the lamp in the fading light of the gloaming while her brothers cut the throats of captured members of a rival clan; and of the hapless Lowland woman who, after going into her kitchen to prepare a meal for a group of invading Highlanders, returns to the dining room only to find that they have killed her brother, cut off his head, and--after placing the head on the dining table--stuffed his mouth with food. By Scott's time these accounts were well-worn anecdotes in the popular litany of Highland horror stories. Most had appeared in print before. Samuel Johnson had (twice) mentioned the anecdote of Highlanders trapping their enemies in a cave in *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, published fifty years earlier. Scott himself used the anecdote of the grisly dinner surprise in *A Legend of Montrose*. However, this elaborate procession of Highland anecdotes invests the narrative with a graphic spectacle of blood and gore meant to titillate its young (and old) readers. This procession also serves to make emphatically clear that what Scott says at one point in the narrative is true of all Highlanders in general:

Many . . . stories could be told you of the wild wars of the [Highlanders]; but these may suffice at present to give you some idea of the fierceness of their manners, the low value at which they held human life, the cruel manner in which wrongs were revenged, and the unscrupulous violence by which property was required. (417)

Though the anecdotes are contextualized in a specific time and place that gives them a limited narrative coherence, this coherence cannot be said to grant them a "historical" power. Discontinuous and only tentatively linked to
unfolding of the history of Great Britain proper, these colorful Highland anecdotes of violence are not emplotted within the narrative of the formation of the nation, and they only temporarily disrupt this narrative. Neither can these anecdotes collectively be thought to constitute some “proto-national” tribal history that runs parallel or counter to the history of Great Britain. Rather, Highland violence in these anecdotes is always configured as excess, as an essentialized ahistorical aspect of Highland society that, by its very nature, exceeds the boundaries of the historical narrative of the nation.

III

Scott’s account of Highland violence in the long section of his history devoted to Jacobitism and the Jacobite struggle against the Hanoverian Succession must be seen in the context of earlier descriptions of “exemplary” Highland violence. Yet from the description of its first manifestation after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to its final defeat at Culloden, the Jacobite Rebellion is largely a Highland affair. Again, Highland agency in the Jacobite rebellion is almost exclusively expressed in terms of Highland propensity for violence: the Highland clan army is the engine that gives force to the rebellion. In the description of the ‘45 campaign, this Highland army is consistently noted for its constant eagerness to fight, its immunity to the hardships of the campaign, and its distinctive tendency to give its opposition no quarter in defeat. So eager to fight is the Highland army that it will begin to disintegrate if not deployed soon enough:

The Highlanders, with the impatience and indolence of a half-civilised people, grew weary alike of remaining idle and of being employed in the labour of fortification, or the dull details of ordinary parade exercise. (905)

References to the Highlanders in the narrative of the Jacobite rebellion reproduce this belligerence unproblematically, though it is of course not the case that Highlanders are the sole agents in the rebellion. Lowland and English Jacobites fight alongside Highlanders for the lost cause. Certainly the individual political
and military leaders of the rebellion (including Prince Charlie himself) are not Highlanders. Scott, however, distinguishes between the Highland and non-Highland forces of Jacobitism. Consistently anxious to delineate the complex and often contradictory personal and political motivations of the principle Jacobite players, Scott seems to deny just as consistently the possibility of any such motivations to Highlanders, who align themselves so unequivocally to the Jacobite ideal.

From the moment that the Union of 1707 is achieved, Jacobitism is emplotted as its foil, and because it is inherently anti-Union, Jacobitism’s demise is foretold at its very birth:

[Though there could be never any doubt that the Union in itself was a most desirable event, yet by the erroneous mode in which it was pushed on and opposed by all parties concerned, such obstacles were thrown in the way of benefits it was calculated to produce as to interpose a longer interval of years betwixt the date of the treaty and the national advantages arising out of it, than the term spent by the Jews in the wilderness ere they attained the promised land. (765)]

Jacobitism is part of the price of struggling in the desert that the chosen people of Great Britain must pay before achieving the inevitable paradise of Union.

Ignited by passion and opposed to the “reason” of the Union, Jacobitism is an “error” that must be corrected. Thus when Scott describes Jacobite activity, he seeks to contain any residual subversive force by underpinning his discussion with an “explanation” of political motivation, as if to make Jacobitism, though never “reasonable,” at least “understandable.” He adopts a narrative framework that seeks always to explain the underlying motivations of individual Jacobite actors. For example, the description of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 begins with a long elaboration of the personal motives of the Earl of Mar in undertaking to lead a Jacobite force. In a lengthy episode characterized by descriptions of sly political maneuvering, duplicity, and outright bribery, the narrative positions
Mar as a true Jacobite “player,” whose motivations in taking up the cause of the "Old Pretender" are perfectly understandable though not particularly scrupulous. There is, however, never any attempt to “explain away” the motive of Jacobite Highlanders as a whole or any of the individual clan chiefs who would lead them into battle.

In place of political motivation, Scott substitutes the ahistorical patriarchal bond of clan loyalty, which prompts all acts of Highland violence in the cause of Jacobitism. Highlanders do not so much fight against the Hanoverian succession as fight for their chief in support of their clan. Indeed, Scott never suggests that Highlanders even understand the ideology of Jacobitism, much less consciously fight for it. Though the tribal “loyalty of the clans” is attractively romantic (if anachronistic), it strips the Highlanders, who are surrounded by a veritable sea of Jacobite political maneuvering and intrigue, of any political consciousness.

Thus, when Bonnie Prince Charlie makes his first appearance in Scotland, landing on the west coast of the Highlands, and initiates Jacobitism’s final climactic defeat, the Highlanders are simply there and ready to take up the fight.15 When one of the prince’s loyal Highland chiefs seems to waver in his support by suggesting the futility of their enterprise one of the chief’s young attendants reminds him of the proper attitude of a Highlander:

A young Highlander . . . began now to understand before whom he stood, and, grasping his sword, showed visible signs of impatience at the reluctance manifested by his chief and his brother to join their Prince. [The Prince] turned suddenly towards the young Highlander, and said, “You at least will not forsake me?”

“I will follow you to death,” said Ranald, “were there no other to draw a sword in your cause.”

The Chief, and relative of the warm-hearted young man, caught his enthusiasm, and declared that, since the Prince was determined, they would no longer dispute his pleasure. (997)
Such is the extent of Highland deliberation on the worthiness of the cause, the chances of its success, or effects that the rebellion would have on the political position of the clan or Highland society in general.

This lack of political motivation or understanding ironically redeems the Highlanders in Scott's eyes when the armies of Jacobitism are defeated and when its principal leaders are caught and put on trial. (The prince himself escapes trial and his dramatic evasion of capture and escape from Scotland with the help of Flora MacDonald is elaborately narrated in the text). Scott provides a lengthy account of the treason trials of the supporters of the rebellion, men of various “ages, ranks, and habits,” hundreds of whom were afterwards executed in cities throughout Scotland and England (1168). Scott’s attitude toward the treason trials and executions, however, seems mixed. While lamenting the general and indiscriminate “effusion of blood” as both imprudent and excessive, Scott, hesitatingly at first, affirms the necessity of punishment:

It was to be ... expected that those who had been most active in such rebellious and violent proceedings should be called to answer with their lives for the bloodshed and disorder to which they had been given occasion. (1143)

He also seeks to moderate any condemnation of the severity of the punishment, suggesting that the rebels themselves must have accepted its possibility: “[The rebels] themselves well knew at bloody risk they had played the deadly game of insurrection, and expected no less forfeit than their lives” (1143). Granting “understanding” to the defeated rebels not only serves to contain any potential lingering outrage at the severity of their punishment; it also initiates a clear contrast between the punishments of defeated Jacobites in general and that of defeated Jacobite Highlanders specifically. Although death also is meted out to the Highland rebels, Scott seems much more critical of the severity of their sentence:
If . . . much could be said in favor of extending clemency even to several leaders of the insurrection, how much more might have been added in behalf of their simple and ignorant followers, who came out in ignorance of the laws of the civilised part of the nation, but in compliance with the unalienable tie by which they and their fathers had esteemed themselves bound to obey their chief. (1144)

Scott suggests it is precisely because Highlanders, as a primitive people living outside of the “civilized” world in which Jacobitism was created, are incapable of understanding the full implications of Jacobitism that their punishment is inherently unjust. Without the precondition of “civil society” the principles of law (in place of the patriarchal bonds of loyalty) cannot be applied to Highlanders. In a footnote to the text, the narrator makes this point using a metaphor that also de-humanizes the Highlander:

To punish men who were bred in such principles [of patriarchal obedience], for following their chiefs into war, seems as unjust as it would be to hang a dog for the crime of following its master. (1144)

Thoughtlessly and fanatically loyal, the Highlander is ever ready to bare his fangs and attack any opponent until victory or death, all at the bidding of his betters.

The irrationality of Highland violence is emphasized in the few passages which seem to relate acts of savagery committed by non-Highlanders against Highlanders. Though the number of passages that describe violence committed by Highlanders (whether against other Highlanders or others) far exceeds the number that describe such acts committed by non-Highlanders, two important accounts in the Tales depict Highland victims of a savage violence that Scott can neither legitimate nor condone. The first account, on the “Massacre of Glencoe,” occupies an entire chapter. The second, on “government severities” immediately after the final Jacobite defeat at the Battle of Culloden, is much more brief. In both accounts, however, Scott expresses his moral outrage at the injustice of the
killing of Highlanders by soldiers of the crown. Taken together, these two episodes seem to provide evidence that acts of savagery might be no more inherent to Highland society than to non-Highland society. Yet in both these accounts, Scott, though he unequivocally condemns these acts, establishes a framework of “understanding” that contextualizes and contains them.

The massacre of Glencoe was the murder of 38 unarmed Highland men, women, and children—most of whom were asleep in their beds—by a contingent of a regiment of the crown in the early morning of February 13, 1692. Its story immediately follows the defeat of James II’s forces and William’s succession. Unlike other historians of his time and after, Scott neither downplays the bloodiness of the massacre nor William’s role in ordering it:

[Although . . . Prince [William] was not aware of the full extent of the baseless treachery, and cruelty for which his commission was made a cover . . . deep blame will still attach to him for rashly issuing orders of an import so dreadful. (711, 718)]

William’s representative in the Highlands, the Master of Stair, who directs the killings, comes under the severest censure and is the episode’s principal villain. Even so, before Scott commences the description of the actual killing, he gives a lengthy explanation of its context, providing a detailed analysis of the personal and political motivations of Stair (who sought both William’s favor and revenge against a garrulous clan) and of the administrative dissembling which allowed the massacre to happen. Only halfway into the chapter do the events of the massacre proper unfold:

About four o’clock in the morning . . . the scene of blood began. A party [of soldiers] came to Maclan’s house and knocked for admittance, which was at once given. Lindsay, one of the expected guests at the family meal of the day, commanded this party, who instantly shot Maclan dead by his own bedside, as he was in the act of dressing himself, and giving orders for refreshments to be provided for his fatal visitors. His aged wife was stripped by the savage soldiery, who, at the same time, drew off the gold rings from her fingers with their teeth. She died the next day, distracted with grief, and the brutal
treatment she had received. Several domestics and clansmen were killed at the same place. (719)

Though its detail is just as gruesome, the tone of this description of “savagery” is much different from the passage relating Evan Dhu Lochiel’s ferocious destruction of his opponent. Instead of titillating bemusement, the tone is one of somber outrage. In succession, the text refers to the Glencoe killings as “that detestable butchery,” “horrible deed of massacre,” and “horrible deed.”

The account of “government severities” immediately after the defeat at Culloden—the killing of defeated Highland clansmen and their families by the soldiers by their British vanquishers—has a similar tone of moral outrage. After the blood and gore of the anecdotes of Highland savagery, it also seems surprisingly squeamish:

When the [Highland] men were slain, the houses burnt, and the herds and flocks driven off, the women and children perished from famine in many instances, or followed the track of the plunderers, begging for the blood and offal of their own cattle, slain for the soldiers use, as the miserable means of supporting a wretched life. (1146)

Here the narrative of violence is quite hazy. The precise, careful descriptions of the spectacular sights and sounds (and tastes) of Highland savagery are absent in this account, the very last description of sustained violence in the text. Scott does provide one anecdote within his account of government severities, an anecdote of foiled revenge. Rather than providing a specific example of government severity, however, the anecdote describes one Highlander’s reaction to that severity. Before this, Scott consigns all potential anecdotes of the violence of government troops to oblivion:

[one remarkable narrative of this melancholy time is worth telling you; and I willingly consign to silence many others which could only tend to recall hostile feelings better left to slumber. (1146)
Scott refuses to narrate, in the service of prudence, state-sanctioned violence and 
betrays a curious anxiety to conceal and to silence an alternative "Truth" of the 
Highlands, which seems to contradict his allegiances as a historian.

IV

The ending of the Tales (unlike the ending of, say, Old Mortality or Ivanhoe) 
simply confirms the dynamic of progress and thus carries a certain aura of 
inevitability. That it does so is perhaps paradoxical in a "historical" work that 
purports to narrate exclusively the "real" of historical events and as such is only 
a fragment of a hypothetical chronology of human experience that has neither 
ending nor beginning. Nevertheless, with the Battle of Culloden, which 
concludes the '45, and the Jacobite movement, Scott concludes his history of 
Britain. After the final dramatic defeat of the greatest challenge to the Union, the 
history's denouement is brief, lasting only four chapters (out of a total of 87) and 
49 pages (out of a total of 1,192), and is focused largely on the fate of Highlanders 
in the aftermath of the '45.

The ending of the Tales also concludes the complicated and contradictory 
relationship between representations of Highland violence and the formation of 
Great Britain. Because the text consistently configures Highland society as 
primitive, outside the context of the civil polity of the nation, it would seem to 
suggest that there is no necessary link between the fate of Highland society and 
that of the Jacobite movement. There is certainly no reason to suggest that the 
demise of Jacobitism must bring with it a concomitant demise of Highland 
society. Yet this is precisely what the Tales narrates at its end. The end of 
Jacobitism signals Highland society's irreversible ascension to "civility" and the 
triumph of social progress in Great Britain. At the finale of the Tales, Scott 
combines his sociological and historiographical threads, interweaving them into
a single pattern that demonstrates political and civil advancement. In order to do so, however, he must dramatically violate his own assumptions on the nature of human progress. The defeat of Jacobitism signals the Highlander’s abrupt entry into the modern civilized world and the end of a Highland way of life that was, up to that point, fascinatingly different, fascinatingly savage.

Much recent historiography on the profound changes in Highland society of the mid-eighteenth century has sought to diminish the link between Jacobitism and the breakup of Highland society (at least as this was manifested in the breakup of clanship). This historiography suggests that social bonds of the clan community had already largely disintegrated by the beginning of the century and that the social relation between the clan “chief” and his people was already one based largely on a system of private land ownership in a market-driven agrarian economy; that is, it was a relation between a landlord and his tenants. This historiography suggests that the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie and Jacobitism did little to alter this trend, which would lead to the Highland Clearances of Scott’s own time. Yet in the Tales (and indeed much historiography that came after), Culloden is like a great portal by which Highland society leaves behind its primitive ways and enters into the modern world, never to be the same, never to return to the other side. In this interpretation, Culloden can act as a clear demarcation point between a “lost” Highland past—a lamented “authentic” Highland past that can never be recovered—and a sad shadowy Highland present that is hardly “Highland” at all. The Culloden portal often is the point of departure for a historiography of “loss” that informs much of our understanding of the Highlands today. Scott’s account of the Highland passage from savagery to civility, however, emphasizes the historical necessity and inevitably of the transformation. Susceptible to the powers of nostalgia himself,
Scott first cautions his reader to avoid the dangers of losing one’s way amid the all-too-enticing romantic Highland mist.

With whatever sympathy, therefore, we may regard the immediate sufferers; with whatever general regret we may look upon the extinction by violence of a state of society which was so much connected with honor, fidelity, and the tenets of romantic chivalry; it is impossible in sober sense to wish that it should have continued, or to say that, in political wisdom, the government of Great Britain ought to have tolerated its longer existence. (1177)

In a final effort to purge his history of the elements of nostalgia and romantic loss, Scott configures all subsequent government acts to suppress the peculiarities of Highland society as inevitable, although perhaps distasteful, in the unswerving march of progress. Thus Scott acknowledges that the abolition of all legal authority of clan leaders and the banning of Highland arms (even ceremonial swords and knives) and of the distinctive “Highland garb—that is, the plaid, philabeg, trews, shoulder-belt . . . or the use of any garment composed of tartan, or parti-colored cloth”—may irritate the reader’s sensibility. Such acts are dictated, however, by the principles of reason and of “political wisdom” (1178).

The Highlander can finally take his position in the history of progress with the other peoples of Great Britain in a process that Scott declares has begun relatively recently. With the minor resistance that is to be expected in such a dramatic shift from one way of life to another—and mostly coming from disaffected Highland “old-timers”—“modern Highlanders, trained from their youth to the improved mode of agriculture” are suddenly ready to take up the plow and enter the world of agrarian capitalism on an equal basis with their southern counterparts (1191). Scott only hints at this dynamic in his “Postscript which should have been a Preface” to Waverley, but in the Tales it is firmly emplotted within the narrative. Quite literally, at the very end of the history
proper, Highland society is not reconciled with, but merged into, the society of the nation at large:

With the Highlands we have now done, nor are their inhabitants now much distinguished from those of the rest of Scotland except in the use of the Gaelic language, and that they still retain some vestiges of their ancient feelings and manners. (1192)

This ending to the Highlanders and the Tales reveals not only the specific traces of the powerful offspring of the idea of social progress in the nineteenth century, the ideology of social "improvement"; it also suggests that history ultimately represents the assimilation of diverse peoples into a single civilized society. After Anglo-Saxon, Lowland, and Border societies, Highland society is finally able to take a place in the homogeneous civilization of the nation and, in doing so, loses its distinctiveness as it is absorbed into contented, pacified, unified Great Britain.

Thus, a text that had consistently sought to articulate essential Highland difference abruptly banishes at its very end all such difference and the very grounds upon which it was based. Highlanders, rather awkwardly in the Tales, simply stop their "savagery." Yet the narrative of the forced and rapid assimilation of Highland society at the very end of the Tales implies a drastic reworking of Scott's ideas on the mechanisms of social progress. As Scott writes in his chapter on the progress of civilization, the pace of the progress of a society toward civilization is a "gradual" one, as the development of the other societies of Great Britain clearly demonstrates. It is a "law of our moral nature," Scott writes, that as the progressive "alterations" of society "take place . . . faster or slower" they do so "in consequence of the inventions and improvements of succeeding generations of mankind" (my emphasis) (373-374). Using a specific example at the end of the chapter that illustrates the pace of social change, Scott writes:

122
a material change had gradually and slowly taken place, both in the kingdom of England, and in that of Scotland, when their long quarrels were... ended by the accession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the English crown... (377)

This passage reveals that, although the political upheavals that signal change are often dramatic, the overall pace of social progress is always evolutionary not revolutionary.

Yet the transformation of Highland society suggests not only that an advanced society can suddenly and effectively wrench another society out of its primitive state. The transformation also points to the practical uses of violence in civilizing a primitive society that, for whatever reason, is not able to become civilized on its own. The emphasis on progress and the benevolence of assimilation at the end of the Tales removes the foul taste from accounts of military suppression in the Highlands. Highlanders are made the equal of the rest of Great Britain through the violent destruction of their way of life. Thus, at the very end of the history of the nation, which is concomitantly the end of social progress and of a distinctive Highland way of life, it is not the atavistic extra-national violence of the Highlanders that has the final word, but the legally sanctioned "civil" violence of the armies of Great Britain. This violence is, as the "legitimatist" representation of the wishes of the state, not really violence at all.19

A Postscript (to an ending)

The Tales of a Grandfather is a story of the past, and it therefore banishes all of its subjects to a time before the present. The Highland violence of the text, like the "patriarchal system" of the clans, is "now" long gone, and it leaves behind only a distant memory, a legacy. Once defeated at Culloden, Highland violence loses its corporeality and vanishes like a ghost from the scene. As I describe in my next chapter, in other works Scott alludes to the practical uses of Highland
violence, once properly redirected, in serving the armies of Great Britain in the present. Even so, Scott makes no mention of this transformation in the *Tales*. He also writes little of the resistance of the common Highland people against the economic upheaval that began at the very end of the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth and that, in later historiography, would come to be known as the Highland Clearances. This is so even though, as Eric Richards points out, the eras immediately before and after the Napoleonic wars were times when the rates of land evictions in the Highlands were at their highest. Christopher Harvie argues that Scott’s failure to take up the clearances in the *Tales* suggests his reluctance to criticize his Highland landowning friends, some of whom “were so deeply implicated in some of the most drastic evictions . . . that he could never speak out directly against them” (Harvie 37). Yet, given the Scott’s desire to affirm the mechanisms of progress and the irreversible “improvement” of the peoples in the far north of the nation, it is difficult to see how the social upheaval of the clearances could have been configured as anything else in the *Tales* but as a passing, irrelevant anomaly.

As much recent historiography on the clearances has demonstrated, however, rural resistance to the dramatic changes in land relations in the Highlands of the time was consistent and widespread. Agrarian people of the Highlands saw their small leaseholds combined and converted to grazing land for sheep, and also saw a sharp rise in rents as Highland landowners (who still were often considered, ostensibly, the “chieftains” of their people) attempted to maintain profitability in an unstable post-war agriculture economy. In response, rural Highlanders resisted the resulting evictions in many ways. Stealing secretly in the night, they mutilated or killed sheep; destroyed and vandalized farm equipment, sheep folds, and fencing; and in some cases, men and women openly
clashed with sheriffs who came to enforce evictions, tearing down Highland cottages in the process.\textsuperscript{21}

Absent from the Tales, Highland resistance to the clearances would, however, play a central role in later Highland "regionalist" historiography that appeared in Britain later in the nineteenth century. This historiography is largely the work of advocates and leaders of the Highland land reform movement, which was expressly modeled on the Irish Land League. Enmeshed at the beginning (rather than the conclusion) of these accounts, Highland resistance to the clearances signals the first stirrings of a new "regionalist" Highland "consciousness." Though "Home Rule" was never a question for the Highlands as it was for Ireland, the Highland land reform movement did seek consistently to articulate the uniqueness and essential difference of the Highlands and their Celtic people in relation to the rest of Great Britain. The movement demanded, if not some limited political autonomy for the region, at least an understanding, on the part of the British government, of the special socio-economic circumstances of the Highlands.\textsuperscript{22}

Perhaps we are left then, after all, to wonder whether there is an alternative to a historiography in which Highland violence is either annulled at its conclusion or central to its beginning. Is it possible to imagine a Highland violence that is not constitutive of the narrative of a nation at all, but, rather, exists in opposition to the nationalist modes of representation? Is the history of Highland resistance a history of "subaltern" resistance?\textsuperscript{23} The anomalous and complicated position of the Highlands in relation to Britain, its peripheral cultures, or its former colonial possessions would suggest the difficulties of the task. Some form of a subaltern representation of Highland resistance, however, might formulate a new relation between Highland identity, Highland violence, and the narrative of the nation. Though Highland resistance has been the subject of a prodigious
outpouring of historical writing since the "defeat" of Highland society in the middle of the eighteenth century, a subaltern history of that society has yet to be written.
Notes

1Walter Scott, The Tales of Grandfather. The Tales was originally published in four successive series. The first series carries the history of Scotland up to the union of Scottish and English crowns under James VI and I. The second finishes with the achievement of the Union of Parliaments, and the third concludes the history of Scotland. The fourth and last series of the Tales is a history of France left unfinished at Scott’s death in 1832. In the absence of a standard edition of Scott’s works, all citations (unless otherwise noted) refer to the 1933 edition, which is a reprint of the first edition of the Tales to combine all the three successive series of the Scottish history into a single volume.

2For a recent discussion and bibliography on the Whiggism in Scott’s work, see Kidd, especially 256-267. David Daiches, in his essay on “Scott and Scotland” suggests that Scott’s contradictory ability to sound at times conservative and at times progressive lies at the heart of the “paradox” of Scott. Edgar Johnson, in his “Scott and the Corners of Time,” makes a similar argument, calling Scott a “Tory progressive, almost a Tory radical” (25).

3For studies on the influence on Scott’s thinking of social theorists of the Scottish Enlightenment, see McMaster, Forbes, Garside, and Vakil. For a general overview of the social theorists of the Scottish Enlightenment, see Bryson.

4For a discussion of Ferguson’s Highland background and how his own knowledge of the Highlands influenced his theories on the development of civil society, see Duncan Forbes, Introduction, An Essay on the History of Civil Society, 1767, by Adam Ferguson.

5This long, abstract, “storyless” chapter was the least-liked chapter by Scott’s young grandson. A neighbor of the boy’s family wrote to Scott: “He very much dislikes the chapter on Civilisation, and it his desire that you will never say anything more about it, for he dislikes it extremely” (qtd. in Oman 323).
6See for example, David Daiches’s “Scott’s Achievement as a Novelist.”

Though this essay has been quite influential in Scott studies and is credited with helping to revive interest in Scott, it also depends on a conflation of Jacobitism and Highlandness for its argument, as in the following passage (which seems to suffer from a general national identity elision):

Many of Scott’s novels take the form of a sort of pilgrim’s progress: an Englishman or Lowland Scot goes north into the Highlands of Scotland at a time when Scottish [Jacobite] feeling is running high, becomes involved in the passions and activities of the Scots partly by accident and partly by sympathy, and eventually extricates himself . . . and returns whence he came (92-93).

7See Pittock’s The Invention of Scotland.

8Scott’s determination to write a history that was both sophisticated and comprehensive enough for adult readers, yet accessible to younger and less-educated readers, presented him with difficulties at times. He wrote in his journal of the 24th of July, 1827:

I am persuaded both children and the lower class of readers hate books which are written down to their capacity and love those that are more composed for their elders and betters. I will make if possible a book that a child will understand yet a man will feel some temptation to peruse should he chance to take it up. It will require however a simplicity of stile not quite my own.

In an entry of the 25th he expresses frustration on the contradictory demands of his publisher:

James B[allantyne] is find[ing] fault with my tales for being too historical; formerly it was for being too infantine. He calls out for starch and is afraid of his cravat being too stiff. Oh ye critics, will nothing melt ye?

9Tales of a Grandfather, Third Series, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1830). This preface is not in the combined edition.

10Scott’s works of course have long been the focus of literary studies concerning historicity and historical consciousness. Georg Lukacs’s seminal
work, *The Historical Novel*, is perhaps foremost of these. Of more recent work, see for example Brown; Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority*; Pittock, "Scott as Historiographer"; and Fiona Robertson. Yet uniformly, the focus of these studies, in discussing Scott's "historicity," has been on his fictional works to the exclusion of his self-proclaimed "historical" works. None of the studies above, for example, makes any mention of the *Tales*.

11Vakil argues that an essential principle of what he calls "Scottish Enlightenment philosophical history" was that progress from a less advanced stage of civilization to one more advanced is irreversible: a civilization cannot go backwards. However, Ferguson in his *Essay* provides a cautionary note for his own society. With the increase of the internal "corruption" that is often attended with an advancement of a society, a sophisticated people may find themselves, if not "regressing," susceptible to outside invasion by more primitive societies. (Ferguson's example is ancient Rome.) Even so, Scott makes no mention of this possibility in his own discussion of social progress in the *Tales*.

12Scott himself linked the Highlander with the Oriental in his review of "The Culloden Papers" in the January 1816 issue of the *Quarterly Review*. In it he describes the "curious parallelisms" between Highland and Afghan tribes. Scott notes a "Mr Elphinstone," who had recently published an account of Cabual and finds the society of the "warlike" Afghan tribes to be no different than those of "the ancient Highland clans."

13This passage comes immediately after the anecdote of one Allen-A-Soup, who dashed out with a battle-axe the brains of his stepfather (a man who had 20 years before forced the boy to hold a scalding hot oatcake in his hand, forever scarring him) and thereby acquired all the dead man's lands and cattle.

14In 1818, an anonymous work was published in Glasgow entitled *The History of the Feuds and Conflicts Among the Clans, in the Northern Parts of Scotland and in*
the Western Isles from the Year 1301 unto 1619. The title page of the work claims the history was taken “from a Manuscript, wrote [sic] in the Reign of King James VI.” According to Peter Womack, the history was reprinted several times in the early part of the century, and sections of it were cited in other works (Improvement and Romance 35, n.185). Yet this history of Highland feuding is not a true narrative “history,” as Hayden White describes in The Content of the Form. Rather, it is a “chronicle.” It is a collection of very brief, discontinuous passages organized in chronological order, each with a separate title (for example, “The Skirmish of Daill-Reawighe,” “The Conflict of Beallegh-No-Broig,” “The Conflict of Tatum-Tarwigh,” etc.), which lacks a narrative coherence. The History of the Feuds . . . also may have been what Scott had in mind when he makes reference in the Tales of a Highland history that provides the “details of obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronounceable names.”

15A. J. Youngson reports that Highland support of the Jacobite cause was far from total. Areas where Presbyterianism had gained a foothold, for example in Argyll and Sutherland and Caithness, tended to favor the House of Hanover. Clans of the far west, of the outer and inner Hebrides and, most disastrously, of the Isle of Skye, refused to come out for the rebellion of ’45. Clans such as Campbell, Mackay, Munro, MacNeill, and the MacDonalds and MacLeods of Skye were either “aloof or openly hostile” to the Jacobite cause. In other clans, some members openly supported Prince Charles while others did not. Clan loyalty to the Jacobite cause was a complex phenomenon and largely determined by the various allegiances and shifting political interests of individual clans and sub-groups within clans (23-24).

16Compare Scott’s narrative of the massacre with Macaulay’s in his History of England, written some 10 years after the Tales. Macaulay’s narrative seems to serve no other purpose but to absolve the hero of his piece, William of Orange,
from any blame in the Glencoe massacre. Macaulay asserts that William, his mind “full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend,” probably did not even read the Glencoe orders that he signed (422). Macaulay assigns complete blame to William’s agent in the Highlands, the Master of Stair; and his agent, the Earl of Breadalbane. The narrative of the massacre places great emphasis on Breadalbane’s position as a Highland lord (and thus “chief” of his clan), suggesting that Breadalbane’s motivation for initiating the massacre was his desire to see the destruction of a “rival” clan based in Glencoe. Thus, Macaulay’s implicit suggestion is that the whole episode of the massacre must be considered primarily in the context of ahistorical Highland feuding, in which such savagery is to be expected (if reprehensible).

17See for example Devine, Clanship to Crofter’s War, Devine and Mitchison, and Richards, Vol. 1.

18For examples of the “great door” theory in twentieth-century historiography on the changes in Highland society after the ‘45, see Cunningham, and Insh.

19Here I have in mind Walter Benjamin’s distinction between “legitimate” and “non-legitimate” forms of violence, which he makes in his “Critique of Violence” (279-300). Benjamin argues that, though it is the desire of the state to establish a distinction between the necessary force of “law” and the anarchic illegal violence of resistance to the state, violence is always constitutive of law (whether as a means of “law-making” or “law-preserving”) and thus lies at the heart of state power.

20See Richards, Vol. 2, especially Chapters 7 and 8.

21James C. Scott’s analysis of peasant resistance in modern-day Malaysia is instructive in suggesting an understanding of forms of agrarian resistance that are neither organized, collective, nor overtly “political” in that they do not seek
to overthrow a particular regime or social system. Scott argues that organized, political resistance has been the mainstay of the middle-class and intelligentsia, and "most subordinate classes rarely have the luxury of open, organized, political activity." Scott instead points to the "everyday resistance" of agrarian workers who do not seek to overthrow a regime but, in Eric Hobsbawm's words, "work the system to their minimum disadvantage." Scott writes that in the "prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them," agrarian workers resort to the only forms of resistance available to them. These can be "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on." All of these acts of "everyday resistance," however, seem beneath the reach of conventional historical representations of resistance (xvi and in passim).

22 Richards and Devine, *Clanship to Crofter’s War, in passim*.

23 I have in mind here Spivak’s discussion of the subaltern in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" See also Lloyd’s discussion of the subaltern in an Irish context in the Introduction to *Anomalous States*. 
CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROMANTIC HIGHLAND WARRIOR: 
THE "OTHER" AS NATIONAL IDEAL

Writing in 1811, Anne Grant decried the kind of rapid assimilation of the Highlander that Scott would describe in the Tales. In her Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland which largely celebrates Highland folk culture, Grant attacks what she describes as misguided attempts to jolt the Highlander into the modern world. Lamenting the sudden changes in their primitive noble character, she writes:

It is melancholy to trace the transition, especially if it be a sudden one, from the primitive state of those possessed of good notions and good feelings, when the system of life is entirely changed by the introduction of new customs, manners, and opinions. (II, 122)

Grant’s description is one of loss as she sadly witnesses the transformation of Highland society, which had taken place in her own lifetime. Her understanding of Highland society seems, as much as Scott’s, indebted to enlightenment theories on the stages of human advancement. From this understanding, however, she draws quite different conclusions. Grant writes that it is because the advancement of a society can only be slow and gradual that the program of forced rapid advancement of Highland society will only result in abject failure:

Those whose mode of life has been much regulated by a kind of instinctive sagacity, readily accommodating itself to all exigencies,—to whom the venerated customs of their ancestors were as laws, and whose feelings were very much under the influence of their imagination, and only restrained by fixed habits of patience and fortitude:—When people of this
description, whose pride is equal to their ignorance, and, indeed, greatly owing to it, and who have obstinate prejudices lurking under all their new attainments:—When such, I say, are suddenly illuminated, or at least brought to imagine they are so, we expect too much, forgetting by what very gradual degrees our own acquisitions have come on. We expect them in half a lifetime, to pass from old habits, and acquire all to which successive generations, by slow and silent progress, have attained. (Essays II, 122-123)

Forced progression produces a society that has lost the virtuous traits that it once held as a primitive society, while acquiring many of the vices of modern society.

Grant describes the sad condition of the assimilated Highlander:

If a highlander, driven prematurely into the ranks of polished society, ceases to be a favourable specimen of the mountain race, one of the lower class coming to mingle among the degraded vulgar of civilized countries, is still less fitted to afford means of judging what a spirited, intelligent being he is at home. The powers of imagination, no longer exercised in their wonted manner, droop and fade: those of memory and sensibility live only to remind him of his exile.... With the peasantry he seldommingles: that would not be so sensible a descent. He descends among the dregs of the people,--acquires, with their vulgar language, their low and narrow ideas,--and, shrinking in the ungenial clime of plebeian grossness, assumes an entire new character. (Essays II, 132-133)

Grant's work, which I discuss in detail in Chapter Six, for the most part suggests that polished British society would do well to assimilate Highland values rather than the other way round. Although she writes that her "Celtae" are not to be regarded as "models of perfection," her overall claim is that the virtues of Highland people--their passion, imaginative faculties, loyalty, and filial devotion--need to be cultivated in British society, not eliminated. Although Grant does not directly place it on the list of Highland virtues, she does allude often to the special warrior code of Highland society.

Other writers, who also suggested that the complete assimilation of the Highlander was not in the nation's best interest, argued that this warrior code, more than any other characteristic, was worth saving in the modern world. Men like John Sinclair, who was for the most part an ardent supporter of economic,
cultural, and social "improvement" in the Highlands, nevertheless privileged the special values of courage, honor, and loyalty that he believed were intrinsic in Highland society. Writers concerned with the nature of Britain's war-making capacity often looked to the Highlands to play the role of nursery to the nation's fighting force. Chief among these writers in the early nineteenth century who argued that some of the "traditions" of Highland society, especially its martial traditions, ought to be maintained was David Stewart, who wrote an ambitious ethnographic account of Highland society in 1822, Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland. In the Sketches, Stewart attempts to produce a comprehensive analysis of Highland society, one that would become the source for many later descriptions of it. Stewart's work, however, arguably would not have been as successful if it had not been for the popularity of the works of his close friend and colleague during the King's Jaunt, Walter Scott. Although Scott suggests in the Tales that Highland violence has no role in modern British society, in his war poems and especially in Waverley, he suggests ways in which the special warrior code of the Highlander, which enables Highland violence, could serve as exemplary of British military heroism during the Napoleonic wars of his own time. Scott's interest in Highland society, his interest in the military, and his glorification of British soldiers during the Napoleonic wars can be seen in the context of his own nationalist ideas.

For Scott, and writers like Stewart who came after him, the Highland male was considered a "natural" soldier, born of a martial race, who was fearless, intrepid, and, above all, fanatically loyal to his commander. As such, the Highland soldier would later figure prominently in British nationalist ideology, as narratives of war and the image of the soldier in general took a preeminent role in articulating national identity. Yet the rise to prominence of the figure of the Highland soldier also was founded on the belief that Highland masculinity is
inherently different from normative British masculinity. Highland masculinity was thought to be an essential product of the Highland landscape and the lingering residue of the clan system, and the Highland male was thought to be naturally suited to combat and the hierarchy of military life. At the heart of the trope of the natural Highland soldier is an essentialized masculinity that, though idealized, is always the product of Highland alterity.\textsuperscript{1}

Considering the rise in popularity of representations of war like Scott’s in the nineteenth century, scant critical attention has been paid to them, and they are seldom discussed in contemporary studies of culture. Scholarly analysis of war accounts has been left to the military historian, whose focus and approach are often much different from those of the cultural critic; and little work has been done on stories of the nation at war in light of recent theorizing on gender, nation, and race. Though an analysis of war narratives in general is beyond the scope of my discussion here, I wish to discuss just briefly the broad importance of these narratives in constructing and articulating the “nation.”

John Keegan, in his influential work on military history, analyzes the rise in popularity in nineteenth-century Britain of histories of the nation at war. Keegan argues that since these histories almost always take the form of a narrative, they attempt to impose a sequential order under the rubric of “battle” on activities that, to those engaged at the time, had no such order. Because battle is placed in a narrative framework, then, Keegan’s “battle” is much like Hayden White’s concept of the historical "Event." While criticizing this narrative approach to representations of combat as “artificial,” Keegan also condemns nineteenth-century British military historians for providing an idealized depiction of human behavior in combat. He uses William Napier, one of the most preeminent British historians of the time, as an example. Keegan wonders why, in Napier’s description of the Battle of Alburea in his \textit{History of the War in the Peninsula and in}}
the South of France (1838), "no individual turns tail and runs, drops down to sham
dead or stands thunder-struck at the indescribable horror of it all . . ." or why
"there is no explanation of what happened to the dead and wounded" (39-40).
For Keegan, who is interested in getting at the "real" of battle, Napier's account
of Alburea is far too romanticized, far too obvious in its elision of the true horrors
of war and the frailty of human behavior under combat stress.

Yet war histories like Napier's in the nineteenth century--and, of course, like
Keegan's in the twentieth--are not simply accounts of the universal human
activity of "war" but cultural productions that determine and reflect the political
conditions of their time and place. Napier's history of the Peninsula War is
specifically a history of the nation at war and as such belongs in the larger
category of national historiography. War narratives do their work of articulating
national will through the struggles of its soldiers against those who would
oppose the nation's will. In this way, war is a national "test" against an
antithetical enemy, a physical and emotional trauma that the embodied nation
must resist and overcome if it is to survive. Jean Elshtain has emphasized the
importance of representations of war in the construction of national identity and
wrote, "[s]ocieties are, in some sense, the sum total of their 'war stories.' [W]ar
structur[es] identities that are continually reinscribed" (166). Napier's historical
account is thus a story of the nation, and the actions of specific soldiers in battle
become metonymic of the nation. Though the narrative for a time may focus on
the actions of individual groups of men or even on individual soldiers, it does so
only to emphasize the synchronous collectivity of their actions within the frame
of a single "event" in time. All of British soldiery in Napier's work is seen to be
acting--simultaneously individually and collectively--in special behavior modes
that link them all profoundly with the nation. Thus, histories like Napier's serve
as important expressions of the "imagined community" that Benedict Anderson
argues is at the basis a nationalist consciousness. Though Napier, as a participant in the Battle of Alburea, was probably well aware that soldiers, even British soldiers, sometimes run from battle or soil themselves in panic and fear, to narrate such behavior would call into question the very character of the nation. Thus the narrative of war, and especially of battle, provided a powerfully overdetermined textual space in which to articulate and construct a complicated web of nationalist ideas, tropes, and symbols. Since warfare, and especially battle, was seen as an exclusively masculine domain for nineteenth-century Britons, the national will in battle found its specific representation in war narratives as idealized masculine behavior.

Recent thinking on gender categories in general and of the "masculine" specifically have tended to focus on issues of sexuality. For example, much recent work on masculinity in gay studies and in queer theory has challenged the idea that masculinity is a unified concept and has explored the ways in which dominant articulations of masculinity have come to define and marginalize "transgressive" sexual practices. For purposes of my argument, however, I wish to focus on masculinity as a category of gender, rather than of sexuality. James Eli Adams, in his study of Victorian modes of masculinity, suggests that masculine identities are neither essential nor stable but "multiple, complex, and unstable constructions" (3). The constructedness of gender categories implies that masculine identities not only have a historical specificity, but that multiple "masculinities" may exist in any given historical period.

Thus, the glorification of the Highland male mystique in Scott's work reflects his own anxieties of masculinity and his vision of the uses of "warrior codes," not simply of the distant past of Scotland, but of his own contemporary Great Britain.

In 1811, Scott composed The Vision of Don Roderick, a long poem in Spenserian stanzas. The poem is ostensibly about the prophetic visions of the last Gothic
king of Spain, who sees the 714 invasion of the Moors as he sits in a church vault beneath Toledo. Yet the latter half of the poem is concerned with much more contemporary matters: the long and protracted struggles of the British army against Napoleon in Spain and Portugal. As Scott himself wrote to an admirer, the poem was “actually sort of a rhapsody upon the affairs of the Peninsula.” Scott himself was a Napoleonic war “hawk,” who complained bitterly of the ruling Whig policy of “coddling” Napoleon in the Peninsula. Scott envisioned the campaign against Napoleonic France as a national test of will, in which Britain would ultimately prove victorious through the superior prowess of her soldiers. In successive stanzas, Scott praises the soldiers of Britain under the headings of their distinctive national affiliations. The stanza devoted to Scottish soldiers begins:

And, O loved warriors of the minstrel's land!
Yonder your bonnets nod, your tartans wave!
The rugged form may mark the mountain band,
And harsher features, and a mien more grave
But ne'er in battle-field throbbed heart so brave
As that which beats beneath the Scottish plaid . . . .
(Collected Poetical Works 222)

In enunciating the patriotic importance of the Peninsula campaigns against Napoleon, *The Vision of Don Roderick* is paradigmatic of the nationalist self-defining that Linda Colley describes as the basis for the making of “Great Britain” as a multi-ethnic collectivity. She writes:

[Great Britain] was an invention forged above all by war. Time and time again, war with France brought Britons, whether they hailed from Wales or Scotland or England into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged themselves to define themselves collectively against it. They defined themselves as Protestants
struggling for survival against the world’s foremost Catholic power. They defined themselves against the French as they imagined them to be, superstitious, militarist, decadent, and unfree. (5)

Colley also points out that the construction of France as the antithetical Other in relation to Britain was often configured in gender terms:

There was a sense at this time—and perhaps there still is—in which the British conceived of themselves as an essentially ‘masculine’ culture—bluff, forthright, rational, down-to-earth to the extent of being philistine—caught up in an eternal rivalry with an essentially ‘effeminate’ France—subtle, intellectually devious, preoccupied with high fashion, fine cuisine and etiquette, and so obsessed with sex that boudoir politics were bound to direct it. (252)

Thus, a hierarchy of masculinity forms the basis of nationalist comparisons during the Napoleonic wars. Scott’s desire to find a useful model of masculinity prompted him to seize on the figure of the Highland warrior.7

*The Vision of Don Roderick* previews the centrality of the figure in Scott’s celebration of Scottish distinction during the King’s Jaunt. In the poem, Highland soldiery stands for Scottish soldiery as a whole. Yet while idealizing the modern Highland soldier, Scott’s depiction of the figure rests on his anthropological assumptions. That is, Scott assumes that the contemporary Highland soldier remains quite different from his non-Highland counterparts. Though Scott seemingly consigns Highland difference, Highland violence, to oblivion in his *Tales*, he celebrates this difference—as it is manifested in the Highlander’s peculiar martial character—in much of his other work. Scott’s particular fascination with the figure of the Highland warrior, especially in his first and most popular novel of the Highlands, *Waverley*, points to his fascination with Highland society.

Perhaps not by accident does the publication of *Waverley* coincide with the final (or so it was thought) victory of Britain and her allies over Napoleonic France. After more than twenty years of war, Scott would comment on its end,
characteristically locating the ultimate causes of the war in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte:

My eyes have seen that which I scarcely hoped my son's should see, the downfall of the most accursed and relentless military despotism that ever wasted the blood and curbed the faculties of a civilized people. (qtd. in Sutherland 172)

Many critics of *Waverley* have found parallels between its political themes and the war politics of the Napoleonic era. John Sutherland, alluding to the political and economic turmoil of the time, suggests that the novel is at heart a novel of "ideological unsettlement" (173). Critics like S. Stewart Gordon have taken a different view. Gordon suggests that the "unified design" of the novel is one that emphasizes a vision of national and ideological reconciliation. In this way, the Highland chieftain Fergus MacIvor and the clansmen who swear fealty to him are representative of an archaic (if not romantic) way of life and its concomitant political ideal of Jacobitism, which is in opposition to the modern (if not banal) British state order of Hanoverianism, which triumphs at the novel's end.

Alexander Welsh echoes this idea, arguing that the eponymous English hero of the novel eventually rejects the Jacobite past in favor of the Hanoverian present. Yet, as I argue in Chapter Three, the links between Jacobitism and Highland society are ambiguous in Scott's other work. Just as Scott represents different forms of Jacobitism—for example, the pedantic, legalistic Jacobitism of the Lowland Baron Bradwardine or the crystalline romantic Jacobitism of Flora MacIvor—he also represents differing modes of "Highland" social behavior. Particularly, *Waverley* presents two contrasting forms of Highland masculinity that speak indirectly to the uses of the Highland warrior code in service against the nation's enemy on the continent. In *Waverley*, the true Highlander is a born soldier and, though historicized as a figure of "sixty years since," the Highlander only lacks the uniform to conform to Scott's modern hero in *The Vision of Don*.
Roderick. The literary work that, along with The Lady of the Lake, can be said to have single-handedly launched the Highland craze of the nineteenth century also was interested particularly in the behavior of the male Highlander in warfare.

Both Fergus MacIvor and his henchman, Evan Dhu MacComboich, are military men. Fergus, as the chieftain of his clan, leads them into battle against the Hanoverian forces at the novel's climax. Also, as Evan tells Edward Waverley, both he and Fergus previously served in a company of the “Black Watch” militia that Fergus had commanded. Since the Black Watch historically was the company of Highland soldiers founded in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite rebellion to suppress Jacobite insurrection in the Highlands, Evan is revealing to Waverley that both he and Fergus had fought together in the service of King George as well as Prince Charles. The underlying motivations of each of these men for serving in each of these antagonistic armies, however, are entirely different. In the “patriarchal society” of the Highland clans, Fergus, as a member of its aristocracy, is automatically a general in command of his clan. Evan, as a member of the lesser nobility of Highland society, a “Highland gentleman,” is, just as automatically, a loyal lieutenant. Although the novel suggests that this relationship between Fergus and Evan is the “natural” relationship between a Highland Chieftain and his immediate underling, it also suggests that each man does not fulfill this role equally. The social position of each man prescribes a code of masculine behavior, yet even though Evan does ideally fulfill this code of the Highland warrior in the service of his chief, Fergus fails to live up to the code of a Highland chieftain. Further, Scott explains the basis for the disparity between each man’s capacity to live up to the rigid warrior codes of their society in national/ethnic terms. Thus, Evan’s fulfillment of the code of his social position reveals him to be a “true” Highlander, born and raised in the Highlands. In contrast, Fergus’s character in the novel has been irrevocably tainted,
corrupted, because his childhood and early manhood was spent too long in exile, with Prince Charles, in France. Before delving into a discussion of Fergus's failure to live up to the code of a Highland chieftain, I first wish to describe the basic characteristics of the Highland warrior that Evan embodies. The fulfillment of the masculine code that Evan embodies stands in contrast to Fergus's failings, though the character of both men is rooted in their upbringing. More than simply born and raised in the Highlands, Evan, having never left, is rooted in the land. As a "mountaineer," his whole character is intimately tied to the topography of the Highlands. As such, his actions have the quality of an American backwoodsman or, given that his intrepidity is described as "natural" and artless, an Indian guide. Evan, like Fergus, is described as "handsome," yet Evan's handsomeness derives more from a display of physical sturdiness than sophisticated charm. His kilt shows "his sinewy and clean-made limbs" (131), and his character is marked in the novel by an attractive combination of dexterity, endurance, and martial skill. In the Highland wilderness, he leads Waverley on hidden paths through the glens and bogs "by tracks which no one but a Highlander could have followed" (136). Moving up the steep Highland hillsides, Waverley becomes worn out with fatigue, but Evan and his fellow Highlanders continue "without a symptom of unabated vigor, the rapid and swinging pace, or rather trot, which . . . had already brought them fifteen miles upon their journey" (136). This natural intrepidity of the Highlander, which is pervasive in representations of the figure in the early nineteenth century, is partly the basis of an understanding of the Highlander as a natural soldier.

Even more necessary than intrepidity for this kind of understanding, however, is the masculine code of absolute loyalty, that Evan, as a "true" Highlander, embodies. When Waverley points out that Evan's service in the
Black Watch seems to suggest that he has been less than faithful to Prince Charlie and the cause of Jacobitism, Evan demurs: “Troth, and you must ask Vich Ian Vohr [Fergus] about that; for we are for his king, and care not much which of them it is” (150). Evan shifts Waverley’s question of loyalty from a context of ideology to one of singular fealty to the clan chief. It is this code of loyalty that determines, more than anything else, Evan’s behavior and status. When Fergus and Evan are both put on trial for their part in the failed insurrection, both men go to the gallows unemotionally. While Fergus uses his chance to speak in the courtroom to proclaim the rightfulness of the Jacobite cause, Evan takes his opportunity to argue a Highland bargain with the judge:

‘[I]f your excellent honour, and the honourable court, would let Vich Ian Vohr go free just this once, and let him gae back to France, and no to trouble King George’s government again, that ony six o’ the very best of his clan will be willing to be justified in his stead; and if you’ll just let me gae down to Glennaquoich, I’ll fetch them up to ye mysel’, to head or hang, and you may begin wi’ me the very first man.’ (465)

For Evan, the code of loyalty is total and defines his life and the circumstances of his death. In contrast, Fergus’s notions of loyalty to the clan he leads are revealed in his quarrel with Waverley, who refuses to court Fergus’s sister when it is clear that she is not interested in him:

‘[M]y dear Edward . . . you provoke me with your want of knowledge of the world. You have taken pet at some of Flora’s prudery, or high-flying notions of loyalty, and now, like a child, you quarrel with the plaything you have been crying for . . . .’ (emphasis added) (392)

Edward Waverley seems consistently in awe of Fergus’s masculine mystique. When Edward learns at the end of the novel that Fergus has been taken to Carlisle Castle to await trial as a traitor, he asks rhetorically:

‘Is it of Fergus Mac-Ivor they speak thus . . . or do I dream? of Fergus, the bold, the chivalrous, the free-minded—the lofty chieftain of a tribe devoted to him? Is it he, that I have seen lead the chase and head the attack— the brave,
the active, the young, the noble, the love of ladies, and the theme of song—is it he ironed like a malefactor . . . ?" (467)

Edward here gives a summation of the proper behavior of an ideal Highland chieftain, and indeed, Fergus is seen consistently to live up to at least a part of this code: at no point in the novel does Fergus act afraid. He rides at the head of his clan into battle “regardless of danger” and “totally grave” (307). Yet the novel also suggests that Waverley’s complete idolization of Fergus is symptomatic of his susceptibility to romantic illusion and that beneath the surface of Fergus’s aristocratic demeanor hides a much more complicated personality.

Scott invites his readers to take a deeper look and, beneath the veneer of chivalry and dignity that so mesmerizes Edward Waverley, find instead an opportunist incapable of loyalty to his clan or his cause. As such, Fergus reveals the corrupting national influences of his upbringing among Jacobite exiles in France.

Scott lays out his critique of French society more completely in his ambitious multi-volume work, Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, published in 1827. In the Life, Scott described the corruption of French court life much more emphatically, and he would locate this corruption specifically in the category of the masculine. The failures of French society leading up to the French Revolution are a particular manifestation of the effeminacy of the leaders of the Ancien Regime. Of the First Estate, Scott writes in Chapter I:

Instead of acting as the natural chiefs and leaders of the nobility and gentry of the provinces, they were continually engaged in intriguing for charges round the king’s person . . . for all and everything which could make the successful courtier . . . . Their education and habits were also totally unfavorable to grave or serious thought and exertion . . . . [A] constant pursuit of pleasure, and a perpetual succession of intrigues, either of love or petty politics, made their character . . . approach in insignificance to that of the women of the court, whom it was the business of their lives to captivate and amuse. (Life 26)
Here, the failure of French society is specifically gendered as a failing of masculine behavior in almost every aspect of its society, in implicit contrast to the stern masculinity of the British aristocracy. This passage also sums up nicely the French half of Fergus's character. As is the case for Fergus, the bravery of the First Estate in battle does not redeem its masculinity: "[I]n general the [First Estate], in everything but military courage, had assumed a trivial and effeminate character, from which the patriotic sacrifices or masculine wisdom, were scarcely to be expected" (my emphasis) (Life 26). Scott depicts the aristocratic corruption embodied in Fergus Mac-Ivor as both a failure to achieve a certain mode of masculinity and as a symptom of a particular national malaise. Through his actions, Fergus reveals himself to be a lesser man as he reveals the non-Highland French side of his character.

Scott's gendered critique of French society in the Life is also perhaps only a more sophisticated representation of this society than was appearing in the British popular press during the Napoleonic wars. As Gerald Newman writes, the Napoleonic Wars saw the immediate rise of the trope of the effeminate French male aristocrat who was both the cause and the embodiment of the inferiority of France in opposition to Britain's masculine heroes.\textsuperscript{11} French "effeminacy" formed the basis for a consolidation on nationalist grounds of political arguments during the war on a variety of subjects, such as Tory attacks (including those of Scott) on Whig policies of "appeasement" in the Peninsula and elsewhere. Attacks based on the trope of French effeminacy emphasized the alterity of the French and impugned the masculinity of those who seemed to support them.

In his first appearance, Fergus is described as "finely proportioned" and "manly" in appearance (153), yet Scott immediately qualifies this description, suggesting that at second glance "[a] skillful physiognomist" would have
detected a “habit of peremptory command and decisive superiority” indicating “a sense of personal importance” and a “hasty, haughty and vindictive temper . . .” (154). Fergus’s self-importance is one aspect of his failure to live up to the code of a Highland chieftain, and the particular political circumstances of the time make Fergus a rather anomalous figure as a Highland chief:

[had he] lived Sixty Years sooner than he did, he would, in all probability, have wanted the polished manner and knowledge of the world which he now possesses; and had he lived Sixty Years later, his ambition and love of rule would have lacked the fuel which his situation now afforded. (157)

In his very language, a slick courtly rhetoric peppered thoroughly with both French and Highland phrases and Classical cultural allusions, Fergus reveals that he is the strange product of cultural hybridity. His comments, upon overhearing his sister singing to Waverley, are typical:

‘A simple and unsublimed taste now, like my own, would prefer a jet d’eau at Versailles to this cascade with all its accompaniments of rock and roar; but this is Flora’s Parnassus, Captain Waverley, and that fountain her Helicon. It would be greatly for the benefit of my cellar if she could teach her coadjutor, Mac-Murrough, the value of its influence: he has just drunk a pint of usquebaugh to correct, he said, the coldness of the claret . . .’ (181)

French influences grant more than just polish to Fergus: his behavior is described as Machiavellian, and his actions are framed in a context of ruthless ambition and manipulative self-promotion. Fergus, Edward’s embodiment of “bold chivalry,” is actually a rank opportunist. For example, Fergus’s command of his Black Watch company is merely a shrewd political maneuver to expand his own power in the Highlands. In his dealings against the Highland “banditti” of the era, Fergus had acted

with great and suspicious lenity to those freebooters who made restitution on his summons, and offered personal submission to himself, while he rigorously pursued, apprehended, and sacrificed to justice, all such interlopers as dared to despise his admonition or commands. (158)
Fergus’s failure to act impartially toward the Highlanders who came under his jurisdiction as a military commander points to his greatest failing as a Highland chieftain: too obsessed with his own political power, he cares little for the members of his clan. To increase his own power, he loads up his estate with a tenantry “fit for the purposes of war, but greatly outnumbering what the soil was calculated to maintain” (157). In public gatherings, Fergus proclaims his devotion and loyalty to his people, but to Waverley in private he calls them “rascals.” At one point Fergus strikes a young Highlander, one of his own men, with the butt of his pistol for seemingly disobeying his commands. When Waverley later asks how Fergus could strike “so young a lad so hard,” Fergus replies, “Why if I did not strike hard sometimes, the rascals would forget themselves” (408). Fergus’s disdain for those who, in clan society, depend on him extends to his own family as well. When he concludes that an alliance between his own family and that of Waverley would strengthen the position of Prince Charles and therefore enhance his own influence in the Jacobite court, Fergus actively pushes his sister into the arms of Edward Waverley, disregarding her own wishes on the matter. Fergus’s Machiavellian self-interestedness and disdain for the feelings of his sister illustrates his anomalous national position as both a Highland chieftain and a "Frenchified" aristocrat:

Between his ideas of patriarchal power and those which he had acquired in France respecting the disposal of females in marriage, any opposition from his sister, dear as she was to him, would have been the last obstacle on which he would have calculated, even had the union been less eligible. (205)

Unfaithful to his family and his clan, Fergus is inconstant as well to the political ideal which many critics argue he embodies. In contrast to his sister, who was "prepared to do all, to suffer all, to sacrifice all" for the Jacobite cause and for Prince Charles, Fergus’s devotion is less to Jacobitism and more to his political advancement:

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Accustomed to petty intrigue, and necessarily involved in a thousand paltry and selfish discussions, ambitious also by nature, his political faith was tinctured, at least, if not tainted, by the views of interest and advancement so easily combined with it; and at the moment he could unsheathe his claymore, it might be difficult to say whether it would be the most with the view of making James Stuart a king, or Fergus Mac-Ivor an earl. (168)

Again contrasting Fergus's behavior with that of his sister, whose loyalty to her clan was a "pure passion" and who had only the desire "of vindicating from poverty, or at least from want and foreign oppression, those whom her brother was entitled to govern," Scott says of Fergus:

He was too thorough a politician, regarded his patriarchal influence too much as the means of accomplishing his own aggrandizement, that we should term him the model of a Highland Chieftain. (170)

Fergus is at heart a political intriguer and tyrannical despot.

Waverley, then, explores two different but complementary Highland codes of proper masculinity based on social position. Fergus's failure to adhere to the code of behavior that his position requires is predicated on his anomalous position as a Highland chieftain who grew up among the French aristocracy. Similarly, Evan's fulfillment of the code of behavior of a Highland gentleman is predicated on his Highland "wholeness," as a Highlander brought up totally in the Highlands. Scott also implicitly lays the groundwork for an understanding of male Highland social relations that is at heart a "regimental" relationship. In Peter Womack's words:

Hierarchical, communal, resistant to change, labour-intensive and insulated from commercial rationality, the military establishment came closer than any other . . . British institution to replicating the conditions of production which the stereotype of the True Highlander both reflected and mystified. (45)

Thus, more than his natural intrepidity, the natural and total personal loyalty of the Highlander to his superiors makes him such an ideal soldier. All that is required, then, in this scenario to move the wild Highland clansman into the
regimented British Army is some dynamic of social transference, whereby the
clanisman’s loyalty to his chief is somehow transferred to that of his army
commander. Fergus alludes to this dynamic when he—as he awaits execution in
Carlisle Castle—says to Waverley:

‘Would to God . . . I could bequeath to you my rights to the love and
obedience of this primitive and brave race:—or at least, as I have striven to do,
persuade poor Evan to accept of his life upon their terms, and be to you what
he has been to me, the kindest—the bravest—the most devoted.’ (472)

In any case, the essential structure of Highland “patriarchal” society remains the
same. The dynamic of transference, from Highland clan to army regiment, nicely
contains a Highland martial character, that, left to its own in the Highlands for
centuries had only resulted in a savage tribal anarchy. Through this act of the
containment of Highland savagery into the “familiar” social structure of the
British regiment, the Highlander can serve ideally the modern nation and its
prevailing order. Thus in Waverley, Scott on one level consigns to the past the
peculiar masculine codes of Highland society that is but one aspect of its
primitive society. On another level, however, Scott articulates the uses of these
codes for the nation as a whole in its national struggles against Napoleonic
France. Waverley illustrates the social conditions of the Highlands that make the
figure of the Highland clansman such an ideal soldier.

The figure of the Highland warrior-soldier was not a new one in Scott’s time
but was introduced almost immediately after the defeat of Highland forces at
Culloden in 1745.12 Pitt, in a now famous 1766 speech in the Commons, evoked
the special martial quality of Highlanders in describing the successful policy of
recruitment in the Highlands:

I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the
first minister who looked for it; and I found it in the mountains of the north. I
called it forth and drew it into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men;
men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your
enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before
the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world . . . 13

Rather than dissolve the warlike character of Highland society, as he does in his assimilationist ending of the *Tales*, Scott affirms the contemporary uses of this character in *Waverley* and in his war poems. Further, the complexity and popularity of Scott’s depiction of the Highland martial character in *Waverley* paves the way for representations of the Highland soldier figure that were not possible in the eighteenth century. By explicitly articulating a nationalist Highland warrior code that he juxtaposes with effeminate modes of masculinity, Scott opens the door for representations in which the Highland soldier embodies the special masculine mystique of British soldiery as a whole.

David Stewart’s *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* replicates for the most part Scott’s idealization of the male Highlander: Stewart’s Highlander is also naturally intrepid, hardy, and utterly loyal. Yet Stewart is even more emphatic in articulating the natural suitability of Highland masculine codes to a career in the British army. Also, Stewart states in his preface, the intention of his work is to present as much as possible a “true and complete” picture of Highland society and character. For this reason, the *Sketches* is one of the earliest attempts at a thorough ethnographic description of Highland society, and it would become the oft-quoted authority for most studies of Highland society in the nineteenth century. Stewart’s two-volume work was first published in 1822, amid the increasing fascination with all things Highland initiated by his friend, Sir Walter Scott. The *Sketches* is filled with allusions to the “Author of *Waverley,*” and it uses quotations from Scott’s poems and prose to illustrate its comments on the Highlanders. The *Sketches* also overwhelmingly militarizes Highland society. More than half of the *Sketches* is devoted to an
analysis of "military character," which includes a long compendium of the history and exploits of the twenty-six different Highland regiments that had existed up to the time of publication. The Sketches was also one of the first histories of the Highland regiments. Stewart was himself a colonel in the 42nd, "Black Watch," Regiment, and, as he states in the preface, most of his sources on Highland manners were Highland soldiers whom he had met in the army.14

Stewart's Sketches set the tone for the militarization of representations of Highland society in the nineteenth century, and the depiction of the Highland soldier in the Sketches is even more idealized than that in Waverley. Also, Stewart implicitly takes on the question of containment that remains unresolved in Waverley: what is the mechanism that brings the Highlander from a state of archaic savagery to the hierarchical regimentation of the modern nineteenth-century army? Stewart's solution to this problem takes the form of a total disavowal of ancient Highland savagery. In a lengthy footnote on claims of the "supposed ferocity of the Highlander," Stewart asserts:

The stories detailed of private assassinations, murders, and conflagration, deserve no credit, as is well known to every man of intelligence in the country at least when reported to have occurred in the last century and a half. In earlier times there were murders in the Highlands, as there were in the streets of Edinburgh in mid-day, but much of these may be attributed to the weaknesses of the laws, and a high-spirited turbulence. (xxxvi)

In terms of their inherent "savagery," Stewart argues that Highland society is no different from Lowland society.

Stewart also specifically condemns an analysis of the Highlands that is based on the kind of accumulation of Highland horror stories that Scott would provide only a few years later in his Tales:

The character of the Highlanders will be better understood by their actions, than by collecting anecdotes two and three hundred years old, and giving them as specimens of what was supposed to have occurred within the fifty years preceding the Rebellion of 1745. (xxxvi)
Stewart's idealization of the Highland soldier is uncomplicated. His ethnography absolves Highland society of the need to contain its savagery, since savagery was never an essential aspect of Highland society in the first place. Rather, Stewart suggests that Highland codes of masculinity had always produced a natural disciplined soldier and that no assimilation, however incomplete, is necessary. In this way Stewart's idealization of the Highland fighting man pointedly allows for the continuation of his alterity, of his peculiar primitive warrior code, into modernity and into the most "civilized" nation on earth. Because the Highlander can maintain his primitive customs and even thrive in the role of a soldier for the state, the military becomes the ideal occupation for the Highland man.

Like Scott, Stewart frames the special bravery of the Highlander in national terms, suggesting that this aspect of the Highlander is in opposition to soldiers of other nations:

The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine . . . . He moves onward to his destination with a well trained pace and, with as phlegmatic indifference to the result as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported . . . by his high notions of honour, but this display of spirit is not always steady: neither French nor German is confident in himself, if any enemy gain his flank or rear. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank, and . . . it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious or die on the ground which he maintains. (I, 219)

Stewart also establishes the essential and absolute loyalty of the Highlander as the most important aspect of his suitability as a soldier. He suggests that the Highlander "may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, and will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust" (I, 220). Yet Stewart emphasizes that the commanding officer of a Highland regiment must reciprocate this loyalty if he is to successfully lead the Highland soldier into battle:
A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well-disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer . . . must endeavor to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view . . . he must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men . . . and, at the same time . . . preserv[e] a firm and steady authority, without which, he will not be respected. (I, 220)

The commanding officer of a Highland regiment (who was, in Stewart’s time and after, rarely from the Highlands himself) must follow his own special code of conduct in his relations with his men.

Presented in the volume of the work devoted to the general description of Highland society, this idea will later serve as Stewart’s justification for the seeming contradiction to the natural loyalty of the Highland soldier: the fact that several Highland regiments mutinied en masse in the late eighteenth century. In his description of the mutiny and desertion of several hundred Highland soldiers of his own Black Watch regiment in 1746, for example, Stewart characterizes this act of widespread Highland disobedience as the product of their too trusting natures. As the regiment was stationed in England after Prince Charles’s defeat, local incendiaries had spread “insidious and malicious falsehoods” among the Highlanders. They were told that—rather than going back to Scotland as they had been promised—they were bound for the “American plantation,” which Stewart characterizes as the “Botany Bay of that day” (I, 234). In the absence of an appropriate bond of trust between the Highland soldiers and their commanding officers, who had not yet learned how to control them, the “unfortunate act” of Highland mutiny was “the result of their simplicity, in allowing themselves to be deceived, rather than of any want of principle, [which] was sufficiently proved by their subsequent conduct” (I, 236). The contradiction between essential Highland loyalty and the historical fact of Highland mutiny is resolved in Stewart’s work in a cautionary framework that reaffirms the
idealization of the Highland soldier as it emphasizes the need for reciprocity on the part of future commanders. In this way, the description of Highland loyalty in the Sketches is "descriptive" as it pertains to the Highlanders, and is therefore part of the ethnographic work that Stewart set out to accomplish. On the other hand, the description is "prescriptive" as it pertains to Highland regiment commanders, men who are implicitly in the text assumed to be non-Highland. The Highlander can only be "loyal," even at the precise moment when his actions seem, by definition, "disloyal." Only the normative figure of the non-Highland commander, after learning the peculiar codes of Highland masculinity, can modify his own behavior accordingly.

Both Scott's and Stewart's representations of an idealized Highland warrior bind that figure to the nation, yet this configuration is always grounded in the fact of Highland alterity. Though Stewart's work explicitly places its Highland subject in an ethnographic framework, much recent analysis of Waverley has pointed to the ethnographic elements in that text as well. As Ina Ferris has written, the novel's ethnographic stance is apparent in chapters with headings such as "A Highland Feast," "Highland Minstrelsy," and "The Hold of a Highland Rebber." Waverley carries its reader, along with its protagonist, into the strange and exotic realm of the Highlands stopping only occasionally to detail the peculiarities of Highland society.

James Buzard describes Waverley as a "fictional auto-ethnography," an attempt by Scott to depict "Scottish" identity within the larger framework of British identity for Scots and non-Scots alike. It is important to note, however, that Scott considered himself as much an outsider to Highland society as his title English character. Scott visited the Highlands only a few times, always positioning himself as a tourist in his personal recollections. Scott did not speak Gaelic and relied heavily on accounts published in English of others more
familiar with the Highlands (like Anne Grant) to form the basis of his
descriptions of Highland culture. Because Scott was himself an outsider to the
Gaelic world he depicts, Waverley can be considered more a true ethnography
than an auto-ethnography, in Mary Louise Pratt’s original sense of the word,
which is a text that “others construct in response to or in dialogue with
metropolitan representations” (7).

It is important to emphasize that the Sketches was intended to be an
exhaustive catalogue of all aspects of Highland society and the Highlands.
Although Scott’s many descriptions of Highlanders in his works are almost
always in the form of narrative, Stewart’s Sketches is structured much more
authoritatively in the form of a “description.” Thus Stewart’s account differs
from the popular travel accounts of the Highlands of his own time. Though
many of these accounts, which I take up in Chapter Six, also attempted to
delineate Highland custom, they did so within a framework of a subjective
narrative. Unlike travelogues, Stewart’s descriptions are not structured around a
central “I.” Rather, the “description,” as J. M. Coetzee writes, provides the
“achronological, spatial, God’s eye organization” that marks European
ethnography (121). Further, Stewart organizes his text into categories such as
“System of Clanship,” “Highland Garb,” and “Agriculture.” Within these
categories, he delineates a wide range of Highland social practices, from the
avoidance of premarital sex to the wearing of the kilt. Again, as Coetzee argues,
while the ethnographic description implies the universality of all human societies
and

the categories and subcategories of this framework constitute the
samenesses that extend across all societies . . . , the observations that are
filled in under the various headings constitute the differentia of societies. (120)

The idealization of the Highlander in Scott’s and Stewart’s texts, grounded
ethnographically as a product of Highland difference, suggests that, though the
Highland clansman can exist within the British national space by serving its military, he is never quite completely of the nation. The linking of the Highland soldier to the nation is always limited to one of utility. Yet as I show in my next chapter, the construction of the Highlander as a naturally perfect soldier would allow for a much more powerful link with the nation later in the century, as narratives of the nation in battle become an important mode of articulating the essential character of the nation as a whole. As the character of the nation comes to be increasingly constructed in opposition to the character of its colonial subjects, the figure of the Highland soldier, paradoxically, comes to stand for the masculine valor, prowess, and military superiority of Great Britain in the East.
Notes

1 Highlanders were often considered a "masculine" Celtic race as opposed to the "feminine" Irish race. For this reason the Highlander escaped placement in a racial schema that naturalized manly English "Anglo-Saxon" superiority over the womanly Irish. A Victorian children's book that converts the geographical space of each nation of Britain into recognizable human forms—in the manner of a political cartoon—sums up this difference. The geography of Ireland is converted to a "peasant woman" wrapped in a shawl and carrying a basket of cabbage. She carries on her back her child, who also has rather simian features. Scotland's geography is converted into a ruddy man wearing kilt and tartan knee socks playing the bagpipe. Scotland, in other words, is both masculine and Highland ("Aleph"). For a nineteenth-century discussion of the "femininity" of Irish culture in a literary context, see Arnold.

2 The national sentiments articulated in wartime are often dismissed as jingoistic "patriotism," which is neither a long-lasting nor comprehensive system of "nationalism" proper. As Newman differentiates, patriotism "is a mere primitive feeling of loyalty" whereas "nineteenth-century nationalism . . . carried with it a complex idea of national solidarity in peace as well as war, and, necessarily, of opposition to internal obstacles to this solidarity" (52-53). War narratives, which uniformly articulate a sense of national solidarity in the actions of soldiers fighting in unity, however, do not always express the simple loyalty of patriotism. For example, Robert Graves' autobiography of his experiences as a lieutenant on the front lines in World War One, Good-bye to All That, dramatically recalls the camaraderie and pride of service of British soldiers who continually risked their lives going over the wire, ostensibly in loyal devotion to their country. Yet, as Graves writes, "[t]here was no patriotism in the trenches. It was too remote a sentiment, and rejected as only fit for civilians. A new arrival who
talked patriotism would soon be told to cut it out" (172). Rather than fostering a climate of extreme patriotism, combat, because it is such a rarefied experience, makes the simplicity of patriotism seem strangely out of place.

This idealization follows a general shift in attitude toward the soldier in the early Victorian era. Early nineteenth-century conceptions of the soldier were decidedly mixed. Though the aristocratic leaders of the Napoleonic wars—for example, men like Wellington—were adulated upon their return from the continent, the returning common British soldier often was considered a dangerous destabilizing force let loose upon the countryside. Amid fears that soldiers used to quell unrest back home would more likely join the "Radical mob" rather than defeat it, the Duke of Wellington characterized the average army recruit as "the scum of the earth... the 'most drunken' and 'worst' specimens of humanity.” The Radical press sought to exploit soldier discontent by disseminating "seditious literature among the troops," believing that a 'major part of a battalion of Grenadier Guards' had been 'Republicanized' by reading its pronouncements.” It was thought that only the threat and use of brutal punishments such as flogging kept the common soldier in line. With the end of large-scale social unrest at home "a transformation had occurred in attitudes towards the army.” After the Crimean War,

[t]he valour and heroism of the troops had been widely admired. The patient fatalism of the ranks as they endured the hardships of the camp before Sebastopol had aroused immense emotional feeling, an unprecedented interest in their plight and welfare. It became a commonplace to assert that the nation should, in the post-war years, recognize its responsibilities towards the rank and file (qtd. in Spiers 76, 116-117, and in passim).

For a discussion of the "domestication" of the soldier image in British art, see Hichberger 159-179. Hichberger argues that it was largely the Indian Rebellion,
the focus of my next chapter, that "aided" the "heroicisation" of the common British soldier.

4For recent studies on masculinity see Adams, Sussman, Kestner, Cornwall and Lindisfarne, Roper and Tosh, Dellamora, Mangan and Walvin, and Stearns.

5Adams, in his analysis of “the complexities and internal tensions” of masculine self-fashioning in the work of Victorian literary men like Carlyle, Kingsley, Pater, and Tennyson, usefully defines gender as “a system of social authority frequently articulated across apparent divides of normative and transgressive sexualities” (4). Further, Adams shifts the focus of his discussion from an analysis of the “medico-juridical” discourse (which is at the center of Foucault’s analysis, in sexual terms, of nineteenth-century concepts of masculinity):

The dichotomy of hetero- and homosexuality that emerges from late Victorian discourse has often distorted earlier Victorian constructions of “manliness” by being unreflectively read back on them. (4)

Rather, Adams argues that the Victorian men are “marked” by “assignments of gendered identity that circulate outside that discourse, and are shaped through comparatively occasional, informal, even haphazard rhetorical engagements . . .”(4). In these terms, the figure of the male Highlander is marked by a particular form of gendered identity that does not necessarily speak to its sexuality. Again, as Adams points out, “the label ‘effeminate’ had no clear bearing on sexuality . . . in early Victorian usage” (4). Masculinity as a category of gender underpinned a variety of Victorian social and political ideologies. Dominant constructions of masculine identities, however tenuous they are revealed to be in the late twentieth century, underwrote Victorian patriarchy as well as bourgeois constructions of class.

6Scott’s motive for undertaking the Quarterly Review was largely based on his frustration at the pro-Whig sentiments of Francis Jeffrey in the Edinburgh Review
and its approval of what he considered to be an overly cautious appeasement of Napoleon in the Peninsula (Sutherland 139-140).

Scott’s interest in the military society of the Highlanders reflects his lifelong fascination with the military and soldiering, which perhaps was a product of his own masculine insecurities. Crippled as a young boy by polio, Scott may have compensated by a thorough embrace of military life. As Sutherland writes, “Scott’s sense of manhood was intimately dependent on the military service he began in 1797” (188). In that year, unable to enlist in a standing cavalry regiment because of his lameness, Scott helped form a company of light cavalry, the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons. Sutherland describes it as a “kind of rich man’s posse comitatus” (66). Scott was made the formation’s quartermaster, secretary, and paymaster. Occasionally Scott’s desire to be a military hero would cause him to misrepresent himself. On his visit to Paris after Waterloo, Scott wore his cavalry uniform at a dinner where he was presented to Czar Alexander. Sutherland quotes Lockhart’s account of their meeting:

The Czar’s first question, glancing at his lameness, was ‘In what affair were you wounded?’ Scott signified that he suffered from a natural infirmity; upon which the Emperor said, ‘I thought Lord Cathcart mentioned that you had served.’ Scott observed that the Earl looked a little embarrassed at this, and promptly answered, ‘Oh yes; in a certain sense I have served—that is, in the yeomanry cavalry; a home force resembling the Landwehr, or Landsturm.’—‘Under what commander?’—‘Sous M. le Chevalier Rae.’—‘Were you ever engaged?’—‘In some slight actions—such as the battle of the Cross Causeway and the affair of Moredun Mill’. (Lockhart 3.60)

At this point Cathcart intervened to change the subject. But Scott’s private joke must have had a sharp edge for its maker. Crosscauseway was the street next to George Square where he fought bickers as a child. Moredun Mill was where he had helped put down starving and unarmed Scottish rioters. (Sutherland 187)

In Gordon.

Welsh, 38-39 and in passim.
As do many Scottish Enlightenment writers, Scott himself compares the Highlander with the native American several times in his work. For example in his introduction to Rob Roy, Scott writes of the historical setting of the novel:

[A] character like [Rob Roy], blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and the unrestrained licence of an American Indian, was flourishing in Scotland during the Augustan age of Queen Anne and George I (385).

For a discussion of the figure of the heroic aristocratic fighting man, see Colley, 177-193.

For a historical overview of the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century romanticization of the Highland soldier, see Word. Word’s study reveals that prior to the mid-eighteenth century, the Scottish Highland soldier was considered neither especially good nor especially loyal. (Indeed, the reliability of the common Highland soldier was very much in doubt.) Highland recruits in the English army, and serving in mercenary armies throughout Europe and the colonies before the mid-eighteenth century, served with other Scottish soldiers. There were no "Highland regiments" and nothing like a Highland "traditional" uniform (Highlanders wore only pants or breeches).

Quoted in Womack, 31.

The 42nd, "Black Watch," regiment is a direct descendent of the Black Watch militia referred to in Waverley. After it was incorporated into the regular British Army in 1734, the task of this body of soldiers went from putting down Jacobite insurrection in the Highlands to putting down colonial insurrections overseas, first in North America and afterwards in India, Afghanistan, and South Africa. The regiment still exists and most recently saw service in the Falklands.

In "Translation from the Borders: Encounter and Recalcitrance in Waverley and Clan-Albin."

In "Translation and Tourism: Scott’s Waverley and the Rendering of Culture."
CHAPTER FIVE
Highland Soldiers, Martial Races,
and British Military Discourse After the Indian Rebellion

He speaks of warrior saints and she now feels he is one, stern and visionary.... Although he is a man from Asia, he has in these last years of war assumed English fathers, following their codes like a dutiful son.

I

War narrative took on its greatest importance in the heyday of Britain's colonial period, when many of these narratives were devoted to accounts of British battles against colonial foes. Because the national "will" in these accounts was the continuation of colonial control, which was based on absolute confidence in the superiority of British civilization in relation to its colonies, there could be no suggestion that the British military or the individual British soldier was either unwilling or incapable of defeating native resistance. Conflict between British and native combatants was depicted as a struggle between civilization and barbarism, between progress and atavism, between order and chaos. It is a given in these narratives that armed resistance to colonial rule must be met with overwhelming and crushing British military response. The sheer number of books and press descriptions of "wars," "expeditions," "attacks," "campaigns," "stormings," "suppressions," and "operations" against Britain's colonial opponents in the nineteenth century is testament to the steadfast commitment on the part of Britain's colonial administrators to use whatever means necessary to ensure continued colonial dominance. As cultural critics we should not forget that, although colonial power was constructed and maintained through
discursive formations, what is often called the representational “violence” of colonial discourse was often enabled by the constant threat of actual brute force. I wish to focus my discussion on the figure of the Highland soldier in the latter half of the nineteenth century by looking at representative accounts devoted to the severest and most traumatic uprising against British colonial rule in the century: the Indian Rebellion. In these accounts, the Highland warrior-soldier took center stage.

The Indian Rebellion of 1857-1858 radically altered the way Britons thought about themselves as colonizers and about the native people they controlled. Although recent historiography on the rebellion has suggested that it was a complex cluster of spontaneous and organized resistance on many levels of Indian society, British historiography, from the very early anonymous *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* (1858) to W. H. Fitchett’s late Victorian *Tales of the Great Mutiny* (1901), saw the struggle exclusively in military terms. The rebellion was simply a local mutiny that caught fire, the act of disgruntled Bengali soldiers, “Seyoys,” taking up arms against their British commanders.¹ The term “mutiny” itself, of course, suggests the uprising was purely a military problem of violent insubordination that required a military solution. Even so, as Patrick Brantlinger writes, the rebellion prompted a “deluge” of writing on the subject (199).² The events of the eighteen months of Indian resistance were the subject of countless histories, diary accounts, novels, and other textual genres. Names such as “Cawnpore,” “Lucknow,” “Allahbad,” and “Delhi” resonated as geographical signs that articulated a myriad of racial and national codes in which the British are contrasted with their antithetical other: the Oriental. Yet equally important in British historiography on the rebellion was the strange sign of the exotic, kilt-wearing, Scottish Highland soldier, whose singular masculine prowess was paradoxically underscored by his inversion of normative British dress codes.

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Thus, the events of the Indian Rebellion prompted a strange convergence of the exotic and the familiar in colonial writing just as these writings urgently seek to isolate and separate them.

Accounts of the Indian Rebellion were especially traumatic because they uniformly depicted, or at least alluded to, the horrible scenes of Cawnpore, where British women were reportedly tortured, raped, and dismembered and their bodies thrown into the Residency well by native mutineers. These atrocities had incited a general uproar in Britain and had prompted a brutal campaign of reprisal by British forces in India. Thousands of Indian men were humiliated and then summarily executed in the aftermath of the rebellion, hanged from trees or strapped to the mouths of British guns and blown to bits. In British historiography of the rebellion, it was the unspeakable acts of atrocity against British women that legitimized the suppression of the rebellion by British forces and provided a framework of brutality that informed British actions and attitudes toward all acts of native resistance until the end of the century. In the aftermath of the traumatic shock of the rebellion, British writers on the subject attempted to re-enunciate colonial codes of alterity and to regroup their representational forces, trying to make sense of this profound disruption of previous notions of the supremacy of British colonial rule and of the relative "docility" of the Oriental.

Bernard Cohn describes the centrality of the rebellion in determining changed colonial attitudes:

For the British ruling elites, at home and in India, the meanings attached to the events of 1857-8, and the resulting constitutional changes, were increasingly the pivot around which their theory of colonial rule rotated.

To the English from 1859 to the early part of the twentieth century, the Mutiny was seen as a heroic myth embodying and expressing their central values which explained their rule in India to themselves--sacrifice, duty, fortitude; above all it symbolized the ultimate triumph over those Indians who had threatened properly constituted authority and order. (179)
The writings of British colonial soldiers and military historians, who focused on the actual combat of the rebellion and the restructuring of the British colonial army in its aftermath, were instrumental in voicing the "heroic myth" of the rebellion. Writings such as General Lord Roberts’s military memoirs (1897) and George F. MacMunn’s _The Armies of India_ (1911) and _Martial Races of India_ (1922) also voiced a change in colonial assumptions about the essential identity of the native. From this military discourse, a new colonial identity was formed, that of the "martial race" subject: the Asiatic whose essential character differed from those of other Asiatics in his suitability for a life of soldiering. Supposedly sprung from naturally "warlike" societies, the martial race subject (invariably male) was naturally intrepid, hardy,ferocious in battle, and most of all, fanatically loyal to his commanding officers. Martial race theory achieved widespread acceptance by the early twentieth century and continues to structure the perceptions and lives of many people today in Britain and its former colonies.

The manpower demands of the vastly expanded post-rebellion British Indian Army necessitated a large influx of native soldiers into its ranks. Yet, as "treacherousness" became a reigning trope for Oriental masculine character in the wake of the rebellion, only the so-called "racial" characteristics of those troop bodies who did not mutiny during the rebellion would be incorporated into the initial martial race schema. Sikh, Punjabi, and Gurkha regiments all fought against Bengali mutineers, with whom they shared little affinity, often alongside British regiments, and formed the initial subjects of martial race theory.

Martial race theory became the basis for British colonial recruitment well into the twentieth century. Though the subjects of martial race theory are exclusively people of South Asia, the basic tenants of the theory have their antecedents in writing of nearly a hundred years before, and of a subject much closer to home: the male Scottish Highlander, whose society—deemed an utterly martial one
based on the tenants of clanship and an absolute loyalty to a male tribal "chieftain"—made him "naturally" suited to a life of soldiering. The idea of the essentialized Highland warrior, in Waverley, and of the invincibility of Highland regiments, in Stewart’s Sketches, made the figure a popular trope for British superiority in military writings on the Indian Rebellion. Juxtaposing representations of the martial race subject, which saw their earliest beginnings in military writing after the rebellion, and representations of the Highland natural soldier, reveals the irresolvable tensions and ruptures underlying the logic of colonial alterity in the very kinds of texts where such logic needs to be reinforced aggressively. Though military writing does predictably voice an extreme oppositionality of self and "other," often completely de-humanizing the native insurgent, it nevertheless presents, unconsciously at least, a radical problematization of colonial assumptions of racial and ethnic difference, upon which continued colonial domination was maintained.

II

Around 1890, G. A. Henty writes in one of his many popular Victorian novels of imperial adventure for boys:

My Dear Lads,
In following the hero of this story with the British army during the last war in Afghanistan you will be improving your acquaintance with a country which is at present... of supreme interest to Englishmen. In these pages you will see the strengths and weaknesses of these wild peoples of the mountains; their strength lying in their personal bravery, their determination to preserve their freedom at all costs, and the nature of their country. Their weaknesses consist in their want of organization, their tribal jealousies, and their impatience of regular habits, and of the restraint necessary to render them good soldiers. But when led and organized by English officers there are no better soldiers in the world. (3)

Though Henty’s description of the Afghan tribesman is a simplification intended for its young readers, it nevertheless demonstrates the pervasiveness, by the late Victorian era, of the theory that certain “races” of the world, especially
in Asia, are inherently warlike in contrast to Europeans and other native peoples under Britain's colonial sway.

Martial races as a whole were configured as inherently masculine societies in which the military was the noblest vocation to which one could aspire and whose members were courageous and valiant. The warrior code of the male martial race subject sets him apart from the relative effeminate other races of the East. MacMunn, a former major of the Royal Field Artillery, gave the most exhaustive account of the martial race theory in his *Martial Races of India* and *Armies of India*. MacMunn contrasts the martial races of India with, for example, the "people of Bengal":

Even those with the most-cultivated brain, the trading classes, the artizan classes, and the outcaste tribes, are men to whom the threat of violence is the last word. (*Armies* 129)

Lord Roberts, commander-in-chief of the Indian army from 1885-1893, argued in his memoirs of 1897 that no comparison could be made between "the martial value" of Indian Army regiments "recruited amongst the Gurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of northern India, and ... one recruited from the effeminate peoples of the south" (442). This hierarchical and racial comparison of native masculinities also functions for the most part as a comparison within a comparison. As MacMunn writes, the phenomenon of martial races is in itself proof of Oriental alterity:

It is one of the essential differences between the East and the West, that in the East, with certain exceptions, only certain classes and clans can bear arms; the others have not the physical courage necessary for the warrior. In Europe, as we know, every able-bodied man, given food and arms, is a fighting man of some sort, some better, some worse, but still as capable of bearing arms as any other of his nationality. In the East, or certainly in India, this is not so. (*Armies* 29)

The martial race theory thus fits into general British racist assumptions about their colonial subjects. It also provided a way in practical terms to target and
yoke native energies to the colonial project on a grand scale. David Omissi points out:

[n]o imperial power could hope to maintain its rule—at a politically acceptable cost—if it treated its subject population as a single undifferentiated and potentially hostile mass. Successful European rulers identified these indigenous groups who were potential allies, and drew them into the structures of imperial rule. (1)

Yet, as Richard Fox argues specifically of British ideas on the martial “Sikh,” “these beliefs not only rationalized colonial oppression, but also constructed it—that is, they made Europeans see India and act toward her peoples in particular ways” (3). Martial race theory not only underwrote British administrative and military policy in its colonies, it also transformed the social and cultural practices of those peoples deemed “martial.” For example, an ethnic category that did not exist prior to the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1841-1848 would form the discursive basis of the reorganization of Nepalese society immediately afterward. A corruption of the Nepalese word for one of the many ethnic groups fighting for dominance in the region, the term “Gurkha” would become an organizing principle around which British military planners would actively recruit Nepalese men deemed naturally martial and around which large sections of Nepalese society would stake their well-being in continued British presence in Asia.

Martial race theory thus became the basis for British recruitment policy of native soldiers into its Indian Army after the rebellion. In order to ensure martial race “purity,” all native regiments were composed along racial lines, and no members of one race placed into the regiment of another. In addition:

[g]reat precautions are taken to ensure that the men really are what they profess to be, and their statements as to birth and tribe, etc., are sent to the civil authorities to be verified and corroborated, should the guarantee of the Indian officers in the regiment or other reliable evidence be not forthcoming in the corps. (Armies 142)
Martial race theory then tied a heterogeneous collection of colonial peoples, socially and economically, to the colonial project under the rubric of colonially constructed “race” categories.

Martial race theory points to the complexity of British constructions of colonial alterity, particularly as it relates to the military occupation and its constant effort to suppress continued armed native resistance. Martial race theory neatly divided native violence into two categories: the violence of colonial people who were loyal to the British and the violence of those who were not. Thus, although the theory had its greatest impact in British recruitment policy, it also allowed for the maintenance of colonial alterity that was necessary for continued British domination. By configuring as essentially “martial” the native soldier who (like his British counterpart in the regular army) was willing to give up his life in loyal service to the nation, martial race theory re-inscribes them as colonial “other” while allowing their continued exploitation as cannon fodder in the maintenance of the colonial project.

III

Martial race theory, which would become the framework for many of Britain’s colonial assumptions and policy in Asia from the mid-nineteenth century onward, almost exactly reproduces the logic of thinking on the Highland warrior society in early part of the century. The structural and substantive affinities between the theory of the martial Highlander and the theory of martial races of south Asia discursively place the Highlander and the martial race subject on a sort of ethnic identity continuum, rather than on opposite and exclusive poles in a binary system. Like Highlanders, martial races of India were inherently martial: they were physically “hardy” and “intrepid.” Like the Highlanders,
martial races were thought to have sprung largely from the northern areas of the subcontinent, especially from its mountainous regions. The more mountainous the terrain from which they originated, it was thought, the better the soldier they could make. Soldiers recruited from martial races were also thought to be unique among other native troops in their steadfast loyalty to their immediate superiors. If given superior commanders, soldiers of martial races could perform amazing feats of skill, daring, and courage in battle. As such, martial race soldiers were always led by British officers. As Roberts emphasizes:

Indian soldiers, like soldiers of every nationality, require to be led; and history and experience teach us that eastern races (fortunately for us), however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that Native officers in this respect can never take the place of British officers. I have known many Natives whose gallantry and devotion could not be surpassed, but I have never known one who would not have looked to the youngest British officer for support in time of difficulty and danger. (444)

Early nineteenth-century narratives of the historical transformation of the Highlander like Stewart's, from clansman to regimental, also provided the teleology in martial race writings for the initial recruitment of colonial subjects. Like the Highlanders, martial races were esteemed as formerly antagonistic combatants who had put up a particularly good fight against British regulars and thus were deemed worthy of active British recruitment. British histories of individual martial race regiments routinely begin with their own colonial “Culloden,” event, the historicized moment when warlike native resistance is resoundingly defeated by British military force and then contained and redirected in support of that military force.

Cynthia Enloe has suggested that the remarkable affinities between the recruitment and status of Highland regiments in the late eighteenth century and those of colonial martial races of the nineteenth century points to the prevalence of the phenomenon she calls “the Gurkha syndrome.” Martial race groups—
Gurkhas, Sikhs, Punjabis, and Scottish Highlanders—are all examples of “ethnic soldiers.” The historical uses of such soldiers by the modern nation-state, she argues,

reveal how central state regimes have used, and continue to use, ethnicity to maintain political order and their own authority through particular manpower conceptualizations and manipulations. (ix)

Scottish Highlanders and colonial martial races are both examples of ethnic groups that “state elites” make dependent on soldiery as a profession and who therefore become firmly within the state’s sphere of control.

Much British colonial military writing suggests that sympathies and kinship must naturally arise when the men of one “martial race” fight side by side with the men of another. As an English commanding officer of a regiment of Gurkhas writes:

Mr. Thomas Atkins—especially the Highland Atkins—and the Gurkha are great friends. They fight together, take walks together, smoke together and drink together, the while the Gurkha copies his paragon in all he does, even to learning his bagpipes. That they are quite unable to converse does not seem to matter in the least. Their tastes are similar, and they are just attracted to one another and become pals. The Gurkhas and the 42nd (Black Watch), in Kabul, used to go about in pairs, sometimes jabbering fluently in their respective tongues, although well aware the other did not understand a single word. More often, though, they sat together in silence, smoking. The fact that they both smoked pipes may have brought them into companionship. (Woodyatt 179-180)

MacMunn evokes Highland society to explain the origins of the martial races in India:

It is as if the Scottish Highlanders and their chiefs, their clansmen and their dune-vassels [sic] remained cognate, aloof and separate from the rest, colonizing far and wide but remaining apart with great place, from the rest of the world. (Martial Races 7)

These suggestions of actual affinity or analogy between martial races and Highlanders seem to imply that martial character in general, whether of the Scottish or Asian kind, is a universal condition that can at times transcend the
boundaries of race and nationality. If, however, as Enloe suggests, soldiers of
colonial "martial races" can be thought to be similar in socio-political terms, in
their relation to British state military apparatus, the representation of this
continuum abruptly breaks down for several reasons in military writing on the
Indian Rebellion. For one, any suggestion—beyond the occasional declaration of
affinity between the Scottish Highlander and the Asian martial race subject—that
the European Highlander was no different than the Indian native would have
constituted a radical undermining of British assumptions of racial superiority. In
this way, the suggestion of Highland/Asian martial race affinity acts as the
exception that proves the rule of European superiority. For another, and more
significantly, the figure of the Highland soldier takes a predominant role in
military discourse of the rebellion as a unique epitome, in both thought and
deed, of the nation's fighting man. The figure of the Highlander serves an
important ideological function for British nationalism, which precludes the
possibility of transracial Highland/Asian martial race affinity at the very
moment that it evokes the alterity of the Highland figure to articulate its
uniqueness. The Scottish Highlander is the "other" figure in the colonial military
text that stands for the British colonizer and never the native soldier.

IV

The historical events of the eighteen months of the Indian Rebellion, as Indian
resisters first overwhelmed and occupied strategic towns until they were routed
and dispersed by British military forces, became emotional milestones in the
story of the nation. One of the earliest examples of rebellion historiography, The
Narrative of the Indian Revolt, was one of the first full-length treatments of the
rebellion, even though it reads, in the fashion of a Time-Life book, as a cobbling of
newspaper accounts rather than a dense meticulous historical account. (In the
style of the popular press of the time, the text promotes its illustration by "nearly
two hundred engravings from authentic sketches."} The *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* quotes an "American journalist" who sums up the underlying failures of racial understanding that led to the rebellion:

A curious study they are... the Hindoo and his ruler. Nature never intended the two races to occupy one country... The Oriental character and that of the Anglo-Saxon are the opposite poles of mankind; hence the rule of England in India has had no moral result. It has familiarised the native with European commerce, and, to a certain extent, with European science too, but the Hindoo and the Musselman remain as far from Britain as their ancestors. (333)

W. H. Fitchett's *Tale of the Great Mutiny* is even more emphatic in its coding of the mutiny along national/racial oppositions. The purpose of Fitchett's narrative, he declares, is to demonstrate "the imperial genius of the British race!" (22).6 Fitchett is also careful to dismiss suggestion that the rebellion was in any way a national uprising:

At the time of the Mutiny there were 38,000 British soldiers in a population of 180,000,000. If the Mutiny had been indeed a "national" uprising, what chances of survival would the handful of British have had?" (10)

Rather, he argues, "[t]he outbreak was... at the beginning, a purely military mutiny; but its complexion and character later on were affected by local circumstances" (10). This refusal of any suggestion that the rebellion could have been a deliberate organized national uprising implicitly supports British ideology that native resistance in India reflected a peculiar Eastern mix of fanaticism and child-like devotion to despotic rulers--men like Nana Sahib, the "ruthless butcher" of women and children at Cawnpore.

Thus, though narratives of the events of the rebellion reinforce British assumptions of race and nation in general, these assumptions are expressed through contrasting masculine codes of the British and Indian fighting man. In the extreme oppositionality of war narratives, the Sepoy mutineer is uniformly
fanatic, barbarous, cowardly, duplicitous, militarily inept, and treacherously disloyal. Further, the inherent treachery of the native motivates the mutiny in the first place. As the *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* explains, "the treachery, the cruelties practised by the mutineers against those to whom they were bound by every tie of honour and morality to be faithful . . . have combined to arouse throughout Europe the highest and most anxious interest" (2). Fitchett goes even further, personifying the treachery of the native mutineer in the figure of Mungal Pandy, the supposed instigator of the mutiny, whose name would come to stand for all Sepoy mutineers, in the shorthand of wartime. In contrast, the British fighting man is just as uniformly cool, disciplined, fearless, skillful, and utterly loyal to his queen, his country and its cause. Narratives of the Indian Rebellion are invariably stories of soldier heroes, where individual acts of British men embody the nation's greatness.

Accounts of British soldiers fighting in India provided a particularly satisfying ideology, combining national and racial superiority and devotion to duty. The Highland soldier, who in the Victorian age was celebrated for his exploits on the Peninsula, in the Crimea, and in colonial wars elsewhere, continued to be celebrated after the Indian Rebellion. In addition to his warrior code, however, the Highland soldier provided an element to British war narratives that the common British soldier could not: a unique spectacularity. Moreover, this spectacle gets its power from the exotic visual signs of the Highlander in battle. The Highland soldier in his uniform in action in India gives accounts of the rebellion a powerful visual theatricality. He makes British masculine superiority 'visible' in the text in a way that no other figure does.

V

It is a commonplace that Victorian notions of middle-class masculinity rejected self-conscious concern for outward appearance as the sign of the
benkrupt theatricality of the aristocratic dandy. The model of the Victorian gentleman, for example, depended on an internalized masculine self-fashioning which was independent of, and incompatible with, outward appearance. Middle-class masculine professional dress became increasingly subdued and uniform in the Victorian age. Adams points to an underlying contradiction in middle-class constructions of masculinity, between the rigorous ascetic self-discipline that lies at the heart of these constructions and the simultaneous need to perform such a masculinity as a socially mediated identity. Adams writes:

[T]he Victorian gentleman—in common with the Carlylean hero, the Tractarian priest, and the Tennysonian poet—invariably depends on forms of recognition that he professes to disdain, and is thus implicated in the logic of the dandy. (10)

Yet there was one arena of masculine endeavor where theatricality of outward appearance was both sustained and encouraged throughout the nineteenth century. Although the British military uniform, like the rest of male fashion, became more subdued as the century progressed, the uniform consistently worked to render its wearer and his masculinity highly visible. Indeed the very purpose arguably of the uniform is to signal visually the masculine code of the soldier. In the Victorian age, the soldier’s devotion to duty, his courage, and his loyalty were to be produced from within, yet the wearing of uniforms suggested that the masculinity of the soldier was never completely internalized but always—as Adams terms the costume of the dandy—socially mediated.

The Highland uniform was uniquely thought not simply to mark the distinctive character of the regiments who wore it, but also of the distinctiveness of their national/ethnic character. No other British regimental uniform was so thought to convey the inherent fighting spirit of the men who wore it. Also, in visual representations of the war, no British regimental uniform more often provided the stunning visual spectacle of Britain at war than the Highland
uniform. In her analysis of British war art, J. W. M. Hichberger points out 
"[d]espite the numerical minority of Scottish regiments in the late Victorian army, 
the Scottish soldier received more pictorial coverage than any other. The 
Highland regiments, with their kilt and plaid uniforms, dominate" (106). Textual 
narratives looked to descriptions of the Highland regiments to provide spectacle 
in word-images.

Fitchett's description in The Tale of the Great Mutiny of Colin Campbell—the 
Scottish commander of British forces during the rebellion—as he reviews a 
Highland regiment before the assault on Lucknow, is typical:

The 93nd was drawn up in quarter-distance column... as Colin Campbell 
rode down to review his forces that November afternoon. It was in full 
Highland costume, with kilts and bonnets and wind-blown plumes. 
Campbell's Celtic blood kindled when he reached the Highlanders. "Ninety-
third!" he said, "you are my own lads; I rely on you to do the work." And a 
voice from the ranks in broadest Doric answered, "Ay, ay, Sir Colin, ye ken us 
and we ken you; we'll bring the women and children out of Lucknow or die 
wi' you in the attempt." (213)

Fitchett here freezes the narrative frame to give a virtual tableau of Highland 
military spectacle.

Perhaps nothing so dramatically demonstrates the strangeness of Highland 
identity as the propensity of its men to wear a dress. Yet this "traditional" 
costume of the Highlands was a nineteenth-century invention that was intricately 
bound up with the militarization of Highland culture. As Malcolm Chapman 
emphasizes: "This set of garments has never been the popular dress of anyone, 
outside the Scottish Highland regiments of the British army, and outside self-
consciously folkloric circles... (emphasis in original) (7). Hugh Trevor-Roper 
adds

[In the thirty-five years during which the Celtic peasantry took 
permanently to the Saxon trousers... it was the Highland regiments 
alone which kept the tartan industry alive and gave permanence to the 
most recent innovation of all, the Lancashire kilt. (25)

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Thus the Highland dress of tartan kilt, sporran, and knee-high socks, is essentially a male costume which not only connotes "Highland" culture but the uniqueness of Highland masculinity. As Chapman defines it, the Highland propensity to wear a dress, which continues to fascinate non-Highlanders, is an example of "oppositional dress" which, perhaps paradoxically, emphasizes the alterity of Highland masculinity. Highland men

so it seemed to their observers, wore dresses in flagrant contravention of established propriety. This classificatory anomaly excited attention, and it did not need much tweaking of structural oppositions (such as male:female, controlled:uncontrolled, pastoral:settled, wild:civilized) to generate the notion of men whose sexuality was ever-accessible, wild, uncontrolled, and exciting. (17)

The Highland kilt produces fascination in that it exposes what should be concealed, the male body and, even more provocatively, hints at the exposure of the male sex and the center of masculine potency. In the form of a military uniform in war accounts, the kilt subdues and contains the "wild masculinity" of the Highland man beneath an outward show of discipline. Yet these accounts are careful to emphasize that underneath the Highland kilt still lies a Highland wilderness, an uncontrolled masculine potency, that reveals itself in battle. Fitchett, for example, writes:

Then the bayonets came down to the charge, and with heads bent low and kilts flying in the wind, the Highlanders went in with a run. The charge was in perfect silence... but it was so furious that m诱惑d and guns were carried in an instant, and the village itself swept through. (133)

In this passage, individual Highlanders are reduced to glimpses of their uniforms, the kilt becomes a visual metonym for Highland masculinity in battle. The symbolic force of the Highland uniform and its utter strangeness are said to work their magic against native resistance. The very sight of the Highland uniform is enough to cause native bewilderment and apprehension. In his
memoirs, a Highland regimental surgeon describes his entry into India and the powerful effect the sight of the Highland uniform produces on natives and non-natives alike:

[The regiment] caused quite a sensation in the city of palaces [Calcutta], for a kilted soldier had never been seen there before. The natives gazed in silent wonder at the peculiar dress and the stalwart figures of the new sahibs, or gagra wallahs (petticoat men) as they called them; and Scotchmen, who had long been exiled from home, rose from their desks, and came out and stood at the doors of their offices to look with feelings of pride at their countrymen . . . . (Munro 118)

Highland spectacle produces a double effect in the colonies: it prompts an instant patriotic reaction from Scottish colonial administrators, for whom the kilt brings recollections of their homeland, and inspires a disorienting awe on the part of the natives. Fitchett recalls the sheer terror that the mere sight of the Highland uniform can produce in the native mind when he describes the storming of Lucknow: "The spectacle of a Highland bonnet and menacing claymore, making its appearance above the ditch, proved too much for the sepoys . . . They fled . . . ." (359).9 Yet the most dramatic example of the power of Highland spectacle is in the rumors, oft-repeated in accounts of the rebellion, that

the natives gaze at the Highlanders with astonishment and dread, and style them (with references to their garb) 'the ghosts of the murdered Englishwomen risen to avenge!' The battle of Oano disabused them of this idea, and the Highlanders were pronounced 'petticoated devils.' Still they were a puzzle. The Sepoys could understand the existence of devils, but could not comprehend why they should be bare-legged. At last the truth came out. The devils were bare-legged in order more conveniently to break Sepoys across their knees. (Narrative of the Indian Revolt 189)

James Cromb, in his account of the exploits of The Highland Brigade (1891) provides a more dramatic variant of the story, jumping into the minds of the defending Sepoys as they resist the British advance on Cawnpore:
For a moment their hearts swelled with exaltation on the kilted
Highlanders, and persuaded themselves that, the feringhee men being all
slain, their wives had now come to offer feeble fight. (83)

There is no evidence that the rumors of Sepoy panic and confusion at the
uncanny sight of transvestite Highland troops are actually true, but the stories of
native terror in the face of Highland strangeness are more important for what
they say about British assumptions about native attitudes.10 Cromb's moment of
native "gender confusion" provides for a dramatic reversal immediately
afterward when Sepoy exaltation turns to foreboding and then to terror as they
are easily routed by their Highland attackers. Fitchett, in his emphatically racist
argument, suggests that the native belief in vengeful ghosts reflects their
"childlike ignorance" and superstition.

Highland dress in general in these examples acts as a sort of "oppositional
dress" that is strategically deployed by the British against another, second,
"opposite": native Sepoys. Highlanders are thus, by virtue of the uniform, the
exotics of the British army used in a sort of psychological warfare against an
eastern exotic enemy. No other uniform was said to have such an uncanny effect
on native troops because no other uniform was thought to reflect the utter
strangeness of its wearer.11 Highland oppositionality is set against colonial
"otherness" in these narratives to demonstrate British superiority.

The Highland spectacular assault usually works as a one-two punch, a unique
aural as well as visual extravaganza. The image of the kilt is invariably
accompanied by the sound of the bagpipe, which is thought to rouse the national
martial spirit of the Highlander, as the strains of their traditional national
instrument recall to them their mountain antecedents. The bagpipe does this in
combat by producing a sound that can carry, even amid the din of battle, for
miles both because of its tone quality and volume and by the specific martial airs
that are played upon it. More often it is simply the sound of the bagpipe that

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registers in these accounts. Cromb's description of the battle for Lucknow is representative:

Above the roar of the battle was sounding the wild war notes of the bagpipes--sweetest music in a Highland soldier's ear--for John Macleod, the Pipe-Major of the 93rd, remembered well his duty in the turmoil. He had been among the first to force his way through the breach, and no sooner was he within the building than he began to encourage the men by vigorously playing his pipes. The more hot and deadly the battle became the more high-strung became the piper's feelings, and the more loudly did the bagpipes peal and scream--John standing the while in positions perfectly exposed to the fire of the enemy, to whom doubtless he appeared as some unearthly visitant. (203)\(^\text{12}\)

The sound of the bagpipe is described as "shrill"; it is a "wail" or a scream" that "pierces" the air, and its unique sound quality and carrying capacity figure in one of the most popular stories of the Indian Rebellion: the story of Jessie Brown (née Campbell), wife of a corporal trapped during the siege of Lucknow. The story, which is repeated in various forms in various histories of the rebellion, appears in the form of a third-person account in the *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*. The story is told by a M. de Banneroi, "a French physician in India" who heard it from a "lady, one of the rescue party" of the besieged city. In addition to appearing in histories such as the *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, the story inspired songs, illustrations, plays, and figures prominently in Tennyson's commemorative poem on the rebellion. In the story, Jessie Brown is confined to her bed in the besieged British Residency compound, consumed with a raging brain fever as the Sepoy attack on Lucknow continues with no relief in sight for the beleaguered British force. Awakened from her fever, she suddenly bolts upright and exclaims to the anxious company "Dinna ye hear it? dinna ye hear it? ay I'm no dreamin', its the slogan o' the Highlanders! We're saved, we're saved!" Then flinging her herself on her knees, she thanked God with passionate fervour" (187). No one in the room can hear what she hears, and no one believes
her at first, taking her exclamations to be the symptomatic ravings of her fever, but of course Jessie proves to be correct: the "slogan of the Highlanders" is the sound of the bagpipes played by Highland regiments as they descend onto the city.

At that moment, we seemed indeed to hear the voice of God in the distance when the pibroch of the Highlanders brought us tidings of deliverance, for now there was no longer any doubt of the fact. The shrill, penetrating, ceaseless sound which rose above all other sounds, could come neither from the advance of the enemy, nor from the work of the Sappers. No, it was indeed the blast of the Scottish bagpipes, now shrill and harsh, as threatening vengeance on the foe, then in softer tones seeming to promise succor to their friends in need. Not a heart in the Residency of Lucknow but bowed itself before God. All ... fell upon their knees, and nothing was heard but bursting sobs and the murmured voices of prayer. (188)

The uncanny sound of the bagpipes gives way to the sound of prayer and is thus encoded as the sound of Christian redemption in the face of heathen destruction. It is the sound of Christian vengeance and triumph, the sound of the cavalry coming over the hill, to rescue the women and children from the Indians just in the nick of time. The sound of the bagpipe is the sound of God, queen, and country. Yet the bagpipes derive their power in the story only because of the exotic unfamiliarity of their sound. It is only because Jessie is a Highlander (and a Campbell) that she can hear the bagpipes from such a long way off, even when no one else can. As the eyewitness to the scene remarks of the company surrounding Jessie: "Our dull Lowland ears heard nothing but the rattle of the musketry" (187). Thus the story of Jessie Brown re-emphasizes Highland alterity as it strategically deploys the "sound" of that alterity in a narrative that underscores the moral and military superiority of the British in India.

VI

The popularity of the "romantic" Jessie Brown story points to its particular effectiveness in shoring up British confidence in its ability to regain control of its colonial possessions. The story of the rescue of British civilians, particularly
women, dramatically evokes the anxiety of Anglo-India attacked at its most vulnerable point and then resolves that anxiety in a comforting resolution: salvation through military victory. The desire for this particular form of narrative of British success in India is understandable in light of the multitude of reports coming out of India, especially in the early parts of the rebellion, which largely configured the British national trauma in India as a repeated assault on the female body.

The Indian Rebellion is unique in the annals of British colonial wars in the nineteenth century in that it was the only time when British women were caught in the fighting and often come under direct control of native resisters on quite a grand scale. Even though the reports of the widespread atrocities were later proved to be untrue (the popular British press was demonstrating the spuriousness of the worst claims of acts of atrocities, even as the Rebellion was winding down 1858), the assault on British womanhood that they articulated gave the Indian Rebellion a unique traumatic intensity.

Jenay Sharpe's work superbly demonstrates the importance of the image of the British woman in narratives of the Indian Rebellion. As she states, "[a] representation of English women as the innocent victims of anti-colonial rebellion was instrumental both in reestablishing preexisting structures of colonial authority and in preparing the grounds for new ones" (65). Native violence against British women furthermore confirmed British assumptions that native resistance was an act of anarchy, of the barbarity of Indian society. Perhaps no other figure demonstrated more prominently the barbarity of native violence committed against British women than Nana Sahib. It was at Cawnpore that the rebel leader, upon his retreat from the city only two days before British forces re-captured it, killed his civilian hostages—over 200 women and children—and threw their bodies into the Ganges and a well in the British residency. In
British military historiography of the events in Cawnpore, it is not the atrocities themselves that figure most prominently, but the reaction of British soldiery as it comes upon the scene in the aftermath. Fichett avoids graphic description of the actual killings and instead provides a much more detailed account of the "evidence" of the massacre, seen through the eyes of the British soldiers who come upon it as they retake the city. He recounts the reaction of the first British soldier who stumbles upon the scene:

'the next moment . . . he came rushing out, his face ghastly, his hands working convulsively, his whole aspect, as he strove in vain to gasp out some articulate sounds, showing that he had seen some dreadful sight' No living thing was in the place; but the matting that covered the floor was one great sponge of blood . . . . Little pools of blood filled up each with inequality in the rough floor. It was strewn with pitiful relics, broken combs, pinafores, children's shoes, little hats, the leaves of books, fragments of letters. Long locks of hair were strewn about, severed, but not with scissors. (145)

Configured as evidence, as the signs of atrocity, the "relics" of the scene are so traumatic to the British men who witness them, that the mere sight of them acts as justification for the ensuing acts of brutal British military reprisal. The *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* hints at this dynamic of atrocity begetting vengeance and brutality:

These awful stories (and some even worse are whispered) will not be forgotten as long as England exists. At present, they are rankling in the heart of every British soldier and sharpening every British bayonet in India. (2)

The scene of atrocity at Cawnpore immediately provokes what can only be described as an outburst of masculine hysteria. Cromb writes:

[The men who had marched so bravely and so un murmuringly from Allahbad, who had rushed to the cannon's mouth and their comrades wounded, dying and dead around them, now broke down and wept like "bearded babes." But sterner thoughts followed. Deep and bitter curses upon the miscreants who had done this deed burst from their heavy hearts and vows of vengeance terrible to hear. (102)
Fitchett acknowledges as barbarous, and thus more characteristic of the Oriental mind rather than the British one, the reprisals of British soldiers in the wake of Cawnpore—his example is that of the high-caste Brahmin resisters captured at Cawnpore who were compelled to clean up a few inches of the blood-stained floor (and thus were “ceremoniously defiled”) and then immediately hanged and buried in a ditch. Yet he legitimates such acts as indicative of the severity of the crisis and the “uncanny” surroundings in which British soldiers found themselves.

British reprisal is coded as justifiable Christian vengeance, provoked by the trauma of the historical moment, which cannot undo the violation of British women but can recover some moral equilibrium. As Sharpe summarizes:

The representation of the English lady as an institution that had been desecrated plays into a code of chivalry that called on Victorian men to protect the weak and defenseless. Presupposing their women to inhabit a domestic space that was safe from colonial conflict, these men responded as good soldiers, fathers, and husbands. They reasserted claim over what was rightfully theirs by protecting the victims and punishing the offenders. In this manner, the knightly virtues of honor, a veneration of women, and protection of the weak were invoked so that the army as an institution could act as a punishing avenger. (emphasis in orig.) (76)

Highland soldiers invariably are described as an especially effective kind of British army avenging angel. Their special masculinity, with its smoldering barbarity that always lurks just beneath the veneer of military discipline, is especially required in the face of native outrages. Savagery, in other words, must be met with equal savagery. Cromb describes the reaction of Highlanders after witnessing the scene at Cawnpore:

They pulled the corpses from the well, and it is said, although we do not vouch for the accuracy of the statement, that when the Highlanders thought they had come upon Miss Wheeler’s body, they cut the hair from her head, and sitting down and counting each man his portion, swore that for every hair a rebel should die. (102)\textsuperscript{14}
The desecration of British women provides the spark that ignites the will to violence of the Highlander, all in the service of a British ideology of civility that otherwise forbids such feeling in normative middle-class masculinity. Fitchett codes this will to violence as "Gaelic Fury" that can be released upon British command:

Before the command could be repeated, or the buglers had time to sound the advance, "the whole seven companies [of Highlanders] like one man leaped over the wall with such a yell of pent-up rage as I never heard before or since. It was not a cheer, but a concentrated yell of rage and ferocity, that made the echoes ring again; and it must have struck terror into the defenders, for they actually ceased firing . . . . (24)

Cromb emphasizes both the special ruthlessness of the Highland regiments as well as their ability to be released at will:

[T]he kilted soldiers never paused. Their formation was perfect and . . . they looked more as if engaged in a display parade than facing the storm and stress of actual warfare. [T]hey brought their bayonets to the charge . . . and like a pack of eager hounds dashed at the gunners. And now came a time of retribution to those black wretches who had the temerity to stand the shock of Gaelic fury. (93)

"Gaelic fury" is both the unique provenance of Highland masculinity as well as the general act of British retribution against the wretchedness of native resistance. Invariably it is the special ferocity of the Highlander that makes him so effective as an avenging angel.

Sir Joseph Noel Paton's In Memoriam neatly demonstrates the special symbolic power of the spectacle of the Highland soldier and his role as avenging angel for the whole of the nation. Paton, a Scot, presented his painting to the Royal Academy in late May, 1858, while several thousand British troops were still in India fighting sporadic resistance. Intended to commemorate the resolve of British women as they helplessly await their fate at the hands of onrushing Sepoys, In Memoriam proved to be one of the most controversial works ever exhibited at the Royal Academy in the nineteenth century.
Brian Allen explains that the composition of Paton's work recalls Renaissance prototypes of Christian martyrdom,

with its figures turning eyes to heaven in prayer. Paton inscribed on the picture frame the words of the 23rd Psalm, "Yea though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death; yet thou art with me" (241).

Yet Paton's triptych of British women helpless before the native onslaught amid the chaotic clutter of strewn gloves, hats and other items of European clothing— the once ordered domestic space of British colonial women hopelessly disordered by colonial insurgency—was harshly condemned in the press. The Illustrated London News (which had proved instrumental in bringing the graphic images of the rebellion into English homes) described In Memoriam as

[m]ore of the Charmel-house! Ay, and in passages which curdle the blood with vain, indignant horror, and make one wish that the pen of history could for once be plunged in Leith . . . . There, in that miserable murder hole, crouch the helpless English women and children of Cawnpore. Terror, anguish, despair on every face . . . . The subject is too revolting for further description . . . . The picture is one which ought not to have been hung, and in justice to the hanging committee, we believe that it was not done so without considerable compunction and hesitation. (qtd. in Harrington 165)

The reviewer for The Athenaeum criticized the painting as "cruel and in woeful bad taste. It should have never been hung" (qtd. in Harrington 165). Reaction by reviewers and visitors to the Royal Academy was so severe (Punch reported that one visitor to the gallery had "swooned . . . before one of the horrible Cawnpore pictures") that Paton was compelled to withdraw the painting and make changes, which he set to do soon after the painting was first presented. What had so offended viewers was arguably not the painting's graphic depictions of violence (a severed hand is just visible in the foreground of the painting) but that it depicted the imminent rape and murder of British women at the hands of the mutinous Sepoys. At the upper left of the original version of the painting, an open door reveals, in the words of the Illustrated Times, the "advancing Sepoy"

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with his "blood-spotted legs, and his clenched musket . . . ferocity glaring in the
eye, and bristling in the beard" bursting into the residency compound (qtd. in
Harrington 165).

Paton's solution to the controversy surrounding In Memoriam was to repaint
the space of the doorway and window, replacing the image of rebellious
colonials instead with the unmistakable image of Highland regimental soldiers.
The fanatic masculine energy of the colonial, which threatens to completely
destroy British colonial order (as represented by the female body), is converted
into the instantly recognizable image of the Highlander, who embodies British
discipline, chivalry, and masculine energy. In doing so, Paton transforms the
implied narrative of his work: the moment of British female violation becomes
instead the moment of British female deliverance.15 The scene of the painting is
no longer Cawnpore, but Lucknow, where British military force relieved the
beleaguered civilian population and began the long campaign to regain colonial
control. After Paton's revisions, the painting proved a great success and, as the
letter-press on W. H. Simmons's engraving of the work makes clear, the meaning
of the painting was successfully "re-coded." The letter-press states that the
painting was "[d]esigned to commemorate the Christian heroism of the British
ladies in India during the Mutiny of 1857, and their ultimate deliverance by
British prowess" (qtd. in Allen 241). Paton's work pulls from the resonant cachet
of assumptions about the Highland warrior popularized by the writers we have
seen.

In only a brief appearance in Paton's work—one can just see a glimpse of a
Highland soldier as he steps across the threshold and enters the residency
compound—the painting sums up the iconography of the Highland soldier. As
the Highlander steps into the room, he reveals the exposed knee below the belted
tartan kilt, the sporran, dirk, rough red beard, and the Glengarry bonnet, all
images that would recur again and again, fetishized throughout the century in visual and textual representations of the nation at war. With the possible exception of a prodigiously antlered stag standing before a mountain-belted loch, perhaps no image said "Highland" in the nineteenth century more than the figure of the Highland soldier in his uniquely peculiar uniform.\textsuperscript{16}

The awe-inspiring exotic spectacle of the Highland uniform, the eerie echoing wail of the bagpipe, and the ferocity of the "Gaelic Fury" unleashed are depicted in war representations of the colonial rebellion which produce a spectacle of British masculinity in opposition to native masculinity. As they do so, the unique aspects of Highland masculinity are framed in a national/racial script which codes the rebellion as a struggle between Anglo-Saxon civility and Asiatic barbarity. However, the underlying assumption of Highland alterity which informs the Highlander's special character causes ruptures in the logic of the racialized discourse on the Indian Rebellion. Fitchett's "Celtic fury" for example, seems to place the Highlander on the wrong side of the colonial binary. Neither "cool," "steadfast," "calm," nor "workmanlike," the characteristics of the normative British fighting man, the Celtic masculine character seems to have more in common with the "wild," "fanatic," "half-crazed" native Sepoy. In a small rhetorical gesture that links the "Celt" and the native even more closely, Fitchett acknowledges that the Sepoy does have one "Celtic quality":

\begin{quote}
his loyalty must have personal object. He will endure, or even love, a despot he can see and hear. He can be ruled; but it must be by a person, not by a "system." When the commander of a regiment of Sepoys ceased to be a despot, the symbol and centre of all authority, and became only a knot in a line of official red tape, he lost the respect of his Sepoys, and the power to control them. (12)
\end{quote}

Here, in one brief passage is the echo of Scott and Stewart on the Highland clan system as well as that of MacMunn and Roberts on martial races. Even in Fitchett's history, one of the most extreme examples of racist narratives on the
rebellion, the Highlander slips back and forth between "semeness" and "otherness." A figure that is meant to affirm British racial and national superiority in spectacular fashion undermines the binary of colonizer/colonized upon which this affirmation is based. The moment when the Highlander meets the native is the moment when the colonial logic of alterity begins to unravel.

VII

In conclusion, I want to point to one last paradox of the figure of the Highland soldier. The cataloging of Britain's fighting men in India does more than illustrate the glorious spectacle of Britain's superiority over its colonial enemies. It also serves to provide a vehicle for depicting models of exemplary masculine behavior. The story of the fighting in India is often the story of the exploits of individual men whose courage, steadfastness, loyalty, and intelligence are fashioned from the supreme test of combat. The assumption of natural Highland military prowess suggests that references to the individual exploits of Highland soldiers who fought in the Indian Rebellion would be commonplace. Yet there are few examples of specific works on individual Highlanders, even though in general the Indian Rebellion marked the beginning of Victorian interest in "Tommy Atkins," the common British soldier. For example, the Narrative of the Indian Revolt, though it makes ample reference to Highland soldiers, invariably depicts them in groups, never singling out the actions of individual Highland soldiers. The lack of references to specific Highland acts of heroism in narratives of the rebellion points again to the anomalous position of the figure of the Highland soldier and the resulting failure of Highland exemplarity.

An exemplary narrative, in order to produce the desired effect of molding masculine character, presupposes that its reader must identify with its subject: the reader who fashions himself by desiring and thus emulating the character of
the British soldier-hero must first see himself as fitting the mold.19 Yet because the military prowess of the Highland soldier is essentialized, bound up with his ethnicity, the Highlander is not available as a role model for anyone. Only a Highlander can follow the peculiar warrior code of the Highland soldier. A non-Highlander can never be a Highland soldier, and, conversely, the Highland soldier can only follow the code prescribed for him.20 This failure of exemplarity reinforces the paradoxical nature of the construction of Highland masculinity: Highland masculinity is idealized in accounts of war at the same time it is deemed “abnormal,” always a deviation from normative British masculinity. Thus, because Highland heroism is considered a product of his ethnicity, there is no anxiety that the Highlander in any way risks emasculation by the assaults of idleness, leisure, or domesticity, the bugbears of Victorian manhood. Neither does Highland masculinity require a constant arduous ascetic regimen to shore it up. In short, the effeminate Highlander is an impossibility.

Yet the rigidity of the construction of Highland masculinity is also its most profound limitation. The assumption that the Highlander is naturally suited for a military life ensures his unsuitability for anything else, and the figure of the common Highland man rarely is represented in the century except as a soldier. In the marginal economy of the Highlands, a military career proved to be one of the few practical avenues to livelihood for Highland men. Scots in general would occupy positions in the British army in proportion far exceeding their relative number at home. The construction of the Highland warrior-soldier would tie him, like his martial race counterpart in Asia, to the continued existence of Britain’s colonial system.
Notes

1 For recent studies on the Indian Rebellion, see Guha, Desai, and Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies 1857-59*. For a general account, see Hibbert. The Indian Rebellion also figures prominently in Indian nationalist historiography of the early part of the twentieth century, as the first great struggle of Indian resistance against British colonial rule. Vinayak Savarkar's historiography *The Indian War of Independence* (1909), for example, declares as its object "to inspire this people with burning desire to rise again and wage a second and a successful war to liberate their motherland" (qtd. in Chaudhuri, *English Historical Writings on the Indian Mutiny*, 170). For studies of historiography on the rebellion see Chaudhuri, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny 1857-59* and *English Historical Writings*.

2 For a general bibliography of Indian Rebellion writings, see Ladendorf. For one on literature of the rebellion, see Gupta. For studies of the literature of the rebellion, see Sharpe, and Brantlinger.

3 Throughout the history of the Indian Army, native soldiers outnumbered British soldiers by a ratio that was never smaller than 2 to 1. The ratio of native troops to British troops went from its pre-rebellion figure of 8 to 1, in May 1857 to 2 to 1 in early 1860. This change in the ratio was in direct response to the rebellion and was maintained until World War One. The rebellion also produced a general increase in the number of British troops stationed in India. Before the rebellion, the Indian Army was composed of 40,00 British troops and 300,00 native troops. In 1860, the number of British troops increased to 60,00. By 1908 the total number of British troops had risen to 75,702. This number represents half the total British military force of the time. (Spiers 121-138).

4 Indeed, one of the recurring hotly debated historical events in Highland regimental histories is whether, during the recapture of Lucknow, it was a
Highlander or a Sikh who first entered the wall breech. Because soldiers from both Highland and Sikh regiments were fighting so closely together, even eyewitness accounts were contradictory.

5 Woodyatt writes that Gurkhas even have a natural "fondness" for the bagpipes:

In their own country they have something similar. I don't quite know when they were started, but I believe the old 4th, in 1884, was the first unit to have a regular set. Almost every [Gurkha] battalion has a complement of pipers now. It is usual to send selected men to a Highland regiment for a proper course of six months or more, with refresher classes every two or three years afterwards. (185-186)

6 In his influential and extensive history of the rebellion, John William Kaye emphasizes that the link between the rebellion and British (English) character is his central theme. He argues in his preface that the "Englishness" of colonial administrators had directly instigated the rebellion:

It was in the over-eager pursuit of Humanity and Civilisation that Indian statesmen of the new school were betrayed into the excesses which have been so grievously visited upon the nation. The story of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 is, perhaps, the most signal illustration of our great national character ever yet recorded in the annals of our country. If I have any predominant theory it is this: Because we were too English the great crisis arose; but it was only because we were English that, when it arose, it did not utterly overwhelm us (xii).

7 For an analysis of the concept of the gentleman in Victorian England, see Gilmour. For a study of the changes in professional masculine dress in the period, see Davidoff and Hall, 410-415.

8 For definitive studies of Highland costume and its history, see Telfer Dunbar, History of Highland Dress and The Costume of Scotland.

9 This belief that the mere sight of the Highland uniform could inspire terror in the nation's enemies formed the basis for arguments against periodic attempts by the Army to abolish the kilt in favor of a more "practical" uniform. As early as
1864, a colonel in the 79th Regiment argued that, in addition to allowing for the free circulation of air and allowing flexibility during forced marches, the kilt "has, upon many occasions, struck the enemy with terror and confusion" (qtd. in Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, 162).

10 On the importance of rumor during the Indian Rebellion and the "truth-effects of fiction" see Sharpe, 59-69.

11 For example, during the Napoleonic Wars, the Highland uniform inspired not as much fear as fascination. Telfer Dunbar reveals that during the occupation of Paris after Waterloo, "the French were fascinated by the appearance of Highlanders strolling along the boulevards, and soon the print and caricature sellers were doing a tremendous trade in comic and serious illustrations of the kilted troops." As a Scottish observer of the time wrote of a visit to the Opera:

In one general dance four of the performers were elegantly dressed as Highland soldiers: the latter much excited the Parisians. Their entrée was loudly applauded, and the exact imitation of their dress occasioned much mirth. 'Vive les Ecossais!' was the cry. It is pleasing to see how much these brave men make friends even of their enemies.

Tartan dresses and feather bonnets even became the rage of Paris fashion. (*The Costume of Scotland*, 173-174).

12 Unfortunately it was sometimes difficult for a piper to continue to find such distinguished work after his discharge from the army. A Highland regimental officer of World War One reports that a piper Finlayson [who] was given a [Victoria Cross] for his fearless playing of the pipes in open as his regiment stormed their position. Later he became, I rather regret to record, the popular hero for some years of the music halls. (General Sir Hubert Gough, qtd. in Kiernan 104).

13 The well at Cawnpore would later become the site of an elaborate memorial to the British men, women, and children who lost their lives in the rebellion. The
memorial was just one of many that the British would erect in the wake of the rebellion. As Bernard Cohn writes:

For the Englishmen in the latter half of the nineteenth century, travelling in India as visitors or in the course of their duties, there was a regular Mutiny pilgrimage to visit the sites of the great events—the Delhi Ridge, the Memorial Well and the Gardens in Kanpur, capped by a large marble statue of the Angel of Resurrection, and the Residency in Lucknow. Tombs, memorials, stones and their inscriptions, and tablets which are affixed to the walls of European churches marked for the English the martyrdom, sacrifice and ultimate triumphs of military and civilians whose death made sacred, to the Victorian Englishmen, their rule in India. (179)

14 “Miss Wheeler” was said to have been the daughter of the commander at Cawnpore. After Nana Sahib took the city, Miss Wheeler was determined to die rather than face sexual dishonor at the hands of Nana Sahib’s forces. In one version of her story, after first shooting down five of her captors with a revolver, she threw herself into the well. Seven years after the rebellion it was proved that Miss Wheeler had not died but, after having married a sowar and converted to Islam, she was still in India living with her husband’s family. For a discussion of the story of Miss Wheeler, see Sharpe, 70-73.

15 The irony of Paton’s use of the trope of the male Highlander as rescuer of British womanhood is that, only a little more than 100 years before the male Highlander was considered a savage, though sometimes incompetent, sexual predator. A satirical poem of the early eighteenth century recounts the misdeeds of a Highland host “who came down to destroy the Western Shires in 1678”:

This red-shank [Highlander] from no good pretence,
Pursued the Lass ben to the spence
And aiming at some naughtie deed,
Pull’d up his plaid and ran with speed,
She with a flesh-cruik in her hand,
Advised him a back to stand,
But he presuming for to struggle
Occasioned a huble buble
The story is something od
She with the Flesh-cruik gript his cod,

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So held and rag'd and made him squil
And ay cry out the Deu' l the Deu' 1,
But getting of away he flees,
While blood was spreading down his Thighs
For several daies he keept to his Bed
And when he got up he strid led
From either hands they get small thanks
Who are the authors of such pranks. (qtd. in Donaldson 51)

In addition to their large sexual appetites, Highlanders were thought to have unusually large sex organs, which, as Colley writes, "reflect[ed] the fact that—like blacks in the American south—they were seen as both primitive and threatening (n. 36, 395).

16 The image has continued in arguably more benign forms. The image of Dewars Scotch, for example, had long been, until recently, a Highland regimental soldier in full marching regalia.

17 In military circles, accounts of individual acts of special distinction on the part of individual soldiers were not simply important for their exemplarity, but also were crucial in determining one’s future advancement in the army. A positive mention in an official dispatch by a commanding officer in the field could ensure promotion. A service record without such mentions could doom a military career. Historiographies of the war intended for a largely military audience tend to be overly scrupulous in their encyclopedic recording of any act of merit by individual soldiers, whose rank, name, and, regimental affiliation are given. An example of such a historiography is Forrest’s History of the Indian Mutiny, which includes lengthy details of the careers of several British officers up to their service during the rebellion. Chaudhuri calls Forrest’s historiography "a biography of mutiny veterans" (English Historical Writings, 167).

18 One notable example of a personal account of the average Highland soldier’s experience in the Indian Rebellion is Forbes-Mitchell’s The Relief of Lucknow. Forbes-Mitchell, a sergeant in the 93rd Highlanders provides a
straightforward account of both the brutality of the war and the less-than-heroic actions of Highland soldiers, who, while on a drunken rampage, looted the town after they captured it. Neither does Forbes-Mitchell claim any special intrepidity on the part of Highland soldiers. His is a largely unromantic account of the daily marching, fighting, and burying of the dead.

19 For an analysis of heroic exemplarity during the Indian Rebellion, see Dawson, Chap. 5.

20 The irony of assumptions of the special nature of Highland regiments is that as the century progressed, fewer and fewer of their new recruits were actually from the Highlands. The Highland Clearances, emigration, and the increasing urbanization of British society all took their toll on recruiting in the rural Highlands. For example, as Spiers reports:

[w]hereas the 42nd Foot (the Black Watch) had found 51 per cent of its recruits in the Highlands in 1798, it secured only 9 per cent from that region in 1830-34, and a bare 5 per cent in 1854. Like other Highland regiments, it had to seek an increasing proportion of its men from the Lothians and Glasgow. (48)

James Grant, a former officer in a Highland regiment who wrote several novels on military and Highland themes in the nineteenth century, laments the "de-Highlandization" of Highland regiments and the demise of their special esprit de corps in his preface to The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, published in 1881:

The modern mode of recruiting in the Lowlands—a necessary consequent to the depopulation of the Highlands (where now more than two millions of acres are deer forest) and the new system of linked battalions—have changed the general tone of the Highland regiments, so clanship is almost forgotten in the ranks, and Gaelic unknown, or nearly so. (v)

Grant's lament reflects his own nationalist agenda of supporting land reform of the Highlands. The long service of the Highland soldier to the nation interestingly forms the basis for Grant's call for special consideration of the
Highland plight. Yet with few exceptions, the fact that in Highland regiments one was more likely to hear working-class Glasgow slang than Gaelic was generally overlooked in the nineteenth century.
CHAPTER SIX

"MY HEART IS IN THE HIGHLANDS": HIGHLAND LANDSCAPE AND THE HIGHLAND DOMESTIC SCENE

I

In John Grant's sentimental novel of the 1880s, *The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders*, the Highland native Duncan Daljarroch is a soldier in the regiment of the Queen's own son, Leopold. Daljarroch gets into a shouting match with the Earl of Abercainnie and his friend, Athole McCringer, a vulgar ex-Lord Advocate. McCringer ridicules the patriotic feelings of Scots, particularly of Highlanders, and asks:

"[W]ho cares now about depopulation in the Highlands, or desolation, as some folks call it, while the shootings let well? or who cares whether Scottish wants, as they are called—harbours or refuge, coast defences, and general matters of internal government—are attended to or neglected?" (John Grant 70).

Daljarroch is content to hold his tongue and let this comment pass unnoticed, but when McCringer "makes a grotesque grimace" and puts his hands to his ears when he hears the sound of the bagpipes from outside the Earl's residence, Duncan loses his temper:

"The pipes! you sneer at them too, Mr. McCringer; but of course, that is part and parcel of your sentiments and your system—sneer at them, forgetting the part they have borne in nearly every battlefield that has been glorious to Scotland and to Britain; forgetting too, that they speak, as nothing else on earth can speak, to the heart of the Scot who is far away from home; harsh, wild, barbarous, and uncouth as you may deem the instrument. If you had heard our pipes, as I have heard them many a time

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and oft, ringing in the hot still air of an Indian night, rousing perhaps the
tiger in the jungle, or waking the deep echoes of the Himalayan forests, yet
bringing tender associations of the distant land where home and kindred
were—of the green hills and broomy glens, the blue waves climbing the
dark-brown rocks, of the voices and faces of the loved, the lost, and the
dead, "old Scotland, one and all," with what is now, and what has been—
had you heard them, I say, as I have done, when the sky above was fiery as
molen brass, and the heat was such that your sword-blade grew hot in the
sunshine, you would not act thus, and to me, of all men!" (John Grant 72)

Daljarroch's outburst is long, but it also nicely sums up the paradox of the
Highland soldier, whose "barbarous" native instrument sustains him in the far-
flung reaches of the British empire, where he risks his life subduing other
colonial "barbarians." In his descriptions of the scenery of his Highland home,
however, Daljarroch also details key elements of the Highland landscape as it is
depicted in the nineteenth century: aesthetically alluring, sublime, and
powerfully associative. The Highland landscape is dark and gloomy, but it also
evokes a sentimental nostalgia, the memory of the soldier's domestic relations
"back home."

The ability of the bagpipes to produce a mental image of the Highlands that is
both homy and picturesque is perhaps to be expected for a native Highland
soldier, and Daljarroch's idealized description gives testament to the diasporic
consciousness of Highlanders of the time. Though the Highland soldier may
indeed return to the Highlands for a time, for the many people who left the
Highlands for good because of eviction, famine, or unemployment, the
Highlands were as much an "imaginary" homeland as a real one.¹

The depiction of the Highlands as both aesthetically desirable and as the site
of an idealized domestic scene is not one that emanates only from Highland
sources, but is the dominant metropolitan mode of representing the Highland
landscape and what I more generally call the "Highland scene." From the mid-
eighteenth century onward, the Highlands connoted not only a particular region

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of geographical space but a particular *topos*. Although the specific geographical boundaries of the Highlands and the methods used to fix these boundaries vary greatly in metropolitan representations (for example, the Highlands are sometimes defined geographically and sometimes topographically; sometimes the Highlands includes the Islands, sometimes they do not) "the Highlands" are a self-contained entity with clearly defined parameters and an internal coherence. Metropolitan representations of the Highland space placed it on the margin of the British nation, a frontier space where civilization brushes up against, and finally gives way to, primitiveness. Travelers to the Highlands from the eighteenth century onward uniformly construct themselves as outsiders to the Highlands who must, sometimes implicitly, journey into the Highlands from someplace else and eventually journey out. The Highlands are always a "different" space and the most popular non-fictional generic modes for apprehending the Highland space, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards—the military survey, the picturesque travel narrative, and the ethnographic treatise on Highland customs and manners—reinforce their difference. Whether the intent of these descriptions is to provide a key to finding pleasing landscapes or to aid in "opening up" the Highlands to economic development, the Highlands are the "other" space of the British nation.

The passage from Grant's novel, however, points to what I argue is another integral element of metropolitan representations of the Highlands; that is, in the Highlands the traveler can find a particular idealized domestic scene that the traveler not only admires but which the observer can seek to emulate. The idealization of Highland domestic scene as one of simple rusticity, seclusion, and loving family relations derives in general from eighteenth-century assumptions about Britain's own native Noble Savages. I would suggest that this initial understanding of Highland domestic life allows for a powerful identification
with the Highlands on the part of the increasing numbers of travelers invading the Highlands. Also, the increasing popularity of the Highlands for travel and travel writing later in the eighteenth century and after allowed for a wider circulation of women’s accounts of the Highlands. Because the travelogue was a less authoritative genre and hence more accessible to women, the majority of women’s representations of the Highlands are in this form. Travel writers like Dorothy Wordsworth and Anne Grant in the early part of the century, and Queen Victoria later in the century, go to the Highlands expecting to find, like their male counterparts and traveling companions, a Highlands that is both aesthetically pleasing and completely different from the landscape of their homes. Unlike male travel writers, however, these women also find in the Highlands an ideal domestic scene that at least partially disrupts the construction of the Highlands as the "other" space. The Highlands for these writers becomes a place that potentially is more "homey" than home, a place where they can live life more truly and genuinely than is possible "back home." In search of the "other" these women discover what they define as an "authentic" self-identity.

It is only in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when both British men and women began to venture in increasing numbers to the Highlands, that the development of the idea of the Highland home became possible. In the middle part of the century, the Highland landscape was the exclusive domain of the military surveyor whose job was not to sketch the landscape according to a set of aesthetic conventions but to map out sites for troop garrisons and military roads. The first extensive metropolitan accounts of the "Highlands" were for the purposes of controlling and subduing what was seen as an inherently unruly space. Though recent analyses of the depiction of the Highlands landscape focus on the popularity of the picturesque, it is also important to remember that
depictions of the Highlands have in common with those of other colonial spaces around the world the element of surveillance. The metropolitan gaze surveys the Highland landscape not only to look for pleasing views but to watch over and control an unruly populace. For General George Wade, who was made Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty’s Forces, Castles, Forts, and Barracks in North Britain immediately following the failed Jacobite insurrection in 1715, the Highlands were a self-contained zone of anarchy and rebellion. Jacobitism, an ideology with adherents throughout England and Scotland, was granted a unique spatial coherence in the Highlands, and the military surveying of the Highlands for potential strategic sites to build garrisons and the military roads that served them represented an early institutional effort to “re-order” the Highlands, to change their meaning. If the Highland topos was one of political anarchy then it was only reasonable that the state, in the form of a succession of parliamentary acts, would attempt to transform the raw material of this anarchy into a basis for political order and prosperity in the Highlands.

Through the Annexation Acts in 1746, following the last attempted Jacobite insurrection, the British state attempted a re-ordering of the political, economic, and social condition of the Highlands through an unparalleled coercive intervention. The acts effectively turned over the estates of thirteen prominent Jacobite landowners in the Highlands (and only in the Highlands) to the nation as a whole. Jacobite land became state land overnight and the transfer was total:

'[A]ll and every Lands, Heretages, Debts or Sums of Money, Goods or chattels whatsoever’ and generally the ‘Estates, Goods and Effects Heretable and Moveable, Real and Personal, descendent to Heirs or Executors, Jurisdictions, Life-Rents Rights’ belonging to any persons attained for treason between the 24 June, 1745, and the same date in 1746 were to be ‘discovered, known, described and ascertained, and that Rents, Issues and Profits be brought for the Use of His Majesty.’ (qtd. in Smith 3)
The acts not only undermined the financial basis for continued "anarchy" in the Highlands but also mandated that the property of the annexed estates were to be used for the purposes of:

'civilising the inhabitants upon the said estates, and other parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them the Protestant religion, good Government, Industry and Manufactures, and the principles of duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and to no other use and purpose whatsoever.' (qtd. in Smith 26)

This mandate points to an important shift in institutional thought on the Highlands in the mid-eighteenth century. No longer were the Highlands simply to be controlled. To destroy forever the social and economic roots of Jacobitism, which seemed indigenous to the Highlands, the region was to be civilized, "improved" in the rhetoric of enlightenment thought, in toto. In other words the wealth of anarchy would be used to destroy it, and in its stead, civilization would be rooted in the Highlands.

The idea of improvement also initiated a new structure of representing the Highland landscape. As the Annexation Acts themselves implied, the actual practice of improving the Highlands necessitated a massive effort to know and understand them. Improvement placed a new epistemological grid over the Highlands for the purposes of ascertaining "useful" knowledge of the Highlands that would aid in their transformation. Improvement again dictated that the Highlands be re-ordered but on a scale much greater than ever before, requiring the expertise of theorists in a wide variety of fields—agriculture, civil engineering, statistics, and political economy. The improving impulse reached its height in the late eighteenth century when Parliament adopted a series of Highland development plans to continue the work of the Annexation Acts in "civilizing" the Highlands in three vital areas: in the construction and maintenance of roads...
and bridges; the construction and expansion of harbors and forts; and the development of industry and manufacturing.

Sir John Sinclair, a Scottish MP and founder of the Highland Agricultural Board, was perhaps the most influential proponent of the ideology of improvement in the Highlands. Sinclair’s own greatest contribution to improvement knowledge was his *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* (1825). The *Analysis* is an important text in the development of statistical analyses, but also a milestone in the history of improvement texts on Scotland in general and the Highlands in particular, because of its influence and its ambition. Sinclair’s intent is nothing less than to provide an exhaustive impartial account of the nation in a format devoid of what he defines as “national prejudice” and “ignorance.” Useful knowledge of the nation can be reduced to an accumulation of facts and statistics, and only through this knowledge can a government understand the “circumstances of its own people and the state of the countries they inhabit” (Sinclair 56). Sinclair writes:

> Political knowledge . . . cannot be intuitively attained. It is the result of information and experience; and what is experience but a record of facts? For the proper government of a country therefore, it is necessary to analyse its physical and moral capabilities, and to examine its resources, whether depending upon man, or inanimate nature. When every circumstance relative to the people, and the territory of a country, is thus developed, the government will find comparatively little difficulty in legislating for it. (Sinclair 56)

Sinclair’s *Analysis* reflects the improver’s assumption that the social, political, and economic workings of a nation or a region can be wholly “known,” and with this knowledge, well-intentioned state administrators cannot help but secure prosperity for their citizens.

In this vision of the nation, progress and economic prosperity alone are privileged. Land and people are understood only in terms of their ability to produce wealth. Land unfit for tillage was, by this definition, “wastelands” and
therefore of no value to the nation. This focus on productive value, both of the land and the people, was to have a great significance for Sinclair's analysis of the Highlands, where neither the land nor the people previously had been thought capable of producing anything. The shortage of tillable land was for Sinclair the root cause of the continued emigration of the native Highland population. Though many of his contemporaries had seen the wave of Highland emigrations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a shameful sign of the nation's failure to support its people, Sinclair argued, to the contrary, that Highland emigration is a natural and welcome outlet for a "superabundant" population:

In such a state of society, when the numbers of people exceed the means of employment or subsistence, emigration is the most obvious remedy; and there are instances in the statistical volumes, of that mode of relief having become necessary and actually put in practice . . . . Thus the population of the Isle of Skye having been constantly increasing for eighty years, the inhabitants had so much multiplied, that between August 1771, and October 1790, no less then eight large transports sailed from that island with 2400 emigrants, to seek settlements in America . . . . In the small island of Eigg, also containing only 399 souls, no less than 176 persons emigrated between 1788 and 1790; the principle cause of which, we are told, was, the country being so overstocked with people, that the lands were unable to supply them sufficiently with the necessaries of life. (Sinclair 147)

"Overstocking" of people in the Highlands necessitates their removal and expansion as settlers into other regions across the ocean in Britain's colonial network, in a complex dynamic that ensures, in Sinclair's account, the "health" of the nation and its continued expansion around the world.3

In addition to its incipient utilitarianism, Sinclair's account is an example of the "totalized" vision of the Highlands to which the ideology of improvement always implicitly aspires. No single element of the Highlands can be understood without a macro-understanding of all the elements of the Highlands. A statistical account allows for such a macro-understanding and allows its metropolitan

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reader, while sitting in his club in Edinburgh or anywhere else, to comprehend
the Highlands more fully and completely than any single native Highlander
whose experience can only be local and thus incomplete. Also, Sinclair’s account
presupposes that, though the specific statistics on Highland economic, political,
and agricultural practices are particular to the region, the principles by which
these statistics are ascertained and interpreted are universal. Sinclair’s totalized
and “universalized” vision of the Highlands shares with other colonial analyses a
desire to make non-metropolitan places “readable” while at the same time
making them “different.”

Though Sinclair removes himself completely from his text, positioning
himself as a compiler of information gathered by others, the accounts of
improvers “in the field,” especially those charged with converting improvement
theory into practice in the Highlands, reveal a more direct involvement and
personal pleasure in the work of nation-building. In his engineering reports to
Parliament on the conditions of roads and bridges in the Highlands, Thomas
Telford satisfyingly constructs himself, not as the agent of invasion in the
Highlands, but as a disinterested Scottish patriot. Born near Langholm,
Dumfriesshire, Telford rose to prominence as the most eminent civil engineer in
Britain by the 1820s. Known as the father of modern British civil engineering,
Telford became the first president of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1820.
Many of Telford’s engineering projects in the Highlands, including the
Caledonian Canal, can still be seen there. Telford’s reports employ the colorless
rhetoric of the “objective” dispassionate state agent, unmistakable even from the
perspective of 270 years. Yet Telford is also clearly the wandering “I” of his
narrative. Though he traveled with two assistants, his report only makes
mention of himself. Telford describes himself as a kind of “advance scout” for
civilization, viewing the landscapes not in aesthetic terms but engineering ones.
Ideal locations are those which, for instance, can afford the best situation for siting a bridge, where the ground is conducive for bridge supports, where the roadway is in least danger of being swept away by floods and ice, and where foundational rubble-stone can be obtained cheaply from nearby local quarries. 4

Like Sinclair, Telford sees his work as ultimately serving the best improving interests of the Highlands. Yet, not unexpectedly, Telford describes a theory of nation-building that is above all dependent on the development of roads.

Arguing that the funding of Highland roads should be split evenly between the state and private landowners, Telford writes:

> The empire at large being deeply interested in those improvements as it regards promoting the fisheries, and increasing the revenue and population of the kingdom, justifies government in granting aid towards making roads and bridges in a country which otherwise remain, perhaps for ages to come, thus imperfectly connected; yet as the landowners in those extensive districts through which the roads would pass . . . would enjoy improved cultivation and pasturage, increased incomes, and all the blessing which are to be derived from a facility of intercourse, it is certainly just that they should contribute a share with the Government in the expense of acquiring those advantages. (Telford App. 294)

Roads are the linchpin of improvement because they allow for the “perfectibility,” defined in completely utilitarian terms, of “intercourse” between the Highlands and outside. Isolation has been the Highlands’s failure, and as a governmental agent of civilizing the Highlands, Telford’s great challenge was to devise roads that “penetrate[d] the greatest extent of the country at the least possible expense” (168). By surveying for road and bridge sites, Telford’s narrative advances the work of “opening up” the Highlands. Roads act as the “lines of communication” and are called for:

> by the situation of the interior parts of the country [north of the Caledonian Canal], where there are many fertile valleys which hitherto have remained nearly inaccessible. It is incalculable the loss which the public has sustained, and are about to suffer, from the want of roads in this country. (Telford App. 294)
The rhetoric of Telford’s survey shares with other colonial accounts metaphors of invasion and penetration. Also, Telford suggests that even Highland roads are by their very nature "different" from non-Highland roads and thus require constant surveillance, in the face of repeated assaults by the wild atmosphere:

For many considerations it will be obvious, that the maintenance of Highland Roads and Bridges in a perfect state requires unremitting attention; for although the passage of cattle, horses, and light carts makes but a slight impression, the winter frosts and heavy rains sometime inflicts injuries which endanger a total interruption of intercourse. This requires the unceasing watchfulness of six superintendents, each having about 200 miles under his charge; the general inspector, moreover, visiting the whole in turn . . . (Telford App.173)

Though no longer in the service of monitoring unruly natives, state surveillance is still required in the Highlands, it seems, to monitor the unruly climate. Telford’s road did not simply allow for a greater intercultural exchange between Highlander and non-Highlander but also provided the means for metropolitan culture to work its way into the Highlands with much greater efficiency.5

Though Telford and Sinclair disagree on the necessity of emigration (Telford argues that road building would put an end to the "evil of emigration" by "exciting industry" in the Highlands), both men share an assumption that the Highlands remain a national "primitive space" and are therefore, for their practical purposes, almost a socio-economic tabula rasa. The metropolitan surveying eye that ranges over the Highland landscape sees "subsistence habitats as 'empty' landscapes, meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and of their potential for producing a marketable surplus" in the words of Mary Louise Pratt. (61) The totalized improving vision of the Highlands demanded that Highland social relations, as well as what we now would call the "infrastructure" of the region, must be refashioned. Primitive material conditions could only improve with a concomitant improvement of the relations of the land and the people, which required the eradication of native social relations. For example, the
elimination of the tacksman—who acted as a kind of middle man between land owner and lessee in the Highlands, renting large plots of land and then sub-leasing plots to several families—was specially targeted by the Annexation Acts because his existence was considered a deterrent to the development of industry. The common Highland practice of short leases was forbidden on the annexed estates on the theory that long (20-year+) leases would ensure that leaseholders would work to improve their leaseholds if they held them for most of their lives. When sheep proved to be more profitable than renters, Sinclair, like many other improvement theorists, recommended that leaseholders should be removed from their small land holdings. In practice this transformation required the forcible eviction of thousands of rural people who found themselves homeless, often overnight.

Improvement theorists were neither ignorant of nor completely unsympathetic to the plight of rural Highlanders in the wake of what is now known as the Highland Clearances. The mass evictions on the Sutherland estate, the worst of which took place in 1819, provoked particular outrage throughout Scotland and beyond its borders. Yet as Sinclair argues, the necessity of eviction is absolutely clear and ultimately beneficial:

> The alteration of the [Highland land] system had certainly the appearance of great rigour, and was frequently attended with much private distress; but it turned out, on the whole, much to the advantage of the tenantry, who, retiring to towns, and applying themselves to various branches of industry, not only improved their mode of living, but were enabled to give education to their children, and to breed them to trades and professions, by which they earned so much, as to have it in their power, to send their parents grateful remittances, sometimes from distant climes. (Sinclair 297)

The ideology of improvement necessitates an absolute rejection of arguments, either on romantic or sympathetic grounds, that any part of Highland social life ought to be sustained and fostered by the state. To do so would be to give in to "national prejudice" and would constitute a betrayal of the best interests of the
Highlanders themselves. A primary difference between the motives of improvers of the Highlands and those of England was that agents like Telford and Sinclair saw themselves not as the agents of private property driven by profit, but as disinterested Scottish patriots who--by wrenching the Highlander into the modern world--would make the Highlands truly a part of Great Britain. Improvement would be the glue that bonded the Highlands forever with the rest of the nation. The underlying assumption of most improvement theorists on the Highlands is that Highlanders were just like everyone else in Britain, potentially at least, and that by knowing the Highlands and applying this knowledge to a radical transformation, the Highlands would one day cease to be so utterly different.

The huge outlay of state money in the Highlands, well over £1 million by the early nineteenth century, eventually necessitated some accounting, and the existing state surveillance apparatus was again sent out to 'read' the Highlands, this time to determine the effectiveness of improvement. The universalized vision of the improvers, exemplified by Sinclair's Analysis, provided ready methods of gauging and recording the state of improvement in the Highlands.

Joseph Mitchell, chief superintendent of roads and bridges in the Highlands (whose father, John, was superintendent before him) toured the Highlands in winter 1828 and reported back to the Highland commission in London. Not surprisingly, Mitchell, who owed his livelihood to continued state improvement projects, reported that "in every category" the Highlands were "improving." Mitchell's benchmarks included increased inns, post-chaises, carriages, and mail servers. In addition to an increase in the number and modes of transportation, are the visible signs in the landscape that "intercourse" in the Highlands is on the rise. In keeping with Telford's assumption that improvement in roads is the linchpin of improved society, Mitchell argued that the direct causal relationship
between the two is readily apparent to the eye. He includes a "letter from a
Gentleman residing in Sutherland" (again, the site of one of the largest evictions
of the clearances) to help his argument. In this letter, the difference between the
image of the Highland landscape before and after improvement is clear:

"When I came to the Highlands in 1809, the whole of Sutherland and
Caithness was nearly destitute of roads. This county imported corn and
meal in return for the small value of Highland kyloes (cattle), which
formed its almost sole export. The people lay scattered in inaccessible
straths and spots among the mountains, where they lived in family with
their pigs and kyloes, in turf cabins of the most miserable description;
spoke only Gaelic; and spent the whole of their time in indolence and
sloth." (Telford App. 465)

However, with the "opening up" of the country by parliamentary roads,

"a more striking example of what roads do affect . . . has rarely been seen;
such a quick exhibition of what natural wealth lay latent in such a country
is unexampled. Your roads were opened . . . [and] we now annually export
from the barren district about 80,00 fleeces of wool, and 20,000 Cheviot
sheep . . . a good many droves of well-fed cattle, and from 30,000 to 40,000
barrels of herrings, besides cod, ling, &c. But the most happy result . . . is its
effect upon the people. The effects of society upon human nature exhibit
themselves;--the pigs and cattle are treated to a separate table; the dunghill
is turned to the outside of the house; the tartan tatters have given place to the
produce of Huddersfield and Manchester, Glasgow and Paisley; the Gaelic to
English; and few young persons are to be found who cannot both read and
write." (Telford App. 465).

Here are the effects of improvement on a landscape encapsulated. The creation
of roads affects a powerful and total transformation of the people, smoothly and
systematically, with not a hint that the natives were hesitant to give up their old
"primitive" ways. Based as it was on the universal principles of human political
economy, how could improvement fail? When it became clear to government
observers later in the century—in the wake of a series of famines and continued
high emigration rates—that improvement was not working in the Highlands, that
the systematic restructuring of agriculture, land ownership, and industry had not
improved the conditions of the rural Highland people, Parliament began to
question not the ideology of improvement but the ability of Highlanders to adopt the ways of civilization. By the 1840s, some commissioners on the Highlands were beginning to wonder out loud whether the Highlanders were simply by nature slothful, indolent, dirty, and incapable of improvement, and therefore akin to the native population of the whole of Ireland. The Highlands, as far as development was concerned, continued to be thought of as a "problem" region of Great Britain, and does so, in some respects, even today.

II

I have so far focused on "improvement" accounts of the Highlands and the Highland landscape in the early nineteenth century. Though this way of seeing the Highlands had, arguably, the greatest effect on the material conditions of rural Highlanders, the improving vision was often limited to the purview of the surveyor, the academic, or the state administrator. For the general population, the principal mode of apprehending the Highlands was aesthetic. The metropolitan tourist in the Highlands came to see mountains, lakes, and cascading waterfalls and was not generally concerned with the practical productive value of heather-covered moorland for livestock grazing. Beginning around the 1770s, travelers to the Highlands came in search of a picturesque landscape, one that conformed to a set of aesthetic principles that privileged irregularity, wilderness, and variety. Tourists in pursuit of the picturesque like William Gilpin, who made a tour of the Highlands in 1776, cultivated not the landscape of improvement, of civilization, but of antiquity and decay. Instead of seeing the landscape in terms of its suitability for future road and bridge work, the picturesque tourist sought the landscape of ruins and looked for signs of only marginal land use. The ideal picturesque figure on the landscape was not the farmer but the gypsy, the itinerant beggar, or the bandit. While the improving
eye saw the landscape only in terms of its use-value, the picturesque eye valued the landscape only in its ability to produce a painterly effect. Also, the improving eye envisioned a Highland landscape that had the potential, at least, to be the same as any other civilized landscape, yet the picturesque tourist desired to visit the Highlands for its very difference. Especially as the picturesque impulse to search for ideal views gave way to a more "Romantic" impulse to seek in the Highlands a particular emotional effect brought on by the sublimity of the Highland landscape, the very difference of the landscape made it attractive to tourists in the first place.

The aesthetic vision of the tourist and the "practical" vision of the improver thus seem oppositional. The former seems inherently backward-looking and sets up the Highlands as a primitive antidote to modern civilization. The latter, inherently forward-looking, seeks to move the Highlands abruptly into the modern world. Indeed, Malcolm Andrews argues that the picturesque aesthetic is "anti-improvement": "Man's presumptuous 'improvements' are repudiated by the Picturesque eye, which 'ranges after nature, untamed by art, and bursting wildly into all its irregular forms.' Man is humbled before the untamed grandeur of nature" (64). The picturesque eye "is hostile to the engineering of social change and prizes the human anachronisms left in the wake of such change" (65).

Further, this seeming opposition between the two ways of seeing the Highlands is the basic observation of Peter Womack's *Improvement and Romance*. Womack argues that the seeming opposition between improvement and romance is in actuality an illusion. The romanticization of the Highlands complements improvement to mystify Highland social relations, which were established in the latter half of the eighteenth century to serve exclusively the economic interests of metropolitan capitalism. Womack writes:
At every stage of its elaboration, the code of Improvement gave rise to discordant tones, dysfunctional ideological traces which it was obliged to elide or exclude: these, precisely because of the hegemonic unity of Improvement itself, formed a coherent counter-image to it, matching its powerful but limited rationale with a utopian but impotent irrationalism, mirroring its economism in a quixotic denial of self-interest, haunting its progressivism with a voluptuous love of the past. [It is the ideological function of the romance that it removes the contradictory elements from the scope of material life altogether; that it marks out a kind of reservation in which the values which Improvement provokes and suppresses can be contained—that is, preserved, but also imprisoned. (3)

As I have said, however, the idealized Highlands, the "Romantic" (in Womack's terms) Highlands, are no less "real" than the "Improvement" Highlands, which are no less "unreal" than their counterpart.

Yet I also argue that there are indeed many parallels between the vision of improvement and of picturesque tourism. First, improvement can be said to have enabled the picturesque tour in straightforward practical ways. Though the tourist looked for isolation and wildness in the Highlands, the increase in roads and bridges, inns, and means of transportation allowed for greater ease of access. Where few but the truly adventurous could navigate in the mid-eighteenth century, by the nineteenth century travel in the Highlands was made possible for a wide section of the British populace. Beyond this practical relationship, however, both the improver and the picturesque tourist envisioned the Highlands as a largely "empty" landscape, whose native inhabitants existed only on its margins. In the case of the picturesque vision, the marginality of the human presence in the landscape is literal: humans are only shadowy figures in the foreground, dwarfed by and demonstrative of the immense scale of the natural elements in the landscape. In the case of the improving vision, marginal land use practices in the Highlands demonstrate the inability of traditional Highland ways to make the land productive.

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Both visions of the Highlands must also be seen in the context of the increase in British nationalism in the latter half of the century. Improvers generally considered themselves as munificent enlightened patriots who were only working to make the Highlands as productive and wealthy as the rest of Great Britain. In their way of thinking, once the potential benefits of improvement were understood and accepted by the natives, the Highlands would inevitably be transformed from a space of insistent disloyalty and depravation to one of loyalty and productive service. For the picturesque tourist, the Highlands were the most extreme stop on a national grand tour that included all of the far reaches of Great Britain. Though the Highland tour often proved the ultimate destination in terms of its wildness, other marginal places in Great Britain, especially in Wales and the Lake District, were other popular destinations. Andrews details the link with the development of the picturesque and British nationalism in the late eighteenth century. British landscape paintings imitative of continental landscape gave way to a "swelling nationalism" which was a "strong pressure behind the emergence of an English school of landscape" (24). Difficulties in "translating and then naturalising the Claudean idiom" in painting "were simply overcome by an enterprising nationalism" in the latter half of the eighteenth century (36). The appreciation of native landscape was heightened during the Napoleonic wars because of increased nationalist sentiment and because the continent was completely closed to British tourists.

Yet if the tourist and the improver ultimately see the Highlands as British, as a part of the nation, they do so with the understanding that they are also outsiders to the region. Both the picturesque tourist and the improver carry with them into the Highlands a totalized understanding of what the Highlands signifies, what it can present to the eye. Often these observers depart the Highland scene with their expectations intact and unaltered. Telford, for
example, carries with him into the region a vision of an improved Highlands, with roads and bridges where only dirt tracks and narrow chasms had existed before, and nothing in his reports suggests he ever wavers from his general assumptions. William Gilpin travels to the Highlands with a systematized set of aesthetic principles with which to apprehend the Highland landscape, and nothing in his travelogue suggests that his experiences in the Highlands required him to alter or reformulate his assumptions, or that he was ever overwhelmed, surprised or disappointed in his expectations. The improving and picturesque ways of seeing the Highlands also nicely contain and control them. Both make the Highlands available for the respective desires of each, yet both allow the observer to retain his distance and control over the scene before him. In turn, the Highlands have no power to defer, to oppose, or to resist the observer's gaze. Both visions preclude the possibility of an alternative local way of seeing the Highlands. The Highland landscape presents, like other colonial landscapes, a space of free play for the metropolitan observer, where he can play out his theories of civilization, economic development, and aesthetics unheeded by the demands, resistance, or alternative perspectives of the local inhabitants.

III

Though the picturesque and improving visions suggest a "colonial" relationship between the metropolitan observer and the "other" landscape, a shift in the structure of the touristic vision also allowed for a profound disruption of this relationship. Like other picturesque accounts of the time, Dorothy Wordsworth's constructs the Highlands as different. In this, though her particular definition of the picturesque may vary, Wordsworth's account is no different from those of William Gilpin, Thomas Pennant, Robert Burns, James Beattie, or many of the male writers on the Highlands. Wordsworth's position as
a woman writer on the Highlands, however, does allow for a re-envisioning of
the Highlands that, at least partially, closes the distance between self and other.

Early picturesque tourists to the Highlands like William Gilpin sought only
that the landscape conform to certain prescribed aesthetic principles. Later
tourists to the Highlands such as Dorothy Wordsworth and her brother, however, demanded a much more "unmanageable" effect. Though she imagined herself largely as a "picturesque" tourist in search of aesthetically pleasing views in the Highlands, Wordsworth also went in search of sublime landscapes that would overwhelm her senses and produce a powerful emotional reaction.9

Wordsworth’s search for the sublime in the Highlands, narrated in her
*Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A. D. 1803*, is predicated on her assumption that the Highland landscape was not only grand but that it was different.10 Touring with her brother (Coleridge abandoned the tour after the second week of the five-week visit) on foot and by "jaunty car," Wordsworth not only expected the Highlands to be radically different from her own environment and even Lowland Scotland, she excitedly wanted them to be so: "We are now entering into the Highlands. I believe Luss is the place where we were told that country begins; but at these cottages I would have gladly believed that we were there, for it was like a new region" (83). The gateway to the Highlands marks the boundary in this passage between the familiar and the strange. Interestingly, Wordsworth is made aware of her entry into the Highlands only afterwards, which would seem to suggest that the boundary line between Highland and Lowland is arbitrary or indistinct. Nevertheless, Wordsworth describes Highland difference as both obvious and profound:

The huts were after the Highland fashion, and the boys who were playing wore the Highland dress and philabeg. On going into a new country I seem to myself to waken up, and afterwards it surprises me to remember

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how much alive I have been to the distinctions of dress, household
arrangements, etc. etc. . . . (83)
The heightened awareness of Highland "difference" not only excites Wordsworth
but produces a heightened awareness of her own cognitive processes, her own
"self." Indeed, John Glendenig writes that this dynamic is illustrative of a phase
of romantic tourism in which "the realization of personal authenticity [is]
founded on the perception of difference" (124). Difference, in other words,
promotes a realization of self.

Wordsworth's search for the picturesque landscape and the emotion it can
instill is not disappointed in the Highlands. For her, like other picturesque
tourists of the time, the Highland landscape ranked above all other landscapes in
Britain because of its wildness, its grandeur, and its almost dangerous isolation.
The Highlands earlier had had a reputation of easily defeating the faint-hearted.
Andrews notes an account of two English tourists who, while traveling through
the same region that Wordsworth describes above:

were alarmed by the thick mists as they set out one morning. One observed
to his companion that he was sure the sun never shone in the Highlands; the
other being of the same opinion, they immediately turned their horses round
and hastened back to the sun-shine of the Seven Dials and the clear
atmosphere of Exeter-Change. (201)

Though the Wordsworths followed travel routes that were, by 1803, familiar
tourist ground, the Highland landscape still reveals a power that Wordsworth
could not have anticipated. Upon arriving to the edge of Lake Ketterine
(Katrine), Wordsworth attempts to describe the scene:

Here I ought to rest, as we rested, and attempt to give utterance to our
pleasure: but indeed I can impart but little of what we felt. We were still on
the same side of the water, and, being immediately under the hill, within a
considerable bending of the shore, we were enclosed by hills all round, as if
we had been upon a smaller lake of which the whole was visible. It was an
entire solitude; and all that we held was the perfection of loveliness and
beauty. (102)
Many times in his *Recollections*, Wordsworth would reiterate this trope: landscape description, followed by a statement of its aesthetic perfection, the overwhelming feeling of being quite alone in the landscape, and an inability to put into words the overall impression of the landscape. The cumulative effect of viewing successive Highland landscapes and the continued emotional reaction that they elicit, rather than satiating Wordsworth's desire for the landscape, actually increase that desire. For example, immediately after the descriptive passage on Loch Katrine, she writes:

> We had a longing desire to row to the outlet and look up into the narrow passage through which the river went; but the point where we were to land was on the other side, so we bent our course right across, and just as we came in sight of two hus . . . Coleridge hailed us with a shout of triumph from the door of one of them, exalting in the glory of Scotland. (102-103)

The effect of so sublime a landscape evokes a continual anticipation on Wordsworth's part. Just knowing that the view of Loch Ballchulish lies beneath a chain of mountains before her and is yet unseen by her and her companions "was enough to excite our longings" to see the loch and receive another dose of the sublime (150). At times, the longing for the sublime effect of the Highlands that Wordsworth experiences is so intense that it is almost painful. Before her visit of the sea-lochs near Arrochar, she describes making note of them on her map of Scotland, which is enough to send her into an ecstasy of her own imagination: "Often have I, in looking over a map of Scotland, followed the intricate windings of one of these sea-lochs, till, pleasing myself with my own imaginations, I have felt a longing, almost painful, to travel among them by land or by water" (117).

The sublime desire-producing difference of the Highlands is reinforced in Wordsworth's journal by her frequent proto-ethnographic observations on the Highland people she encounters. Though it is primarily solitude and isolation that Wordsworth seeks and finds in the Highlands, occasionally she and her
companions come upon an isolated Highlander or small Highland community.
For example, the travelers come upon a lone Highlander on horseback with a
young boy following on foot. A “welcome sight” in the Highland desolation, the
Highlander is hailed by the party, and Wordsworth’s description of his
appearance and manner are typical of her description of individual Highlanders:

[T]here was something uncommon and interesting in this man’s
appearance, which would have fixed our attention wherever we had met
him. He was a complete Highlander in dress, figure, and face, and a very
fine-looking man, hardy and vigorous, though past his prime. While he
stood waiting for us in his bonnet and plaid, which never looked more
graceful than on horseback, I forgot our errand, and only felt glad that we
were in the Highlands. (96)

The appearance of the Highlander, like the Highland landscape, is both strange
and pleasing; the passage also reveals a clear ethnographic assumption that
descriptions of individual Highlanders serve as descriptions of type: the
“complete” Highlander. Most of Wordsworth’s descriptions of individual
Highlanders perform this ethnographic turn of embodying the peculiarity of the
Highlands, a peculiarity that produces not anxiety but pleasure.

This merging of Highland people with Highland landscape, as both are
marked as pleasingly different, is demonstrated in Wordsworth’s description of a
particularly attractive scene she encounters outside of Tyndrum:

On the side of a sunny hill a knot of men and women were gathered
together at a preaching. We passed by many droves of cattle and Shetland
ponies, which accident stamped a character upon places, else
unrememberable—not an individual character, but the soul, the spirit, and
solitary simplicity of many a Highland region. (159)

Highland people, like Shetland ponies and Highland cattle, act as special objects
in the landscape, that connote the “character” of the Highlands as a whole.
Though Wordsworth is attracted to this Highland character, she seems, in this
passage, no more able to sympathize with individual Highlanders than the male
tourists like Gilpin who came before her. The ability of the Highland subject to

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embodi Highland sublimity, Highland difference, is summed up in her description of a Highland boy she encounters just outside of Tarbet:

While we were walking forward . . . we stopped suddenly at the sound of half articulate Gaelic hooting from the filed close to us. It came from a little boy, who we could see on the hill between us and the lake, wrapped up in a grey plaid. He was probably calling home the cattle for the night. His appearance was in the highest degree moving to the imagination: mists were on the hillsides, darkness shutting in upon the huge avenue of mountains, torrents roaring, no house in sight to which the child might belong; his dress, cry, and appearance all different from anything we had been accustomed to. It was a text, as William has since observed to me, containing in itself the whole history of the Highlander’s life—his melancholy, his simplicity, his poverty, his superstition, and above all, that visionariness which results from a communion with the unworldliness of nature. (114)

The boy is a “text” that, while remaining largely inscrutable, is simultaneously completely readable by the metropolitan traveler. His language is unintelligible yet summarizes the sublime character of the Highlands: it is the expression of pure emotion, of feeling beyond words, of the unmediated communion between the human soul and nature. Wordsworth’s journal is full of references to Gaelic utterance, whose sublimity is of course grounded in its difference from English. What Wordsworth and her companions do not see, cannot see, is that the “half-articulated” hooting may, of course, be wholly articulated and completely intelligible to another Gaelic speaker.

IV

Much recent criticism—on Wordsworth in particular and women travel writers in general—has suggested ways in which women’s travel writing reworks or opposes accounts of travel to far-off lands written by men. Elizabeth Bohls, in her work on woman travel writing, argues that “the literate eighteenth-century British woman . . . entitled by class, but not by gender, to the authority of the aesthetic subject,” challenged the prevailing male language of aesthetics (19). Women travel writers in the eighteenth century, Bohls writes:

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found various ways of exposing the flawed logic behind the idea that aesthetic appreciation could be uniform for perceivers in widely disparate material and social situations. Women were well placed to gauge the harmful effects of this doctrine on those disqualified from full participation in aesthetic culture. (7)

Bohl's further emphasizes the importance of genre in exploring challenges to aesthetic conventions. While male writers on aesthetics had access to the more authoritative "treatise" genre, women's writing was relegated to the marginal genres of the travelogue and the novel.

It is through the travelogue that metropolitan women were able to experience and represent the "real" Highlands beginning in the late eighteenth century, and it is the rhetoric of this genre which provides a space for the shift in this representation. Because women travelers to the Highlands were generally amateurs, their accounts are marked by a uniformity and an unconcern for "neutral" objective writing stance. Also, women's writing on the Highlands generally is neither totalized nor presumes the universality of its observations, but emphasizes the subjectivity of all that it narrates. As Wordsworth's descriptions of the Highlands demonstrate, women writers were interested in exploring a wide variety of topics in the Highlands. As Glendenin writes:

The avocational nature of travel freed women to tour, and it also freed them to write about it, while male-controlled disciplines—philosophy, geography, science, antiquarianism, economics—became less important to literary tourism and faded as disincentives to female participation. (5)

Freed from the constraints of more narrowly defined genres, the woman writer mixes freely the rhetoric of ethnography, aesthetic and literary treatise, and, of course, autobiography. Thus, Wordsworth's journal is not merely devoted to the pleasing aesthetics of the Highland landscape but also directs its gaze upon the everyday lives of Highland people.
Chief among these descriptions are those of Highland women and of the domestic space they inhabit. This attention to day-to-day domestic practices of Highland women, and not simply to their appearance as figures in a landscape, sets Wordsworth's account of the Highlands apart from other, male, accounts of the Highlands. Further, the domestic focus of Wordsworth's observations can be seen in the context of what Susan M. Levin argues is Wordsworth's overall revision of "male Romanticism," particularly the male Romantic vision of the relationship between the self and the world beyond the self. Comparing Dorothy's Romanticism to William's, Levin writes:

William characteristically writes of his relationship with the world in terms of interchange, interpenetration, or subjugation. Dorothy, on the other hand, does not tell the story of her life to create a personal myth of self but rather describes the natural world and her own being as they exist together. Journal writing, detailing the surrounding world, becomes for Dorothy a process of consciousness formation. (17)

The Romanticism of female writers like Wordsworth differs from that of their male counterparts in that "their focus on individual relationships, their refusal to appropriate the world, their homebound determinism allow the telling of the feminine self . . ." (173). Levin suggests that Wordsworth's Grasmere Journals reveal the mind of a writer whose construction of self is intimately tied to the local environs of her home and community:

[The] intensity of the responses to her surroundings that characterize Dorothy Wordsworth's personal journals . . . reveals a writer who insistently and coherently puts down what she sees . . . in the context of communal order. Her writing organizes itself around the continually inverting oppositions of community and that which is set apart from the group, around unity and fragmentation, around the telling of personal and communal coherence and isolate autism. (12)

The focus on community and the dependence of the self on the community for its own definition is also evident in her travel writing. The importance she places on examining the relations between individuals and their community in
the Highlands, and her interest in communities she nevertheless considers completely alien to her own, allows her to sympathize, if not empathize, with the female Highlanders she encounters. At an overnight stay at the house of a relatively well-off Highland family Wordsworth describes the arrival of its inhabitants after a day of work:

We were driven into the house by a shower, which came on with the evening darkness, and the people leaving their work paused at the same time. I was pleased to see them a while after sitting round a blazing fire in the kitchen, father and son-in-law, master and man, and the mother with her little child on her knee. When I had been there before tea I had observed what a contrast there was between the mistress and her kitchen; she did not differ in appearance from an English country lady; but her kitchen, roof, walls, and floor of mud, was all black alike; yet now, with the light of a bright fire upon so many happy countenances, the whole room made a pretty sight. (98)

Wordsworth is not only careful to detail the domestic spatial relations in the Highland house but links the prettiness of the scene with the seeming contentedness of its inhabitants. By suggesting the possibility of comparison between the women in the Highland house with "an English country lady," this passage moves in the direction of bridging the vast distance between observer and observed evident in so many descriptions of the Highland landscape. It is only through this observation of the Highland domestic scene, after Wordsworth temporarily takes leave of the landscape and goes inside, that she is able to hear from the Highlanders themselves what life is like. After the first night,

Wordsworth is familiar enough with the MacFarlane family to know their names, and, at breakfast the following day, she enters into conversation with the family:

In talking of the French and the present tines, their language was what most people would call Jacobinical. They spoke much of the oppression endured by the Highlanders further up, of the absolute impossibility of their living in any comfort, and of the cruelty of laying so many restraints on emigration. Then they spoke with animation of the attachment of the clans to their lairds: "The laird of this place, Glengyle, where we live, could
have commanded so many men who would have followed him to the
death; and now there are none left.' (99)

Wordsworth here makes no comment on the Highlanders’ tale of social and
cultural disruption, but in later description of Highland domestic scenes it is
clear that her initial understanding of the Highlands has shifted. Unlike her
interest in the pleasing landscape of the Highlands, her interest in the domestic
life of Highland families often prompts an outward sympathy for the difficulty of
their lives. Having come in search of ideal views, Wordsworth finds the
elements of ideal communal relations, relations she herself had sought in her
Grasmere home. Coming out of the rain near Loch Lomond, Wordsworth
describes the family activity at the ferryman’s house:

Conceive what a busy house it all was—all our wet clothes to be dried,
dinner prepared and set out for us four strangers, and a second cooking for
the family; add to this; two rough ‘callans’ as they called them, boys about
eight years old, were playing beside us; the poor baby was fretful all the
while; the old woman sang doleful Erse songs, rocking it in its cradle the
more violently it cried; then there were a dozen cookings of porridge, and
it never could be fed without the assistance of all three. (110)

Wordsworth admires the busyness and efficiency of the family as it works
together to run the household. This is an example of what Bohls sees as a key
element of Wordsworth’s descriptions of the everyday lives of Highland women.
Bohls writes: “a web of bonds between women, established through transactions
over food and lodging but extending beyond this practical nexus, forms a
significant element of Wordsworth’s counter-aesthetic textual practice” (191).
Inquiring about the arrival time of the ferry, which had gone out on the lake with
a contingent of local churchgoers, Wordsworth asks the eldest daughter of the
family whether the church was very far off. “Not very far off” she replied,
“Perhaps about four or five miles.” Remarking that most Church of England
congregations would miss church “three parts of the year” if the church were
only "half as far," Wordsworth speculates on the motives of the Highlanders for making such long journeys:

They have not perhaps an opportunity of going more than once in a quarter of a year, and, setting piety aside, have other motive to attend; they hear the news, public and private; and see their friends and neighbours; for, though the people who meet at these times may be gathered together from a circle of twenty miles' diameter, a sort of neighborly connexion must be brought about. There is something exceedingly pleasing to my imagination in this gathering together of the inhabitants of these secluded districts . . . . The manner of their travelling is on foot, on horseback, and in boats across the waters,—young and old, rich and poor, all in their best dress. (110-111)

A remark on church-going practices sets off a chain of pleasing associations in Wordsworth's mind, much like the Highland landscape produces a pleasing emotional response. Though she had not anticipated it, her observations of Highland domestic and communal life prompt an idealized set of assumptions that the Highland community is an ideal one—a community whose members take care of their own, a community where neighborly and familial ties transcend class distinctions, and a community that exists in seclusion, away from the distractions and disruptions of outsiders. Wordsworth remains an outsider, yet the hospitality and familiarity of the Highlanders she meets and her willingness to take part, at least temporarily, in their day-to-day lives, allow her to make a sympathetic connection with the people of the Highlands that is impossible in a wholly aesthetic vision of the Highlands.

On the other hand, if it is arguable that Wordsworth's idealization of Highland domestic practices is merely another way of roping off the Highlands as a "different" space, then this argument is reinforced by Wordsworth's frequent associations of Highland domesticity with squalor, wretchedness, and dirt. The other side of the idealized Highland home in Wordsworth's account is the Highland "smoky hut." Describing a town in the Highlands where the windows
and doorsteps are uniformly "as dirty as in a dirty by-street of a large town."

Wordsworth remarks on the essential qualities of the "Highland Hut' as type:

Smoke and blackness are the wild growth of the Highland hut; the mud floors cannot be washed, the door-stead are trampled by cattle, and if the inhabitants be not very cleanly it gives one little pain; but dirty people living in two-storied stone houses, with dirty sash windows, are a melancholy spectacle anywhere, giving the notion either of vice or of extreme wretchedness. (122)

In this passage Wordsworth returns to the distanced, ethnographic, stance of her descriptions of the lone Highlander on horseback; the "Highland hut' stands for primitive--yet not nobly so--domestic conditions in the Highlands as a whole. In another description of a ferry-house on Loch Carron, Wordsworth describes the antithesis of the bustling household of the ferry house on Loch Lomond:

We found only women at home at the ferry-house. I was faint and cold, and went to sit by the fire, but, though very much needing refreshment, I had not the heart to eat anything there--the house was so dirty, and there were so many wretchedly dirty women and children; yet perhaps I might have got over the dirt, though I believe there are few ladies who would not have been turned sick by it, if there had not been a most disgusting combination of laziness and coarseness in the countenance and manners of the women . . . . (141)

Here, the Highland domestic space is both implicitly the feminine domain and a clear marker of Highland difference, of the incivility of Highland women.

Though Glendening argues that Wordsworth's "frequent references to dirt are quickly swept aside by the picturesque and other considerations [and that] her program is similar to wiping smudges from a camera lens" (133), Wordsworth's description of the Highlands constantly oscillates between a sympathetic reading, which partially bridges the distance between self and other, and a more alienated ethnographic account, which reinforces the distance. Though Wordsworth's disgust at Highland domestic conditions ultimately forecloses the possibility of a complete merging of self and other, her account nevertheless

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points to the emergence of a new kind of travelogue that would more dramatically undermine metropolitan constructions of the Highland landscape.

Anne Grant writes about the visit she made to the Highlands from her native Glasgow, but she would remain in the Highlands not several weeks but for years. Grant would not only observe the Highlanders but live among them, and her accounts of the Highlands, though arguably idealized, would nevertheless radically break down the opposition between "home" and "away" "other" and "self" that had previously dominated representations of the Highlands.

Anne Grant's account of her long stay in the Highlands comes mostly in the form of her *Letters from the Mountains*, published in 1806. The *Letters*, like Wordsworth's *Recollections* is marked by an informality and a crossing of generic boundaries. The *Letters* is part epistolary autobiography, part picturesque travelogue, part proto-ethnography, and part conduct book. The *Letters* differs from Wordsworth's narrative in voicing a much closer intimate relationship between its author and the Highlands. Although the beginning and end of the narrative of the *Letters* is structured through a journey into and then out of the Highlands, the visit to the Highlands that the *Letters* narrates begins in April 1773 and does not end until November 1802, a period of twenty-nine years. During that time Grant (no relation to John Grant) lives as a young girl with her family, marries, moves away and establishes her own home in the Highlands, and eventually becomes a widow. The sheer length of her stay, largely in an isolated rural setting; the existence of Highland relations on both her mother's and father's side; her fluency in Gaelic; and her eventual position as an expert on Highland superstition explain the unique position of Grant's *Letters* among metropolitan accounts of the Highlands. Also, the *Letters* enacts a transformation of Grant's character as she becomes one who is "not absolutely a native, nor
entirely a stranger," but somehow both at the same time. Grant's account establishes an intercultural space between metropolitan and "other," inside and outside the Highlands, and "home" and "away."

Since her death in 1838, Anne Grant's writings have fallen into obscurity. Only recently has her work reappeared, both as a subject of criticism and in a recent anthology of women Romantic writers. In the early nineteenth century, however, Grant's writings on the Highlands were not only popular but considered authoritative. In addition to the *Letters* and some poems, her most well-praised work was her *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders*, published in 1811. Walter Scott, in his "Postscript Which Should Have Been a Preface" to *Waverley*, cites Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808) and Grant's *Essays* as two recent works "by female authors . . . whose genius is highly creditable to their country" (494). Hamilton and Grant, Scott writes, give a picture of the manners and customs of the Scottish people "with striking and impressive fidelity" (494). The *Essays* is an important text for Scottish national identity in the early nineteenth century and one of the few attempts by a female writer to venture into the "objective," distanced stance demanded of the essay form. Though Grant rehearses some of her later theories on Highland superstition in her *Letters*, the work presents a much more informal, personal, and intimate account of Highland life than does the *Essays*, a life that for her is focused on domestic activity and child-rearing—and when there is time left over—on travel and writing.

After her marriage in 1779, Grant settled in Laggan. Before that, she resided with her family at Fort Augustus, where her military father was stationed as barracks master. It is in the account of this period of her life that Grant's experience and vision of the Highlands seem closest to those of the tourist. Many of Grant's most rapturous descriptions of Highland landscape are in the first
volume of her two-volume work. In this volume, Grant's descriptions most clearly reveal the influence of picturesque aesthetics. Typical of the picturesque gesture in the early part of Grant's *Letters* is her description of the scenery around Loch Lomond:

Ben Lomond's great head was wrapt in such a thick veil of clouds, that the nearer we drew the less we saw it. [T]he whole party seemed lost in meditation, till the sight of Loch Lomond roused us. What a happy faculty is an active imagination to combat the evils of sickly sensibility! I past over all the beautiful groves and cornfields that adorn the lower side, for I have seen such things before . . . but the solemn and melancholy grandeur of the lofty dark mountains, and abrupt rocks tufted with heath and juniper, that rose on the other side of the lake . . . arrested my attention at once. (I, 19)

The familiar description of the sublime Highland landscape which is able to seize Grant's attention and produce a powerful emotional reaction, appears time and time again in the early part of her *Letters*. Grant's description of the landscape also reveals the influence of the Ossianic poetics of James Macpherson, who was her neighbor in the Highlands. Grant admits to an "Ossianic mania" early in her *Letters*. Journeying to Glencroe for the first time, Grant is unable to hold back her emotions and the Ossianic allusions fairly burst out onto the page:

In this romantick retreat where a blue stream bends its course, with a half circular sweep, through the most peaceful and secluded of narrow vales, the matchless melody of the sweet voice of Cona first awakened the joy of grief. Why did I not go there to meet the fair spirit of Malvina in the haunt of roes? Happy daughter of Tosca! to have thy spotless faith, thy virtuous sorrows, and thy soul-inspired beauties, immortalized in the sublime and tender strains of thy heroick friend!

But as her stay in the Highlands continues, as she becomes more implicated in her surroundings, the descriptions of landscape and evocations of Ossian decrease and descriptions of domestic interiors and the behavior of the Highlanders around her take a central position in the narrative. In a letter

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attached to the later Essays, Grant acknowledges the transformation that had taken place within herself:

When I came . . . to Scotland [after a stay in Canada], Ossian obtained a complete ascendance over my imagination, to a much greater degree than ever he has done since. Thus determined to like the Highlands: a most unexpected occurrence carried me, in my seventeenth year, to reside there . . . yet it is not easy to say how much I was repelled and disappointed. In vain I tried to raise my mind to the tone of sublimity. (Essays II, 353)

Grant suffers a curious failure to "see" the Highland landscape in formerly aesthetic terms. In its place, Grant discovers a new way of "seeing" the Highlands, a way of seeing that arises from establishing long residence:

New objects perfectly compatible with my new duties appeared, and I pursued these with proportionate eagerness. The language, the customs, the peculiar tone of sentiment, and manners of the people,—the maxims, traditions, music and poetry of the country I made my own with all possible expedition. I learnt them in the fields, the garden, and the nursery, in such a manner as rather to promote than interrupt my necessary avocations. And then I spoke of plants, from the fir on the top of Cragallachy, to the house-leek on the cottage wall. What a scene did this open up to me! (Essays II, 338)

The Highland "scene" is no longer just a vast remote landscape but includes the intimate natural elements of the garden and the cottage wall. Living in the Highlands allows Grant to reformulate her method of seeing them, a method that had lost its ability to produce an overwhelming emotional reaction. Now, instead, Grant is able to "see" the Highlands on a much more intimate, immediate, and smaller scale.

As Grant relates her maturation in the Highlands—marriage, running a small farm, and children—the more she is able to observe the daily life of her community and the more she begins to appreciate and idealize the Highland way of life. In what she sees as the close attachments between family members, the interdependence of the community, and its simple, secluded, "rustic" mode of daily living, Grant finds an ideal social community. Even early on in her Letters she describes a Highland community in glowing terms: "The cottages lie in
clusters on the sides of the sloping hills, or in sequestered nooks . . . . And the people have so much the air of loving and helping each other!’ (I, 48) This vision of secluded pastoral quaintness and helping, loving members of the community is only confirmed when Grant herself becomes a member of a Highland community in Laggan. She also remarks early on the intensity of Highland blood ties. When Grant’s mother remarks, after telling "her whole genealogy" to a Highland native, that they are but distantly related, ‘the old lady rose with great solemnity, crying, ‘All the water in the sea cannot wash your blood from mine.’ This tender embrace was followed by a long dissertation on the . . . family, &c.” (I, 64). Parents in the Highlands uniformly dote on their children and “the old people, treated with unvaried tenderness and veneration, feel no diminution of their consequence, no chill in their affections” (I, 52). Veneration of one’s progenitors goes beyond one’s immediate kin to those long dead but still remembered. Grant writes that if she were truly to think like a Highlander:

I should love my father not merely as such, but because he was the son of the wise and pious Donald, whose memory the whole parish of Craignish venerates, and the grandson of the gallant Archibald, who was the tallest man in the district, who could throw the putting stone farther than any Campbell living, and never held a Christmas without a deer of his own killing, four Fingalian greyhounds at his fire-side, and sixteen kinsmen sharing his feast. Shall I not be proud of a father, the son of such fathers, of whose fame he is the living record? Now, what is my case is every other Highlander’s; for we all contrive to be wonderfully happy in our ancestry. (I, 53)

Familial ties go beyond the living, creating an enormous family chain that transcends time.

The central space of idealized Highland family relations is the Highland cottage, and in describing her own Highland home, Grant suggests that it too is a model of happy simplicity:

We live on the banks of the Spey . . . . Mr. G. possesses one way or another, an income of _____. We occupy a comfortable cottage, consisting of four
rooms, light closets, and a nursery, and a kitchen built out by way of addition. It is situated . . . at the foot of an arable hill, behind which stretches an extensive moss, once a forest . . . which is surmounted by a lofty mountain. (II, 26-27)

Grant's description of the domestic scene also acts as a model for what she sees as a "natural" gendered division of domestic labor. Acknowledging that Highland society is essentially patriarchal, Grant recognizes her own limited position as the woman of a "Highland" home. Grant introduces her husband as "the master of the dwelling." Yet rather than suggesting her husband therefore holds absolute dominion over the household, Grant emphasizes that the domestic space transforms him: "[I]n the midst of the circle he most delights in, and in that home . . . he appears to most advantage; because his hospitality and warmth of heart here shine through that cloud of reserve and diffidence which conceals him everywhere else" (II, 28).

Grant's idealization of the private Highland domestic space as the center of virtue, simplicity, and familial love is not only an aspect of her description of Highland society but is also indicative of her own personal and political beliefs. On the one hand, her description of her Highland home life reveals clearly a Rousseauan devotion to "rusticity" and the cultivation of sensibility as well as her pedagogical motives in instructing her actual and implied young readers in these beliefs. Much of the rhetoric in the Letters reveals an impulse to convert her young readers. At one point she admits to not wishing to rest until she had completely "Lagganized" the mind of one of her correspondents. On the other hand, the context of Grant's domestic description, during a period of revolutionary upheaval, clearly reveals her own conservative politics. In a letter dated 1791, for example, Grant declares that the family is the basis for society and that the monarchy is a natural outgrowth of the patriarchal family. In a long passage from that same entry (which she describes as "Burkify[ing]") she
describes her horror at the political excesses of the revolutionary elite in France: "We have never, till now, seen a nation of refined enlightened infidels governed by the dictates of philosophy; and it is hoped that the world will be terrified and warned by the dreadful spectacle" (II, 64). Though Grant admits to admiring the "degree of boldness in her conceptions, and masculine energy in her style" (II, 95), she rejects the feminist arguments of Mary Wollstonecraft and suggests that a woman need only require a "moderate knowledge of geography and history" because that would "qualify[ her for mingling in solid and rational conversation, and makes her more a companion for her husband, and brother, and so forth" (II, 150).

Yet her politics aside, Grant's idealization of Highland domesticity shares with other metropolitan accounts a construction of the Highlands as antithetical to the modern world beyond them. Rustic Highland life is opposed, in her Letters, to the corrupt self-absorbed modern society of the "insipid aliens" who occasionally trespass. Womack dismissively labels this domestic idealization of the Highlands as a "woman's Highlands," part of the structure of the Highland "myth" (139). Even if this is so, the intimacy of Grant's observations of Highland life, her familiarity with Highland language and Highland custom, and her closeness to the Highlands are significant in that they frequently disrupt the boundaries between self and "other" upon which other "mythic" accounts of the Highlands are based. In these moments of disruption, the liminality of Grant's test is revealed most clearly.

For example, there are several moments in the Letters where Grant describes her own life in the Highlands as "typically" Highland, yet complains that the frustrations and limitations of that life arise from its very typicality. Though she can, in broad socio-political terms, exalt the close bonds between family members in the Highlands, she also understands the immense immediate constraints that
Highland patriarchy places on women. Because she has lived like a "Highland" woman for so long, she confesses to a friend, she is able to understand the hardships placed on Highland women in a way that no mere tourist ever could. The heavy demands placed on women that the Highland division of labor necessitate do not allow for the leisurely contemplation and reflection that Grant had been accustomed to before her marriage. She describes her frustration with her husband, whose labor allows for some "free time" in the late morning and who doesn't seem to understand the demands that the household makes of her. After describing a daily work routine that begins at 4:00 a.m. and continues nonstop until eleven, she remarks to a friend in Glasgow on the incomprehension of her husband:

his reverence, calm and regardless of this bustle, wonders what detains me, luring me to walk, while the soaring larks, the smiling meadows, and opening flowers, second the invitation; and my imagination, if it gets a moment loose from care, kindles at these objects with all the eagerness of youthful enthusiasm. (I, 259)

Moreover, Grant links the special work demands placed on her with an essentialized notion of the primitiveness of Highland social codes. She writes:

You Lowlanders have no idea of the complicated nature of Highland farming, and of the odd customs which prevail here. Formerly, from the wild and warlike nature of the men, and their haughty indolence, they thought no rural employment compatible with their dignity, unless, indeed, the plow. This naturally extended the women's province both of labour and management. The care of the cattle was peculiarly theirs. Their manner of life, in fact, wanted nothing but the shades of the palm, the olives, the vines, and the fervid sun of the East, to resemble the patriarchal one. Yet... the housewife who furnishes and divides these matters, has enough to do when her shepherd is in one glen, and her dairy-maid in another with her milk-cattle. Not to mention some of the children, who are marched off to the glen as a discipline, to inure them early to hardiness and simplicity of life. The effect, you know, often continues when the cause has ceased; the men are now civilized in comparison to what they were, yet the custom of leaving the weight of everything on the more helpless sex continues... (I, 257-258)
Adopting a familiar Orientalist trope of the time, locating the most patriarchal form of society in the "East," Grant compares the primitive patriarchal treatment of women in the Highlands with those in other uncivilized climes. Yet, though her overall stance is critical, she also argues that the demands placed on Highland women do have the effect of giving them a power over the management of both the inside and the outside of their home that "civilized" women beyond the Highlands do not have:

[T]he custom [of leaving the weight of everything on the more helpless sex] ... has produced this one good effect, that they are from this habit less helpless and dependent. The men think they preserve dignity from this mode of management; the women find a degree of power or consequence in having such an extensive department, which they would not willingly exchange for glorious ease. (I, 258)

Perhaps ironically, Grant's life in the Highlands, which she often idealizes in her Letters, does not allow the leisure time to reflect, contemplate, and write about that life. In a Christmas entry, Grant writes of the importance of yearly "festivals" in giving her one of the few occasions she has to write at leisure. Paradoxically, Highland domestic life largely precludes the possibility of a female writing from within the Highlands.

Grant's position as a Highland woman who writes about her daily life reveals her anomalous position inside and outside the Highlands. Her discussion of her own frustration at her daily life demonstrates the conflicting position of her text. There are elements in the passages above that are clearly ethnographic: a description of the division of labor in one particular instance stands for Highland households in general and advances a universal understanding of Highland society. There are also elements in the passage which are clearly autobiographical: Grant reveals her own unique frustrations about one aspect of her daily routine in the Highlands. Shifting between these stances, Grant constructs herself in the Letters as both a Highlander and an outsider. Especially
in the earlier entries of the Letters, Grant positions herself largely as a visitor, but as her entries continue, she begins to shift her position. In addition to the frequent use, in the second volume, of “we,” “us,” and “our” when making reference to the Highlands and Highland customs, she later describes her own mode of thought as typically “Highland.” On a solitary stroll near the estates of the Duke of Atholl in Blair, Grant decides to sneak onto the property:

The family that inhabit the mansion were not at home. However, hearing the Tilt murmur softly, and the birds sing sweetly within, I felt the true Highland impatience of bounds and enclosures, and, observing that part of the wall was formed by the bridge of the Tilt . . . I scrambled . . . down the parapet wall, and over the broken crags below the arch, till I got in dry and safe. (II, 131)

Grant’s developing avocation as a translator of Highland beliefs and superstitions also reinforces her liminal position as one who knows the Highlands and can report on them for a metropolitan audience but who does so with the perspective of a native. She describes her frequent difficulty in “transfusing” the meaning of Gaelic thought into English. In one entry, she includes the translation into English of a ballad in Gaelic describing a parent’s grief at the loss of a child. Afterwards she writes: “I have preserved, as far as possible, the simplicity of the original; but its tenderness, the solemn sadness that runs through it, its pathetick beauties, I am sensible I have not reached. I have left out many verses” (II, 172). Grant here, as did Macpherson, addresses the difficulties of translating the Highlands for an English-speaking metropolitan audience, but she also points out that she, at least, has access to it.

Nothing demonstrates the anomalousness of Grant’s inside/outside position than those passages describing her keen intent to raise her own children as Gaelic-speaking Highland “natives.” There are entries in the letters where Grant can barely contain her delight in plans to educate her children not in English, nor Scots, but in Gaelic:

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You cannot think what a source of pleasure my little acquaintance with that emphatick and original language [Gaelic] has afforded me. I am determined my children shall all drink "from the pure wells of Celtick undefiled." They shall taste the animated and energetic conversations of the natives; and an early acquaintance with the poetry of nature shall guard them against false taste and affection. (I, 235)

Grant's admonition against "false taste and affection" reflects familiar Rousseauean pedagogical thinking: to raise virtuous children, one must educate them in the ways of artlessness and simplicity and, if at all possible, in a rustic setting. The Highlands provide a perfect rustic setting in contrast to the cosmopolitan setting of the city, yet Grant also suggests that the opposition between virtuous rusticity and corrupted cosmopolitanism is also a linguistic one: "I never desire to hear an English word out of their [her children's] mouths till they are four or five years old. How should I delight in grafting elegant sentiments and just notions on simple manners and primitive ideas!" (I, 235) By raising her children not just within the rustic setting of the Highlands but as Highlanders, Grant seems to wish to enact a sort of reverse assimilation. Whereas many metropolitan accounts of Highland education called for the eradication of Gaelic as the basis for advancing the cause of civilization there, Grant calls for Gaelic instruction as the basis for a virtuous education in general. It is Grant's hope that her children grow up to become even more "Highland" than she had become. In an entry toward the end of her narrative dated April 1803, however, Grant disappointingly reports that her efforts to educate her children in the Highland way have not been completely successful: "One misfortune I have to lament; my little boy speaks nothing but English. I am so provoked at his losing the native tongue, though it appears to be the only loss which my family sustained in my absence" (II, 234). This passage reveals how
much she thinks of her family and herself as "Highlanders" but also the limitations on their ever truly becoming fully "Highland."

With the death of her husband and straightened financial circumstances, Grant's stay in the Highlands comes to an end, and the Letters ends with her return journey south to Glasgow. Yet the entries that constitute the end of her "visit" to the Highlands and her return to her "home" in Glasgow, reveal how much Grant wished otherwise and how much she considered the Highlands to be her "true" home. Taking a long look back she reflects mournfully:

We made a little world to ourselves, where ease, simplicity, and a kind of negative elegance, grace an undefinable charm to our cottage. This made people of genuine feeling and uncultured taste like it, without being able to tell why. Sweet cottage! must I leave it? (II, 207)

From the point in her narrative when she actually departs the Highlands she begins immediately to transform their meaning: from an actual place of idyllic habitation to a nostalgic evocation of a particular time in her life, when she had lived more truly and perfectly than she had lived before or since. The farther Grant moves away from the Highlands, both in time and space, the more nostalgic she becomes, and the more critical she is of her present environment. This is especially demonstrated in her account of a visit to northern England she makes not long after settling in Glasgow. A description of English gardens evokes a melancholy recollection of the life Grant had and lost in the Highlands:

[The English] have, indeed, little gardens before, but they are such confined, formal, suburban-like things, that they banish the idea of rustic simplicity, nay, even of rural ease. Every place too is covered with tiles, which are my antipathy. My own dear cottage, with its mossy thatch, its woodbine porch, its green court surrounded by shrubs, and its outer court offices, the image of comfort and regularity, came sweetly to my recollection, like joys departed never to return. I heard, an idea, the roar of the mountain-streams, and the blasts from the hills of my father's, while England faded from my view. (II, 219-220)
Though Grant would later establish herself among the *literati* of Edinburgh in the 1820s, she here speaks of a dislocation and nostalgia that is more evocative of exile than relocation. In doing so, Grant reverses the trope of "journey and return" that reinforces the distance between self and the landscape of the "other" in so many travelogues of the Highlands and of exotic destinations in general of the time. Rather than describing a return journey where self and location are bound together under the rubric of "home," Grant describes a return that is attended by increasing and, perhaps unexpected, alienation of self from surroundings. Far more disappointing for Grant than her actual departure from the Highlands is her realization that her way of life in the Highlands, her inner psychology, her Highland "self," are forever lost to her in the city. In one of the last of the *Letters*, she again evokes the memory of her Highland cottage:

> What an asylum, what a comfort, has that dwelling been to many others, besides the family that inhabited it! There indeed social life, and social love, seemed the warmer for being compressed within narrow bounds. There I lived and moved, and had a being, in some degree useful and interesting to me and to others. Hereafter I shall indeed exist; but my highest hope must be to spend "Quiet, tho' sad, the remnant of my days," far, far from my old haunts, my old habits, and my old associates. (II, 249-250)

Here, at the end of Grant's account is the powerful attraction of the Highlands, the evocation of an ideal domesticity in simple confines and the nostalgia that washes over every remembrance. It also reveals the extent to which Grant constructs a "self" that is never more genuine, never more actualized, never more "at home," than when she lived in the Highlands. For this reason, her account of the Highlands radically disrupts the pattern of alienation and distance that informs many of the accounts of travelers to the Highlands before her. It is in the alien world of the Highlands that Grant can be "herself," a self that is lost to her outside of the Highlands.
In the summer of 1842, the ultimate Victorian woman tourist to the Highlands, Queen Victoria herself, embarked with Albert, the Prince Consort, on the first of many journeys to the Highlands. A lifelong devotee of Walter Scott, Victoria came to the Highlands to see the romantic landscape she had read so much about in Scott's novels and poems. Her trip was such a success that she would return to the Highlands as often as she could, staying as long as she could—at least several weeks in every year. Each year she would describe how increasingly difficult it would be to leave the Highlands, repeating her hopes that some act of fate or random bad weather would intervene and delay the return journey south. By 1853, only eleven years after her first journey, Victoria confided to Feodora, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, the palpable anguish she suffered when leaving the Highlands: "I pine for my dear Highlands wh: I get more attached to every year. The life here [in Windsor] is so different; it is so formal to what it is there!" (qtd. in Millar 96). In a later letter to her daughter, Victoria recites a bit of verse from "My Heart's in the Highlands" and admits "My Heart's in the Highlands . . . . Yes that is my feeling and I must fight and struggle against it!" (qtd. in Cullen 48). For the historian Tom Cullen, these lines support the idea of Victoria's growing infatuation for her Highland gillie John Brown. It is possible, however, to read Victoria's sentiment not as a specific expression of love for Brown but for her general devotion to the Highlands as a place that is both markedly different from the "there" of Windsor yet a place where she is perfectly "at home." Victoria, it seems, is frustrated by Victorianism; the self-denial required of her formal life at Windsor stifles her true self, which is set free in the Highlands.

These brief passages also reveal what are, by the 1850s, familiar attitudes towards the Highlands as a near yet attractively different destination spot for
middle-class British vacationers. Yet Victoria's descriptions of the Highlands are not merely illustrative examples of early and mid-Victorian representations of the region. Victoria's absolute devotion to the Highlands would later prompt her to fill out these short impressions of the Highlands in two published collections of diary entries she made on her successive trips to the Highlands. Victoria's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (1868) and the follow-up *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands* (1884) are significant because they are the only works written and published by Queen Victoria herself and because they reinforce and popularize as never before the image of the Highlands as a space that is notable for its singular alterity and for its welcoming domesticity. In her Highland journals, Victoria constructs herself as both an insider and outsider in relation to the Highlands. The journals clearly construct a tourist Victoria, in search of ideal picturesque views, especially in their early entries, and both *Leaves* and *More Leaves* are full of ethnographic accounts of "typical" Highland cultural practices. Yet the two works also construct a domestic Victoria keenly interested in putting down roots in the Highlands, in establishing a home (in fact, several), and in becoming a real member of the local Highland community. Like Anne Grant before her, Victoria constructs a liminal self in the Highlands.

Yet Victoria was also, of course, not a typical middle-class visitor to the Highlands, but the sovereign of the British nation. Her published journals are therefore important representations of her position in British society and perform the ideological work of enhancing and maintaining her power as sovereign. As Victoria's own representation of herself as sovereign, her published Highland journals are an example of her efforts, in Adrienne Munich's words, to reinterpret her era's cultural codes to fit her self-identity, writing her culture . . . in her own idiom. Anointed to a liminal or sacred space reserved for sovereigns, the queen reflected cultural codes while marking
them with her particular sensibility. Like all representations, her performances did not merely reflect those codes; they also substituted, replaced, adjusted, and altered them. Queen Victoria gave back to her culture her own stamp on its sense of itself. (Munich 5)

Though Munich focuses here particularly on Victoria’s performances of her sovereignty, the Leaves, as a textual representation of that sovereignty, allow a means for Victoria to construct herself within her own society.

In much of the recent critical interest in representations of Victoria, however, the Leaves have either been ignored or dismissed as irrelevant or as simply boring. In their introduction to an important recent collection of critical essays on Victoria’s image, Munich and Margaret Homans dismiss the Leaves as reading like “merely dutiful recordings of pleasant activities, drained of their pleasure.” Victoria’s descriptions of the Highland landscape “resemble little more than embellished cartographies . . .” (5). For Homans and Munich, the Leaves add little to our understanding of representations of Victoria, but only contribute “to a persona that seems in keeping with . . . [a] static expressionless image” of the “impassive but maternal widow” (5). I argue, however, that the Leaves are significant as enormously influential accounts of the Highlands and also because, as Victoria’s only published works, they constitute a remarkable autobiographical account. In the Leaves Victoria constructs a private self in a private Highland space, on holiday with her husband and family, away from her public sovereign self and the public space of Windsor and, especially, London. Yet the private self depicted in the Leaves is of course a very public image and serves to ensure Victoria’s continued political popularity as sovereign. As a “private” but published account of Victoria’s life, the Leaves are neither completely private nor completely public but reveal, as Cynthia Huff describes of Victoria’s diaries in general, that the “person of the Queen is neither distinctly public or private, covert or revealed, but rather both at once, an amalgam of
personal and private interests” (Huff 1). But if the *Leaves* are an amalgamation of the public and private, they reveal particular public ideological motives in shoring up Victoria’s waning popularity as a monarch.

At a time when Victoria’s popularity was at a low ebb because of her continued reclusiveness after the death of Albert in 1861, and in the face of increased republican calls for an end to the monarchy, the publication of the first *Leaves* was explicitly demanded by members of Victoria’s inner circle because of its expected effects on the British populace. When the first edition was privately published and circulated, a member of her circle, Sir John Elphinstone, was quick to see its potential in re-molding the Queen’s image and encouraged a public edition, the “sooner the better” (Cullen 118). Arthur Helps, the Queen’s editor for the first edition of the *Leaves* reveals the motives for publication of the Queen’s journals in the preface of the work: the *Leaves* show a sovereign who both sympathizes with her subjects and is in turn, worthy of their sympathy. When describing his own encouragement to Victoria to publish her journals, Helps writes he had argued that:

> [i]t would . . . be better at once to place the volume within the reach of her Majesty’s subjects, who would, no doubt, derive from it pleasure similar to that which it had afforded to the Editor himself. Moreover, it would be very gratifying to her subjects, who had always shown a sincere and ready sympathy with the personal joys and sorrows of their Sovereign,--to be allowed to know how her rare moments of leisure were passed in her Highland home, when every joy was heightened, and every care and sorrow diminished, by the loving companionship of the Prince Consort. (vi)

To produce the sympathy that will restore Victoria’s reputation among her subjects, the *Leaves* construct her not as the embodiment of the nation, as sovereign, but as a typical middle-class woman, whose interests, desires, and daily life are little different from those of her readers.

The omissions of the *Leaves* are central to this construction of Victoria. Any description of Victoria performing her official duties in the Highlands and most
accounts of public ceremonies and functions, except those in *More Leaves* which are associated with memorials to the Prince Consort, are pointedly left out of the works. Victoria's private secretary once attempted to describe the official part of Victoria's life that is missing in the *Leaves*:

It would not require much research . . . to pick out a date recording some colourless, unimportant incident and to find in her correspondence on the same day some letter to the Prime Minister or the Private Secretary expressing in the most vehement language her desire to interfere in matters of national importance. But this was all excluded from the volumes [of the *Leaves*] and the general public, including radicals and even republicans for a short time, were satisfied there could be no harm whatever in a monarch who spent all her days so innocently in her Scottish retreat. (qtd. in Thompson 55)

Rather than depicting a sovereign wielding power over her realm, the *Leaves* depict a woman, who, in the ideal domestic tranquility of the Highlands, is more a dutiful, loving wife and mother than a queen. Alison Booth has recently shown that in Victorian biographical accounts of Victoria, she is constructed as a "true middle-class heroine" who meets a standard of "domestic virtue, accomplishments, and learning . . . . [T]he Queen's main achievement is that in spite of sovereignty she is just like an ordinary good woman" (emphasis in orig.) (Booth 72).

As a public document that constructs a queen that is in private an "ordinary good woman," with all the worries and hopes of any other good woman, the *Leaves* work to resolve the "gap in representability" that Munich describes is attendant on Victoria's position as a female sovereign: "The Queen's maternal body belonged to the private sphere while her sovereign body belonged to the public sphere" (qtd. in Homans and Munich 4). By describing a private woman who was nevertheless a queen, the *Leaves* attempt to dissolve the split between public and private. Even in the preface of the first *Leaves*, Helps seems to
acknowledge the paradox of Victoria's sovereignty while at the same time seeking to overcome it:

[Victoria's] notes, besides indicating that peculiar memory for persons, and that recognition of personal attachment... illustrate, in a striking manner, the Patriarchal feeling (if one may apply such a word as "patriarchal" to a lady) which is strong in the present occupant of the Throne. (ix).

This passage points to the ideological problems inherent in representing a woman, who is by definition a member of the "weaker sex" but who nevertheless wields the "masculine" power of the monarch. Having uncomfortably described Victoria's attitude as "patriarchal," Helps also links the very essence of her rule with her femininity. Describing Victoria's tendency to avoid digression in her conversations with her subjects, Helps writes:

[Whenever there is an exception to this rule, it arises from her majesty's anxious desire to make some inquiry about the welfare of her subjects—to express her sympathy with this man's sorrow, or that man's bereavement—to ask what is the latest intelligence about this disaster, or that suffering, and what can be done to remedy or assuage it—thus showing... that she is, indeed, the Mother of her People, taking the deepest interest in all that concerns them, without respect of persons, from the highest to the lowest. (ix-x)]

The queen's femininity is, perhaps paradoxically, the basis for her effectiveness as a sovereign.

The "feminine" aspect of the Leaves is also demonstrated in the informality and intimacy of its style. In this, and in its easy crossing of generic borders—from tourist account, to daily diary, to ethnographic account of Highland life and manners—the Leaves are similar to the accounts of Grant's and Wordsworth's several years before. This similarity is also strikingly evident in earlier accounts in the first Leaves, when Victoria constructs herself as alien to the Highlands, a picturesque tourist in search of strange and beautiful scenes to view and to sketch. Victoria's account of the Highlands is no different from those of her predecessors in its seemingly endless description of breathtaking scenery and
picturesque views. Like many of the tourists who had come before her, on what were, by her time, well-worn paths in the Highlands, Victoria is overwhelmed by the grandness of the Highland landscape. A description of one excursion near Blair Castle is typical:

The moment you step out of the house you see those splendid hills all around. We went to the left ... along a steep winding path overhanging the rapid stream. These Scotch streams, full of stones, and clear as glass are most beautiful; the peeps between the trees, the depths of the shadows, the mossy stones, mixed with slate, &c., which cover the banks, are lovely; at every turn you have a picture. We walked on, to a cornfield where a number of women were cutting and reaping the oats ("shearing" as they call it in Scotland), with a splendid view of the hills before us, so rural and romantic, so unlike our daily Windsor walk (delightful as that is), and this change does such good: as Albert observes, it refreshes one for a long time. This mixture of great wildness and art is perfection. (33) (unless otherwise noted, all italics are in orig.)

One can criticize Victoria's descriptive powers, of which the limits seem manifest in her frequent admission that she is unable "to do justice to the scene" in her writing, yet, she is also repeating a familiar trope of Highland travelogues: the inability to describe landscapes whose sublime effect on the imagination is simply beyond words. Victoria's description also shares with Wordsworth's the idea that viewing a Highland landscape only produces a desire to see more Highland landscapes. Describing an excursion near Balmoral, which proved to be the last that she and Albert would undertake together, she describes a particularly impressive scene:

Looking back on the distant hills above Glen Isla and Cairn Lochan (Lord Airlie's "Country"), it was even more beautiful; for, as the day advanced, the mountains became clearer and clearer, of a lovely blue, while the valleys were in shadow. Shikhallion, and those further ranges, were most perfectly to be seen, and gave me such a longing for further Highland expeditions! (170)

Victoria also notes the distinctiveness of the Highlands, especially in relation to her English home. For Victoria, the very difference of the Highlands makes them
ideal. By the end of her second trip, she sums up her feelings about the place. As her yacht sails down from Scotland she writes:

The English coast appeared terribly flat. Lord Aberdeen was quite touched when I told him I was so attached to the dear, dear Highlands and missed the fine hills so much. There is a great peculiarity about the Highlands and Highlanders; and they are such a chivalrous fine, active people. Our stay among them was so delightful. Independently of the beautiful scenery, there was a quiet, a retirement, a wildness, a liberty, and a solitude that had such a charm for us. (42)

Here is the familiar construction of the Highlands of a natural wild and beautiful place that is also a haven, an escape, for the modern English tourist.

Though Victoria’s account repeats the familiar and even clichéd rhetoric of the picturesque tourist of a half century before, it also reveals an important shift in the "literariness" of the landscape. Picturesque accounts of the Highlands have generally followed a particular pattern of literary associations: for both Anne Grant and Dorothy Wordsworth, the Highland scenery had evoked the sublime poetic images of Ossian. Landmarks and locales purported to be the scenes of Ossian’s travails in the Highlands become popular destination stops on tourist routes in the Highlands. Victoria’s Highland landscape is also a literary one, but the focus of this literariness had, by the early Victorian era, completely shifted from Ossian to Walter Scott. Not only is Victoria’s idealization of the Highlands exemplary of her time, but also her filtering of this idealization wholly through a reading of Scott’s vision. Victoria demonstrates her "Victorianess" in her great devotion to the writer, a devotion that she acquired long before her trip to the Highlands. Elizabeth Langford reports that the first novel the young Victoria read was the Bride of Lammermoor. From that point on, Victoria’s personal writings reveal a heavy dose of Scott allusions and appreciation. She and Albert would often pass the evenings together with their favorite author; she would read aloud to Albert from The Lady of the Lake or, during Albert’s last illness,
Peveril of the Peak. Reading Rokeby in 1836, when she was seventeen, Victoria wrote in her journal "Oh! Walter Scott is my beau ideal of a Poet; I do so admire him, both in Poetry and Prose!" (qtd. in Millar 15). The Illustrated London News reported during the Queen's first visit to Scotland she expressed a desire to see "all the scenes of Sir Walter Scott's novels" (Millar 145). Not surprisingly, the Leaves is filled with allusions to, and associations with, Scott's writing. The scenery around Loch Muich during an excursion in September 1850, for example, prompts a recitation of a passage from The Lady of the Lake. The scenery around Loch Lomond in a visit in 1869 inspires the following: "Emerging from this road we came upon Loch Lomond Road, having a fine view of Loch Arklet, on the banks of which Helen MacGregor is said to have been born. The scene of our drive today is all described in 'Rob Roy'" (More Leaves 124). Victoria in one entry even allows Scott to do the describing of a particular scene for her:

The evening was lovely, and the lights and pink and golden sky as we drove through the beautiful Trossachs were glorious indeed ... and along Loch Achray— the setting sun behind Ben Venue, which rose above most gloriously, so beautifully described by Sir W. Scott: The Western waves of ebbing day/Rolled o'er the glen the level way./Each purple peak, each flinty spire/ Was bathed in flood of living fire. (More Leaves 127).

Victoria's use of Scott to describe a scene for her suggests a writer who has simply run out of adjectives to describe the effects of the Highland scenery, but it also suggests how Scott's vision of the Highland landscape had merged with her own vision. For Victoria, Scott's work provides a "way of seeing" that had made her want to experience the Highlands in the first place. More significantly it makes the Highland landscape resonate with a rich web of historical, literary, and experiential associations.12

The associative element of Scott's vision of the landscape in general in his writings sets Scott apart, in James Reed's view, from other picturesque
descriptions of the landscape of Scott's time. Though Scott's work is full of word-images that conform to the picturesque aesthetics of the time:

[It was the power and not the appearance of locality and landscape that obsessed Scott. Nurtured in a region rich in tradition and legend, a country tragically endowed with battlefields... whose terrain was an irresistible invitation to the historian and antiquary, Scott became... a part of all that he met... (Reed 6)

The mere appearance of the landscape cannot, in Scott's vision, be separated or isolated from its particular historical and cultural context. The landscape's power to produce an emotional effect on its viewer depends on the associations it prompts within the viewer. Reed writes:

[Scott's literary] 'laws' in a very loose sense, arise from the interaction of time (history), environment and locality; that is to say, they exert their forces in a total landscape, one which includes, as well as the view, an assemblage of men and women, animals, dwellings, language, and the temporal operations which brought them into being and subject them to change. Such a context makes one immediately aware of past and present... of the active presence of the past. (Reed 2)

By incorporating Scott's vision of the landscape into her own, Victoria cannot help but see a "romantic" Highland landscape, but also one that is not simply visually affecting but culturally associative. In her Leaves, Victoria incorporates the particular historical associations that Scott describes in his work and yet also adopts his general mode of "seeing" a landscape associatively. As Victoria returns again and again to the Highlands she begins to map out her own personal Highland cartography. Each location on her Highland map is loaded with evocative associations of her own past experience. In doing so, Victoria "localizes" the Highlands making them her own. In More Leaves, especially, which narrates her widowed life in the Highlands, the associative power of the Highlands landscape enables her to overcome overwhelming grief and rescue her own identity from its debilitating effects.13

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Victoria's impulse to make the Highlands her own through association contributes to her increasing sadness in having to leave them behind. At her leave-taking in October 1844, Victoria writes:

At a quarter-past eight we started, and were very sorry to leave Blair and the dear Highlands! Every little trifle and every spot I had become attached to; our life of quiet and liberty, everything was so pleasant . . . Oh! the dear hills, it made me very sad to leave them behind! (40)

Even in this relatively early entry Victoria can already be seen mapping out her own Highlands, localizing them and making them her own. The shifting pronoun use of this passage also points to another great attraction of the Highlands. Much more than is the case in the public space of England, Victoria's "I" becomes a "we," not the royal "we" but the "we" of Victoria and Albert, together. Victoria is relaxed, contented, and "at liberty" in the Highlands and above all constantly close to her husband—mentally and physically—often deferring to his needs and desires. Victoria's happiness in the Highlands in the Leaves largely derives from seeing her husband happy. In one entry she remarks: "We were up high, but could not get to the top; Albert in such delight; it is a happiness to see him, he is in such spirits" (33). She listens intently and happily as Albert expounds on comparisons of the Highland landscape with the landscape of his boyhood home in Thuringia and on his theories of Highland racial origins. In the Highlands, Victoria is allowed to play out her "true" and "natural" role as a dutiful loving companion to her husband. In doing so, Victoria emphasizes again her "ordinariness": she observes the same wifely devotion to her husband that any other proper Victorian woman observed. By showing herself happily deferring to her husband, Victoria reinforces the social values of middle-class Britons while constructing herself as one of them, at least in attitude. As Margaret Homans writes, representations of Victoria as an
obedient, middle-class, wife were essential in maintaining her continued success as sovereign. Discussing images of Victoria early in her reign, Homans writes:

For Victoria's monarchy to become and remain popular, the potential disadvantage of a woman on the throne—specifically, the fears of female rule that a queen regnant would inspire—had to turn into an advantage for the monarchy's middle-class imposture. This Victoria's early marriage made possible . . . . It was possible for her subjects to read her marriage as no different from any other, as a form of privatization through which women were defined as the complements and subordinates of men. Her marriage subdued anxieties about female rule and at the same time made her a model for the middle-class because gender-hierarchy was becoming a hallmark specifically of the middle-class family. (Homans 173)

In the public space of England, the tensions surrounding a wife who is also the sovereign of her husband remain insurmountable, but in the private seclusion of the Highlands, Victoria can be the wife and not the monarch, a position that she clearly relishes.

The Highlands also seem to allow Victoria to remain quite physically close to her husband while retaining a "proper" separation of gender spheres. If Victoria's "work" in the Highlands largely is comprised of excursions on pony-back, picnics high up in the mountains overlooking immense views of lochs and waterfalls, and sketching and writing in her journal, then Albert's "work" in the Highlands is to hunt and shoot a wide variety of Highland wildlife. Frequent entries in the Leaves begin similarly to the following: "Albert got up at five o'clock to go out deer-stalking. I walked out with the Duchess of Norfolk" (22). Even so, there also frequent accounts of Victoria spending almost all of her time actually in the presence of Albert or quite close nearby, even while he is stalking game. Victoria describes the sheer joy of being (relatively) "alone" with Albert, sharing with him his love of the outdoors and of the hunt. On hilltop near Blair she exclaims:

Here we were with only this Highlander behind us holding the picnics (for we got off twice and walked about)—not a house, not a creature near us, but

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the pretty Highland sheep, with their horns and black faces,—up at the top of Tulloch, surrounded by beautiful mountains. (36)

On many occasions in the Leaves, Victoria describes being able to stay with Albert for the duration of his deer-stalking forays, having to leave him only at the culmination of the hunt:

We stopped at the top of Ghrianan, whence you look down an immense height. It is here that the eagles sometimes sit. Albert got off and looked about in great admiration, and walked on a little, and then remounted his pony. We then went nearly to the top of Cairn Chilmain, and here we separated, [my emphasis] Albert going off . . . to get a "quiet shot" as they call it; and . . . I went up quite to the top, which was deep in moss. (38)

Almost all of Victoria’s descriptions of hunting excursions into the landscape follow this pattern: Victoria and Albert travel together until Albert must separate to begin the actual stalking of the deer. Yet even after this separation, Victoria is often able to observe Albert while he is stalking. Victoria describes her excitement at being able to observe Albert on a hilltop opposite her: "Albert looked like a little speck creeping about on an opposite hill. We saw four herds of deer, two of them close to us. It was a beautiful sight" (39). Victoria’s only regret, in this passage, is that she "should have enjoyed it still more had [she] been able to be with Albert the whole time" (37). The beauty of the scenery and the sight of her husband in his element, doing what Victoria knows he loves best of all—fulfilling his masculine role as a hunter—makes the landscape even more beautiful to her.

Victoria, throughout her journal, desires the sturdy caring hand of a strong man to guide her. As I shall examine presently, in More Leaves her need for what she sees as strong male guidance did not subside after the death of Albert. Though she often resists the dictates of the men around her (especially those charged with intervening in her "royal prerogative"), in the Highlands she seems often in need of male rescue. In turn she submits to the general direction of her

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husband. In one entry dated October 1852, she describes her joy at "being allowed" by Albert to accompany him into the woods "one last time" in search of deer. The episode produced some spectacular results:

At half-past three o'clock we started... and walked up part of Carpop... when a stag was heard to roar, and we all turned into the wood. We crept along and got into the middle path. Albert soon left us to go lower, and we sat down to wait for him; presently we heard a shot—then complete silence—and... three more shots. We sent someone to look, who shortly after returned, saying the stag had been twice hit and they were after him. We listened a little while, and then began moving down hoping to arrive in time; but the barking had ceased, and Albert had already killed the stag... He was a magnificent animal and I sat down and scratched a little sketch of him on paper... which I put on a stone—while Albert and Vicki... built a little cairn to mark the spot. What a beautiful day! (97-98)

Victoria is so close to Albert (but not beside him) when he shoots the stag that she can hear the shots he fires. Also, she memorializes the location of the event, with her family around her, by building a cairn. Only in the Highlands can Victoria, like any well-to-do middle class woman, lovingly and admiringly share in her husband's love of the hunt. Only in the Highlands can Victoria defer to Albert in a way that is difficult at best in the public spaces in England. Helps clearly authorizes the first Leaves as the writings of the monarch; nevertheless, the day-to-day narrative of the Leaves elides that sovereignty in the name of the proper gender relations between a Victorian husband and wife.

Victoria's desire to localize the Highland space would soon prompt her to create a more permanent and wholly personal domestic space in the Highlands. With Albert's blessing and guidance (the plans of the renovation of the residence were to his own specifications) Victoria purchased (in Albert's name) and expanded a residence of Lord Aberdeen near the Dee: Balmoral. Afterwards, Victoria began to decorate the interior of the residence with her own vision of Highland style. Though the stuffy image of tartan wallpaper, stag-covered walls, and machicolated turrets summed up by the term "Balmorality" would come to
be much maligned, the design also demonstrates Victoria's attempt to create an
original Highland domestic space.\textsuperscript{14} Though the plans for the expansion of the
existing residence were modest by royal residence standards, Balmoral itself
would become too much a public space for Victoria, and she soon began building
and renovating small "shiels"—Highland hunting lodges—nearby, far away from
the residence and usually half-hidden among woods and hillsides.\textsuperscript{15} Victoria
would use these shiels as a kind of retreat from the retreat, moving further into
the sheltering seclusion of the Highlands. Interestingly, many of the shiels were
personally named by Victoria. The shiel names are usually in Gaelic and evoke
particular associations with Victoria. Over the door of one shiel she had
inscribed \textit{Ruid Na Bahn Righ}, the "Queen's House." The establishment of these
small residences suggests Victoria's desire to set up house in her own "rustic
cottage" along what she considered to be typical Highland lines. In the first
\textit{Leaves} she describes her first stay in the newly built shiel "Alt-Na-Guibhasach" or
"Our Wild Little Place Near Loch Muich." Accessible only by "rough" but
passable roads and situated on a hill almost completely surrounded by woods
"Alt-Na-Guibhasach" is, by royal standards, the most rustic of dwellings:

There are two huts, and to the one in which we live a wooden addition has
been made. We have a charming little dining-room, sitting-room, bed-
room, and dressing-room where Caroline Dawson (the Maid of Honour)
sleeps, one for her maid, and a little pantry. (73)

Although there is an additional "hut" for the servants, Victoria clearly gives the
impression that its domestic space is marked by simplicity, silence, and solitude.
At Alt-Na-Guibhasach at least, Victoria can live the simple rustic life of any other
"Highland lady."

In the Highlands, Victoria establishes a life in which her self can be restored,
far from the pressures of having to embody Britain and its widening empire.
Victoria can adopt the simple life of a middle-class woman who loves to sketch,
take care of her children, and, most of all, be close to her husband. The
dedication of the first Leaves emphasizes the importance to Victoria's self-identity
of playing the dutiful wife. The Leaves are "lovingly and gratefully" inscribed "to
the dear memory of him who made the life of the writer bright and happy."
Victoria's devotion to the memory of her dead husband gives structure to her
narrative and is its theme. The publication of the Leaves constituted a "coming
out" from the seclusion Victoria had maintained after Albert's death in 1861, a re-
entry into the public eye her ministers had consistently pressed on her. By
representing herself as an intensely private woman, who was wholly devoted to
her husband, Victoria seeks to re-fashion her image on her own terms. The
Leaves depicts Victoria as she want her subjects to see her, as a widow worthy of
sympathy, whose long seclusion from public life is more than understandable
given the love and devotion she describes throughout her Highland journal.

VII

The public edition of the first Leaves proved as successful as Victoria and her
handlers had hoped. Sold at half a crown a copy, the Leaves made the Queen a
bestseller on both sides of the Atlantic. Reviews were generally favorable and
with "20,000 copies . . . bespoken before publication, there at once had to be a
reprint of 10,000" (Millar 110). Ecstatic with the success of the first Leaves,
Victoria published the second collection in 1884. Like the collection that
preceded it, More Leaves is filled with magnificent scenery observed on daily
excursions in the Highlands. Yet More Leaves is not simply "more" of the Leaves.
More Leaves is arguably a much more personal, reflective account of Victoria's
struggles with the overwhelming grief that threatened to engulf her after the
death of Albert. More than simply a narrative of day-to-day jaunts through the
Highland landscape, More Leaves depicts the struggles of Victoria's inner self.
Because Victoria had invested much of her identity in the well-being of her husband, his loss forced her to re-work her own identity so that she could go on with her life. The associative power of the Highlands landscape, her Highland landscape--its ability to evoke memories of Victoria's life with Albert and happier times at every turn--works as a destructive force in the early parts of More Leaves. But as Victoria's narrative progresses, she is able to find restoration in the Highlands. The Highlands of More Leaves is not only "dear" and "pretty," but powerfully therapeutic.

More Leaves begins the narrative of Victoria's widowed life in the Highlands with a ceremony that evokes the dead: her August 1862 description of building a cairn near the Balmoral residence that marks the future site of Albert's memorial. The tone of the description of this event is sharply contrasted with the general tone of the first Leaves. Though she describes the view at the top of the hill as "so fine, the day so bright, and the heather so beautifully pink . . . ." it can only produce depressing thoughts: "but no pleasure, no joy! all dead!" (More Leaves 1) Victoria describes her own disposition on the occasion as "shaky and nervous . . . ." [T]his first short attempt at walking in the heather shook me and tired me much" (More Leaves 2). So strong is the felt absence of Albert that Victoria describes her children, which attend her at the ceremony, as "my poor six orphans" (More Leaves 2). Yet even in the intensity of grief expressed early in her account, Victoria is able to find some surprising solace from a "Highland" way of thinking. Four days after the ceremony, on Albert's birthday, one of Victoria's most trusted Highland attendants takes her to "the old cairn," where she and Albert had commemorated the rebuilding of Balmoral ten years before:

Grant said "I thought you would like to be here to-day, on His birthday!"--so entirely was he of the opinion that this beloved day, and even the 14th of December [the anniversary of Albert's death], must not be looked upon as a
day of mourning. "That's not the light to look at it." There is so much true and strong faith in these good, simple people. (More Leaves 3)

Victoria here not only gains a new perspective on loss, she also characterizes this perspective as "Highland." Even with this bit of perspective on death, More Leaves is marked by passages of Victoria describing a scene, remembering how she had once shared the scene with Albert, and then exclaiming the immensity of her loss and nostalgically wishing for the return to "happier times." Victoria's description of her Highland life in More Leaves is contrasted with that in the Leaves by her continued anguished realizations that she is alone. Describing the accommodations of the residence of the Duke of Buccleuch, whom she visits, she writes:

[The Duchess showed us to our rooms upstairs. I had three that were very comfortable... a sitting room, dressing-room, and... the bedroom, simple, with pretty chintz, but very elegant, nice and comfortable. The children were close at hand. But the feeling of loneliness when I saw no room for my darling, and felt I was indeed alone and a widow, overcame me very sadly! It was the first time I had gone this way on a visit (like as in former times), and I have thought so much of all dearest Albert would have done and said, and how he would have wandered about everywhere, admired everything, looked at everything—and now! Oh! must it ever, ever be so? (More Leaves 73-74)

Even with her children close at hand, Victoria cannot overcome the feeling of loss and helplessness she feels without the reassuring presence of her husband.

Again, the associative power of even interior spaces in the Highlands provokes a constant sadness for Victoria, a sadness she wonders whether she will ever be able to overcome.

In addition to narrating Victoria's constant struggle with grief, More Leaves also narrates Victoria's constant desire to become more a part of the local Highland community around Balmoral. This desire allows for two important transitions in Victoria's life in the Highlands. On one hand, Victoria's interest in the lives and hardships of the local Highlanders allows her therapeutically to
project her emotions outwards, redirecting her thoughts from the constant self-absorption surrounding her thoughts on her own loss. On the other hand, her desire to position herself as a member of the local Highland community highlights Victoria’s construction of her identity as existing both inside and outside the Highlands.

Victoria reveals the intensity with which she sought to become part of the local community in her descriptions of local Presbyterian church services, which she both admires and prefers to Anglican services outside of the Highlands. Describing her attendance of “communion Sunday” services at Craithie on a snowy day in November 1871, Victoria begins with the general impressions she has of the service; "At the end of the sermon began the service of Communion, which is most touching and beautiful, impressed and moved me more than I can express. I shall never forget it” (More Leaves 152). Though she maintains some distance from the scene as an outside observer, her descriptions reveal a re-situating of her social status:

The appearance of the kirk was very striking, with the tables in the cross seats, on either side facing the pulpit, covered with a white cloth. Neither [John] Brown, though he came with us, nor any of our Scotch servants sat behind us, as usual, but all below, as every one does who intends taking the sacrament at the “first table.” (More Leaves 152)

The spatial arrangement inside the Kirk temporarily overrides the dictate that servants must sit behind the monarch. In their local kirk, Victoria observes her Highland "people" not in their roles as servants but as respected elders of the community. In meticulous detail Victoria describes the communion ceremony. Each member of the kirk passes the bread and wine:

each person passing it on to the other; the cup being replaced by each on the table before them after they had partaken of the wine, and then the elder carried it on to the next pews, in which there were tables, until all those in that portion of the church prepared for the Lord’s Supper, had communicated. (More Leaves 154-155)
Overwhelmed by her impressions and by the "grand simplicity" of the scene, Victoria can only exclaim her desire to become a part of the service herself:

It would indeed be impossible to say how deeply we were impressed by the . . . service. It was all so truly earnest, and no description can do justice to the perfect devotion of the whole assemblage. It was most touching, and I longed much to join in it. To see all these simple good people in their nice plain dresses (including an old woman in her mutch), so many of whom I knew, and some of whom who had walked far, old as they were in the deep snow, was very striking. *(More Leaves 155)*

Here is an echo of Wordsworth’s admiration for Highland devotion manifested in their willingness to walk long distances to attend church service. Also, though Victoria positions herself as an outsider to the service, she is also keenly intent on blurring the distinction between insider and outsider. A footnote to this passage notes that "since 1873, [Victoria had] regularly partaken of the communion at Craithie every autumn, it being always given at the same time" *(More Leaves 155).*

Victoria’s growing sympathy with local Highlanders and her growing desire to be counted among them is demonstrated in the local cyclical rhythms and day-to-day encounters that she experiences in the Highlands. The cumulative experience of knowing and sharing in the lives of the Highland people around her, promotes an identification and sympathy with them. Victoria’s interest in the local "common" people of the Highlands begins in the *Leaves* as she describes her frequent visits to the cottages of old widowed Highland women. Though these encounters are marked by a casualness and intimacy, the Queen seems only a little affected by the outpouring of admiration and bestowal of blessings on her person and in the name of her family. As she narrates her increasing reliance on her closest Highland servants in *More Leaves*, however, Victoria is drawn into their lives beyond their duties at Balmoral, their local lives. This is dramatically illustrated in an episode in *More Leaves* Victoria entitles "The Spate," when
Victoria is willingly drawn into the concerns of the community after a local child goes missing. Victoria describes her reaction at first hearing the news:

[John] Brown came in soon after four o’clock, saying he had been down at the waterside, for a child had fallen into the water, and the whole district was out to try and recover it—but it must be drowned long before this time. I was dreadfully shocked. It was the child of a man named Rattray, who lives at Cairn-na-Craig, just above where the new wool merchant has built a house, and quite close to the keepers Abercrombie’s house, not far from Monaltrie Farmhouse in the street. (More Leaves 156)

Victoria reveals her own familiarity with her community and her instinctive concern for the missing child’s family. She sets out upon hearing the news to investigate the matter for herself:

[She]et off in the wagonette with Beatrice and Janie Ely, and drove along the north side of the river. We stopped a little way beyond Tynebaich, and saw the people wandering along the riverside. Two women told us that two children had fallen in (how terrible!), and that one “had been gotten—the little een (as the people pronounce “one”), but not the eldest. They were searching everywhere. (More Leaves 156-157)

Victoria shows her own personal interest in the loss of a loved one and her sympathy at the plight of the family. Victoria narrates the three-day saga of the search for the missing child until its body is found. Throughout this narrative, Victoria expresses her concern and sympathy for the “poor” father and mother. Showing her particular interest in the community, Victoria describes driving to the house of William, John Brown’s brother, to “warn” his wife “never to let dear little Albert [their son] run about alone, or near to the burn, of the danger of which she was quite aware” (158). Victoria had witnessed Albert’s christening only three years before, presenting the family with a silver mug.

When describing the scene of the dead child lying in the parlor of its family’s house, Victoria again positions herself as an outside observer, narrating the scene, yet it is clear that she also sees herself as a welcome, fellow member of the
local community simply coming to pay her own respects to the family. She writes:

Brown went in first, and was received by the old grandmother; and then we went in, and on the table in the kitchen covered with a sheet, which they lifted up, lay the poor sweet innocent "bairnie," only three years old, a fine plump child, and looking just as though it slept, with quite a pink colour, and very little scratched, in its last clothes—with its little hands joined—a most touching sight. I let Beatrice see it, and was glad she should see death for the first time in so touching and pleasing a form. (159)

There is no sense in this scene that Victoria sees herself as anything but a local lady of the community, who has a special understanding of the loss of a loved one. That Victoria allows her daughter to see the body may suggest what some have described as her excessive morbidity, but it also shows the importance to her emotional well-being she places on performing the rituals of life and death. Also, this episode of the dead child reveals that Victoria had, by 1872, been able to overcome much of the anguish over her own great loss. When the "poor mother" of the child comes into the kitchen, Victoria forgets herself for a moment and offers her support:

[The mother] cried a little at first when I took her hand and said how much I felt for her, and how dreadful it was. She checked herself, and said, with that great resignation and trust which it is so edifying to witness, and which you see so strongly here, "We must try to bear it; we must trust to the Almighty." (160)

That Victoria is able to offer personal comfort to a woman who has suffered a great loss similar to her own suggests a transformation in Victoria's self-identity, from that of a widowed woman nearly crippled by grief. In her account of the "Spate," Victoria gives back to the Highlands as much as she takes.

More Leaves shows a Victoria who, the longer she stays in the Highlands, the more she constructs her own identity as "Highland." She often wears "Highland dress" (tartan shawl and bonnet), and she dresses her children in the tartan and kilts almost exclusively while they are in the Highlands. Not only does she learn
to eat haggis and drink whisky, she also begins some attempts to familiarize
herself with Gaelic. She often acts as a limited "translator" of Gaelic words and
phrases in More Leaves. Yet, as in the Leaves, Victoria continues to narrate a
constant seeking out of the peculiar and the picturesque in More Leaves. The
ethnographic descriptions in More Leaves are actually even more pronounced
than in the first Leaves as Victoria seems to wish to position herself more and
more as an experienced authority on "Highland" ways. Thus, many of the titles
of particular episodes in More Leaves highlight Victoria's ethnographic impulse:
"A Highland 'Kirstnin' (Christening)," "Juicing the Sheep," and "A Highland
Funeral." Although she often describes her deep admiration for individual
Highlanders, she usually follows her descriptions with some statement about
how the quality of individual Highlanders only demonstrates the essential
quality of "Highland character" in general. In both Leaves, this character is
uniformly "independent," "straight-forward," "simple-minded," "kind-hearted,
"disinterested," and, above all, "obliging" and "loyal." The elements of this
summation are present in almost all of Victoria's descriptions of Highlanders,
even of individuals she had known for many years and describes as "friends."
Summing up the character of the noted Victorian authority on the Highlands, Dr.
Norman Macleod, who had just died, Victoria writes in 1873:

A friend of mine told me that if we were in great trouble, or sorrow, or
anxiety, Dr. Norman Macleod was the person she would wish to go to!
And so it was! One felt one's troubles, weaknesses, and sorrows would all
be lovingly listened to, sympathised with, and entered into. (235)

Yet in the same passage, she cites an earlier conversation she had had with the
dead man's brother when she had said:

"He (Norman) was a complete type in its noblest sense of a Highlander
and a Celt, which, as Mr. Donald Macleod and I both observed, was
peculiarly sympathetic, attaching, and attractive. I said that since my great
sorrow in 1861, I had found no natures so sympathetic and so soothing as
those of Highlanders . . . . (236) (ellipsis in orig.)
Victoria can both eulogize the particular admirable character of an individual Highlander while also reducing this character to an essentialized notion of race typicality.\textsuperscript{16}

None of her descriptions of an individual Highlander more clearly reveals Victoria’s tendency to read Highlanders both as individuals and as types than her descriptions of her closest male companion after Albert’s death, John Brown. Both biographical accounts of Victoria’s life and many of her own descriptions of him reveal her fascination with, and attraction to, the Highlander she viewed as alluringly exotic and familiarly comfortable.

Victoria first mentions Brown in the first \textit{Leaves} in an entry dated September 1850. Though he, as a servant, is relegated to a footnote in the \textit{Leaves}, even this early mention shows how important Brown had become by the time Victoria published her journals:

\begin{quote}
[Brown] in 1858 became my regular attendant out of doors everywhere in the Highlands. His attention, care, and faithfulness cannot be exceeded; and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable, and indeed, most needful in a constant attendant upon all occasions. He has since (in December 1865), most deservedly, been promoted to be an upper servant, and my permanent personal attendant. He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race . . . always ready to oblige; and of a discretion rarely to be met with. (87)
\end{quote}

The ethnographic understanding of the typicality of Brown’s character suggests Victoria’s attraction to Brown is indicative of her lifelong “weakness for the outré” in Elizabeth Longford’s words. Further, Victoria’s attraction to “exotic” men may explain her special devotion to Disraeli and to her Indian attendant Abdul Karim, whose close relationship to the Queen later in her life caused much consternation among the Queen’s circle.

By 1868, the relationship between Victoria and Brown had loudly been commented on in the London press, and for some, the publication of the \textit{Leaves},

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which was intended to shore up Victoria's declining popularity only gave further
proof of what they had assumed all long: that the affections of the Queen were
being usurped by a man who was by class and race an inferior. One report
that surfaced on the continent in 1866 even suggested that Victoria had secretly
married Brown. As Elizabeth Longford notes, Victoria's private secretary had
hoped that the "marriage myth" might simply evaporate, but this hope was
disappointed, for Queen Victoria's seclusion provided the perfect climate to
sustain it. Who could say what was happening in the Scottish hills or on the
island in Solent? Though her public appearances were steadily
increasing . . . the improvement was never enough to overtake fresh
criticism. (Longford 328)

Victoria's secluded Highland space was interpreted by some to be, not the space
of former domestic bliss, but of social and sexual transgression.

Perhaps for Victoria, whose journals demonstrate her consistent desire to
have a strong man around, and the importance she places on this need for her
own identity, her devotion to John Brown only reflects her love of, and
familiarity with, all things Highland. It is in the Highlands that she is content to
play the role of the widowed woman in search of a strong male hand to guide
her. One feels Brown's presence in almost every passage of More Leaves, always
close to the Queen's person, always ready to perform any service that the Queen
desires, from helping her pony over treacherous terrain, to running interference
for her in unpleasant situations. On many occasions, Brown is seen to be simply
"saving" Victoria, coming to her aid, in the manner of the proper Victorian
gentleman. When a group of "impudently inquisitive" reporters on one
excursion refuses to move away from the Queen's immediate presence, Victoria
relates admiringly how Brown goes toward them to insist they move:

When Brown said quite civilly that the Queen wished [the reporter] to
move away, he said he had quite as good a right to remain there as the
Queen. To this Brown answered very strongly, upon which the
impertinent individual asked, "Did he know who he was?" and Brown
answered he did, and that "the highest gentlemen in England would not
dare do what he did, much less a reporter"—and he must move on, or he
would give him something more. (More Leaves 262-263)

Brown here is Victoria's chivalrous knight manfully defending the honor of his
lady queen. Yet Brown's devotion is also a key element that makes him so
attractive to Victoria in the first place: he clearly intuits Victoria's every wish and
knows his own place as an special upper servant—but a servant, nevertheless—to
serve Victoria completely and uncomplainingly. Even further, Victoria's
assumption that Brown's devotion reflects his admirable essential Highland
masculinity make him as much a symbol of her life in the Highlands, and
everything she loves so much about that life, than as an individual human being.
For his devotion and for his symbolic importance, Victoria repays John Brown
with her own devotion and even love.

Indeed, there is much evidence in More Leaves that Victoria is able to
overcome the debilitating effects of grief after Albert's death only by replacing
Albert (or at least his strong protecting role) with John Brown. Remarking on the
uncomfortable predicament of dining in an unfamiliar house in the Highlands
without her Albert, Victoria exclaims: "I felt strange--such a dinner in a strange
place for the first time without my dear one!" (More Leaves 189) Yet immediately
after this expression of feelings of dislocation and of loss, Victoria turns her
thoughts to the one man in the room who can, in place of Albert, offer support:
"Brown waited on me, and did so at all meals, attending on me indoors and out
of doors, most efficiently and indefatigably" (More Leaves 189).

Victoria concludes More Leaves with an entry dated September 13, 1882, and
on something of a high note that points to the transformation of her self-identity
and the role that "Highland" living played in the Queen's recovery. The entries
leading up to the very last one had revealed Victoria's increasing anxiety as she
receives the latest news from Egypt, where British forces had begun to press a
counter-attack against Egyptian insurrectionists. Her own son, Arthur, the Duke of Connaught, had taken part in the operation. Finally, in the last entry, Brown brings a telegram to Victoria that reports complete British victory after the attack and on the condition of her son, who is "well' and who had "behaved admirably, leading his brigade to the attack" (More Leaves 398). Victoria is overjoyed:

Brown brought the telegram, and followed me to Beatrice's room, where Louischen [Arthur's wife] was, and I showed it to her. I was myself quite upset, and embraced her warmly, saying what joy and pride and cause for thankfulness it was to know our darling safe and so much praised! I felt quite beside myself for joy and gratitude, though grieved to think of our losses . . . . We were both much overcome. (399)

The final scene of More Leaves is of Victoria surrounded by her family and the local community, celebrating Britain's imperial victory in "true" Highland fashion:

Here everybody was assembled--all our gentlemen and ladies . . . and all the tenants from the three estates, all our servants, etc.

The pipes preceded, playing the "Highland Laddie," Brown and all our other killed men walking alongside and before and behind the carriage everybody else close following--and a goodly number they were. We got out at the door, and went just beyond the arch, all our people standing in a line headed by our Highlanders. A table with whisky and glasses was placed up against the house, next to which stood all the ladies and gentlemen. Brown stepped forward and said . . . "Ladies and gentlemen, let us join in a good Highland cheer for the Duke and Duchess of Albany [Victoria's son Leopold and his wife]; may they live long and die happy!" which pleased every one, and there were hearty cheers. (More Leaves 400)

Finally Victoria adds:

A bonfire was to be lit by my desire on the top of Craig Gowen at nine, just where there had been one in 1856 after the fall of Sevastopol, when dearest Albert went up to it at night with Bertie and Affie. That was on September 10, very nearly the same time twenty-six years ago! (More Leaves 401)

At the end of More Leaves, Victoria completes a cycle of ritual in the Highlands, celebrating the present while evoking the past, the success of her nation as well as of her offspring, and the memory of the man who had done so much to define
her while in the presence of the one who sustains her. Absent from this last entry is the overwhelming grief that the associative landscape in the Highlands had once prompted. Cyclical rituals like lighting the bonfire on Craig Gowan allow Victoria to transform her grief. This last ceremony also reveals how much Victoria had integrated the pattern of her life in the Highlands into her own identity.

It is, however, John Brown—not Albert—who receives the last mention in More Leaves. If the first Leaves acts lovingly to memorialize Albert, the first man in Victoria’s life, then More Leaves memorializes the second, John Brown. In her concluding eulogy to Brown (who had died in March 1883, less than a year before the publication of More Leaves), Victoria dedicates her work to him:

His loss to me (ill and helpless as I was at the time from an accident) is irreparable, for he deservedly possessed my entire confidence; and to say that he is daily, nay, hourly, missed by me, whose lifelong gratitude he won by his constant care, attention, and devotion, is but a feeble expression of the truth. A truer, nobler, trustier heart,/More loyal, and more loving, never beat/Within a human breast. (More Leaves 403-404)

Victoria’s concluding remarks reveal how deeply she regarded Brown, second only to her husband. For Victoria, Brown embodied the special essence of the Highland identity: its alluring wildness, its artlessness and its all-embracing homey comfort.

After Victoria’s death, Balmoral fell into decline. Edward, perhaps haunted by associations not at all "happy," did not like the Highlands much and visited only infrequently. His most significant contribution to Balmoral was to banish John Brown’s statue to the garden where it could not be seen. Yet the vision of the Highlands that Victoria helped to popularize, and the representative links between the image of the Highlands and the image of the royal family that she established, are still with us. Victoria brought the Highlands closer to the imaginative heart of the nation than they had ever been before. To the hundreds
of thousands of middle-class Britons who continue to visit the Highlands as tourists, the Highlands remain more than a destination but a whole "way of life" that still registers as pleasingly strange and wonderfully familiar.
Notes

1Grant’s reference to “deer forests” also suggests his position on land reform in the Highlands, an issue that in the latter part of the century came to a climax after several well-publicized crofter “agitations.” Later in the novel, Daljarroch attacks the desire, on the part of “English idler[s]” and “denationalised” landowners in the Highlands, to turn the whole region into “a vast game preserve” (124). With outside support and publicity from sources such as Grant, rural Highland communities regained some of the land rights lost after the initial clearances in the early part of the century. The Crofter’s Holdings Act of 1886 stabilized the pattern of land relations in the Highlands. Though Grant praises the general politics of land reform in the Highlands, his motives for doing so seem focused on the military benefits of retaining a large population of men in the Highlands fit for military service.

2More recent literary and historical analyses have focused on the geology of the Highlands as the only absolutely objective method of delineating Highland difference. Carol Kyros Walker begins her edition of Dorothy Wordsworth’s Recollections of a Trip Made to Scotland A. D. 1803, with a brief discussion of the Highland Boundary Fault, which runs from Loch Lomond northeast. A. J. Youngson, in his important analysis of land policy in the Highlands in the latter half of the eighteenth century, After the Forty-Five, writes of the importance of rock-type predominance in distinguishing the Highlands from the Lowlands. In the Highlands “there is a good proportion of gneiss, hardly to be seen elsewhere in Britain” (4).

3Sinclair’s association of a robust reproducing population with the enfeeblement of the nation’s social body, reflects the reconceptualization of the “social and economic significance of the vigorous body” that Malthus introduces
with the publication of his first *Essays on the Principles of Population*. For a discussion of the shift, see Gallagher.

4For an "aesthetic" appreciation of road and bridgework in the Highlands, see Southey. Southey, the poet laureate, accompanied Telford on what was essentially an inspection tour of the Highlands. The product of this tour, Southey’s journal, is unique in its avowedly anti-picturesque aesthetics. Southey seems to have completely embraced Telford’s "improving" vision of the Highlands. Southey’s description of the bridge Telford built at Craig-Elachie is particularly detailed:

[W]e came upon Craig-Elachie Bridge, one of Telford’s works, and a noble work it is. The situation is very fine, under the crag from which it takes its name, and of which a great part, to the height perhaps of 100 feet has been cut away in making a road to it. The bridge is of iron, beautifully light, in a situation where the utility of lightness is instantly perceived. The span is 150 feet, the rise 20 from the abutments, which are themselves 12 above the usual level of the stream. The only defect, and a sad one it is, is that the railing for the sake of paltry economy is of the meanest possible form, and therefore altogether out of character with the rest of the iron work, that being beautiful from its complexity and lightness. (94)

5Anne Grant, whom I discuss later in this chapter, suggests that the local Highland population around Laggan, who were of course not consulted when Telford’s roads were planned, continued to use the old dirt tracks they had used for generations, ignoring the new roads.

6The outrage prompted by press reports, particularly in the *Military Register* (published in London by a half-pay Scottish officer), of the eviction of old and sick people, pregnant women, and children, who could only watch as the Marquess of Sutherland’s factors tore down the roofs of their cottages or burned them, forced the commissioner of the estate to publish a long rebuttal. James Loch’s *An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford* (1820) still stands as one of the most sustained defenses of improvement
policy as it was implemented in the Highlands. For a dramatic critical account of Loch's work and the Sutherland clearances in general, see Prebble, The Highland Clearances, especially Chap. 2.

“Romance” in Womack's work includes picturesque descriptions of the Highland landscape but also describes the overall structure of the Highland myth as it frames Highland landscape, traditions, custom, history, literature, etc.

8See recent discussions on the picturesque which emphasize the extreme range of definitions associated with the term in The Politics of the Picturesque (Copley and Garside). David Worrall, for example, explores the radical anti-picturesque rhetoric of the late eighteenth-century Spenceans, which specifically resisted the conversion by landowners of arable land to private gardens. The Spenceans coupled an “improvement” understanding of the landscape in terms of its productive use-value with a radical call for public ownership of the land. Yet Anne Janowitz’s essay, which immediately follows Worrall’s, explores the use of picturesque aesthetics to advance the cause of Chartism in the 1840s. Stephen Copley describes William Gilpin’s picturesque descriptions of a working, productive “black lead” mine in the Lake District. Copley and Garside sum up the difficulty in defining the picturesque while emphasizing the cultural importance of the term. In the introduction to the collection, they write:

The widespread adoption of Picturesque terminology in conversational use in the late eighteenth century, in relation to a broad range of cultural practices, confirms the problematic nature of the aesthetic: even in this period, it can seem so ill-defined as to be virtually meaningless. This lack of precise definition is not an indication of its cultural or ideological insignificance, however. On the contrary, it can be argued that the cultural importance of the Picturesque stands in direct proportion to the theoretical imprecision of its vocabulary. (1)

9David Punter defines the difference between the 'Picturesque' worldscape and the "Sublime" worldscape this way:
[In the Picturesque world,] nature is there to be improved upon, to be adapted to our picture and voice. With the Sublime, I suspect something very different, even opposite is taking place, whereby the frame itself, the frame of the picture but also the frame of conscious experience, is being constantly threatened, precisely by the intimations of unmanageable infinity. (224)

Though I find Punter's discussion and definition instructive, I describe Wordsworth's Highland vision as "picturesque" only because this is the term that she herself uses generally to describe the Highland landscape.

10 The *Recollections* was not published in Wordsworth's lifetime. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that she had made plans to publish the journal, if only to finance future tours, but the plans were never realized. The *Recollections* was first published and edited in 1874 by John Campbell Shairp, a Scottish principal at St. Andrews. A later edition was published by Ernest De Selincourt in 1941. The most recent edition, published in 1997 by Carol Kyros Walker, is the text I have used. Walker's edition is based primarily on Shairp's original 1874 edition.

11 Her poem "Postscript" appears in Feldman.

12 The utter dependence on Scott for Victoria's understanding of the Highlands is reflected in the library catalogue at Balmoral. At one point, Longford reports, the library held "32 Ladies of the Lake, 12 Rob Roys, and 26 guidebooks" (and little of anything else) (Longford 372). In addition, most of the guidebooks of the period, rather than offering an alternative to Scott's novels, often provided their readers with descriptions of sites they were most interested in visiting, many of which could of course be found in Scott's novels. It is not an exaggeration to say that sales of Highland guidebooks and Scott novels fed on one another in the Victorian era.

13 Of course a mode of viewing the Highlands that is totally dependent on Scott's vision of the Highlands precludes the possibility of alternative modes of
viewing. This has been the implicit basis for insistent critiques in Scotland on the Scott-induced "romanticization" of the Highlands. In other words, Scott’s romantic vision of the Highlands obscures its "reality." For example, Harriet Beecher Stowe, two years after the controversy and fame that surrounded the publication of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, published an account of a visit to Scotland in 1854 that is even more dependent on allusions to Scott for an understanding of the nation than Victoria’s. Stowe also includes a long defense of the Marquioness of Sutherland in response to lingering outrage at the clearances on her estate. Though she did not actually visit the Sutherland estate herself, Stowe rehearses familiar improvement arguments, echoing Sindair of twenty-five years before by dismissing the resistance to evictions. Improvement, she writes, "like many other movements which, in their final results, are beneficial to society, [were] at first vehemently resisted, and had to be carried into effect in some cases by force" (302). Shielded from the injustice of the Highland Clearances by her faith in progress and distracted by Scott’s romantic vision, Stowe is arguably unable, like Victoria herself—who never once made any comment on the clearances of her reign—to see a different Highlands, even if she had wanted to.

14Lord Clarendon, who visited the Highlands and Balmoral for the first time in 1856, offers a contemporary critique of Victoria’s “Highland” style:

Here everything is Scotch—the curtains, the carpets, the furniture are all of different plaids, and the thistles are in such abundance that they would rejoice the heart of a donkey if they happened to look like his favorite repast, which they don’t. I am told that it is de rigueur to clothe myself in tweed directly . . . . It is very cold here, and I believe my feet were ‘frostbitten at dinner, for there was no fire at all there, and in the drawing-room there were two little sticks which hissed at the man who attempted to light them. (qtd. in Millar, 66)

15While Balmoral was being renovated, Albert had ordered that a prefabricated shed be installed as a temporary ballroom. Albert had first seen the shed at the Great Exhibition. Manufactured in various styles by "Edward T
Bellhouse and Company of the Eagle Foundry in Manchester," the shed had been designed to "house emigrants who were leaving Scotland for Canada or Australia as a result of the Highland clearances" (Millar 59). Ironically, homelessness for one group of people in the Highlands thus provides the circumstances for home improvement for another.

16 Victoria would often contrast the favorable race characteristics of the Highlander with those of the unruly Irish. In her mind the essential "disloyalty" of the Irish was the chief characteristic that set them apart from their fellow "Celts" across the Irish Sea. Constantly on the guard against Fenian assassins in the 1860s, Victoria exasperatingly remarked that the "Irish lower orders . . . 'had never become reconciled to English rule, which they hate! So different from the Scotch who are so loyal.'" (Longford 360). Victoria's answer to this problem of "good (Scottish) Celt/bad (Irish) Celt" was to listen to the racial theories of her husband, who had "attributed Scottish superiority to a mixture of Scandinavian blood." The Highlanders, it seemed, were not "pure" Celts after all. The only solution, then, to the Irish problem "was a 'new infusion of race'" (Longford 366).

17 For the most recent account of the "Mrs Brown" scandal of the 1860s, see Cullen. For a lively (if essentialist) account of John Brown's life and loves, see Tisdall.

18 Other biographical details suggest how devoted Victoria was to Brown. When Brown died in March, 1883, Victoria suffered a relapse of the psychosomatic leg paralysis that she had suffered when Albert had died. Victoria insisted that Brown's rooms at Windsor be left untouched after his death, as Albert's rooms continued to remain untouched during Victoria's lifetime. Also, immediately after the publication of More Leaves, Victoria hit on the idea of writing a memoir of John Brown. The intensity and intimate nature of the feelings Victoria expresses for Brown were seen as so potentially scandalous
by the Queen's circle that they immediately set out to discourage her from publishing it. Only the threatened resignation of the Dean of Windsor precluded Victoria from going ahead with publication plans. The Queen's private secretary later burned the manuscripts along with Victoria's letters from Brown.
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